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BY

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ECHOES OF CHILDERMAS IN THE TALE OF THE PRIORESS

THE tantalizing description of Madame Eglentyne intoning the divine service gains additional, if adventitious, interest from the fact that on the way to Canterbury she does recite and allude to various passages from the Canonical Office and the Mass. That her Prologue is reminiscent of both the Office and the Little Office of the Virgin is generally accepted. It is not so commonly recognized that *The Prioress' Tale* and Prologue, taken together, either quote or refer to all the chief portions of the Mass for 28 December, Childermas or the Feast of the Holy Innocents.

The connexion, to be sure, has not been entirely overlooked. For *Prioress' Tale* 627, where the weeping mother of the dying child is called a new Rachel, Professor Robinson cites Matthew ii, 18 and adds:

Mr Joseph Dwight has pointed out to the editor that this passage, along with the Psalm *Domine Dominus noster*, occurs among the portions of Scripture read at the Mass on the Feast of the Holy Innocents. This might account for their association in Chaucer's mind, though the comparison of the bereaved mother to Rachel would be natural in itself.¹

In view of all the parallels, however, it seems clear that Chaucer had the Mass of the Innocents in mind when he wrote the tale of the Prioress, that for him and his contemporary readers the story was enriched by association with one of the most appealing feasts of the Church. The purpose of this paper is (1) to illustrate that point, and (2) to suggest that Chaucer's original source for the legend was a sermon on Innocents' Day and, in that event, probably a sermon preached by a boy bishop, a little clergeon.

In the first place, the hero of *The Prioress' Tale* is not merely a little child, but rather the representative of childhood itself on the threshold of accountability. To his own generation, nurtured in the melancholy lore of the climacteric ages,² Chaucer suggested as much when he changed the age of the boy from ten years or more, as it appears in the other extant versions of the story, to seven years. Modern readers must turn

¹ Students' Cambridge Edition of *Chaucer's Complete Works*, p. 841.

² 'The ancient sages by curious notes have found out, that certain yeeres in mans life be very perilous. These they name climacterical or stayrie yeares, for then they saw great alterations. Now a climactericall yeare is every seaventh yeare . . . Hence it is that in the seaventh yeere children doe cast and renew their teeth. In the fourteenth yeere proceedeth the stripping age,' etc. (from W. Vaughan's *Natural and Artificial Directions for Health*, 1602, as quoted by Furnivall in his edition of *The Mirror of the Periods of Man's Life*. See note 1, p. 2).

for an explanation to such antecedents of Jacques' soliloquy as *The Mirror of the Periods of Man's Life or Buds of the Virtues and Vices for the Soul of Man*.¹ There the Good and Bad Angels began to contend for mastery over little Everyman

Whanne the chuld was vii year olde,
Passyng sowkyng of milke drevys²

The author explains their choice of that particular year by the commonplace that 'at vii year age childhood bigynnes', that afterward, at fourteen, it 'blynnes', and 'than knowliche of manhode he wynnes'.³

For this as for other reasons the legend of Chaucer's little clergeon lends itself to association with Childermas, and the more so since in the fourteenth century the ceremonies of the feast were conducted by children, 'the schoolboys or the choir-boys, or both',⁴ under the leadership of a boy bishop. The custom flourished in every country of Western Europe, and especially in England and France.⁵ In England, according to ecclesiastical records from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries,⁶ the boys usurped the places of the deacons and priests for the whole twenty-four hours from Vespers on the eve of the feast to Vespers on Innocents' Day. The custom prevailed, with variations, not only in cathedrals and in collegiate and parish churches, but also in schools and religious houses.⁷

The fact that the feast to which Chaucer seems to have related his story was conducted partly by children gives heightened significance to the initial stanza of the Prioress' Prologue:

'O Lord, oure Lord, thy name how merveillous
Is in this large world ysprad,' quod she;
'For noght onoly thy laude precious
Parfourned is by men of dignitee,
But by the mouth of children thy bountee
Parfourned is, for on the brest soukyng
Somtyme shewen they thyn heriyng.'

¹ In *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, The Parliament of Devils, and Other Religious Poems*, ed. by Furnivall, EETS, O S., 24, 1867, pp. 58-78.

² Lines 65-66.

³ Lines 81-85.

⁴ Leach's phrase. His essay 'The Schoolboy's Feast', in *The Fortnightly Review* (January 1896), pp. 128-41, still is one of the best short accounts of the boy bishop in England. Chambers gives an ampler account in *The Mediaeval Stage*, vol. 1, chap. 15. See also Young, *The Drama of the Mediaeval Church*, 1, 104-11, and Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, pp. 54-61. Unfortunately I have not seen Canon Fletcher's pamphlet, *The Boy Bishop at Salisbury and Elsewhere*, 1921.

⁵ Young, *Drama of the Mediaeval Church*, 1, 106.

⁶ Some of these are reproduced by Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. II, appendix M.

⁷ Among institutions where the boy bishop held sway, Chambers (1, 354-9) mentions Salisbury, Exeter, Lincoln, York, St Paul's, Lichfield, Gloucester, and Norwich cathedrals; such collegiate churches as Beverley Minster, St Peter's, Canterbury, and Ottery St Mary; the college chapels of Magdalen and All Souls, Oxford; the private chapels of the King and the Earl of Northumberland, and many parish churches in England and Scotland.

This is a rendering of Psalm viii, 2-3, as the caption of the Chaucerian manuscripts, *Domine dominus noster*, would indicate; but, as Mr Joseph Dwight realized, it is also a translation of the Introit of the Mass for the Holy Innocents:

Ex ore infantum, Deus, et lactentium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos
Domine, Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra.¹

By thus changing the order of the verses in the Psalm the liturgy at once strikes the keynote of the feast and places emphasis on the phrase 'Out of the mouth of babes', as Chaucer also does by mentioning it again in the story proper, lines 607-8:

O grete God, that parfournest thy laude
By mouth of innocentz, lo, heere thy myght'

The Prioress more than once calls the little clergeon 'this innocent',² as in lines 565-6:

Fro thennes forth the Jues han conspired
This innocent out of this world to chace.

Her narrative loses nothing in pathos and sublimity through the analogy here to Herod's attempt to kill the infant Jesus, an analogy made unmistakable by the further comment, 'O cursed folk of Herodes al newe'.³ As might be expected, the Gospel for the Innocents' Mass is Matthew ii, 13-18, the account of the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt and of Herod's slaying the male children in Bethlehem 'of two years old and under'. Chaucer's reason for laying his scene in Asia, a departure from all extant analogues, may have been to suggest once more the similarity between his story and the account of those earlier Asiatic martyrs.

A further connexion between the two was noted by Mr Dwight, this reference of the Prioress to the dying boy's mother:

Unnethe myghte the peple that was there
This newe Rachel brynge fro his beere.⁴

The Innocents' Gospel ends with the prophecy of Jeremiah, now fulfilled in the grief of the bereaved mothers, who are typified by Rachel: 'In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation and great mourning: Rachel bewailing her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.' The Church had decreed that the Feast of the Innocents be kept with purple, and that the Mass be stripped of the *Te Deum*, the *Alleluia*, and the *Gloria*, 'out of compassion, as it were, for the sorrowing mothers

¹ Since the Mass for Innocents' Day is essentially the same today as in Chaucer's time (*Catholic Encyclopaedia*, under 'Feast of the Holy Innocents'), my quotations are from the Roman Missal in present use.

² The boys who took part in the Childermas ceremonies quite naturally were known as Innocents (Chambers, i, 347).

³ Line 573.

⁴ Lines 626-7.

of Bethlehem';¹ and the Communion of the Mass again commemorated their grief by repetition of the verses about Rachel: *Vox in Rama audita est*, etc. Like the ranting of Herod, played 'on a scaffold hye', the beautiful passage from Jeremiah laid hold on the mediaeval imagination, and the figure of the symbolical Rachel, refusing to be comforted, had a central place in the liturgical dramas dealing with the Slaughter of the Innocents.²

As the Gospel for Innocents' Day tells of the murder of the babes, so the Epistle for the Mass records their triumph over death. It is Apocalypse xiv, 1-5, the description of the Celestial Lamb and his followers, the 144,000 virgins. Because St John called these 'the first fruits to God and to the Lamb', they were identified with the victims of Herod, and consequently in the Middle Ages it was commonly held that Herod had killed 144,000 male children in little Bethlehem.³ The immaculate procession of the Lamb was central in the Canonical Office for Childermas, and the liturgical plays usually opened the scene of the Slaughter of the Innocents with the doomed children carrying or following a lamb and singing the *Ecce Agnus Dei* or the *Emitte Agnum*.⁴

No student of Chaucer need be reminded that Apocalypse xiv, 1-5 was also the inspiration for one of the most affecting stanzas of *The Prioress' Tale*. There the little boy is said to have joined the Holy Innocents,⁵ where without fear of persecution he may sing a new song:

¹ *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, under 'Feast of the Holy Innocents'.

² See especially Karl Young, *Ordo Rachelis*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, iv, and his *Drama of the Mediaeval Church*, vol. II, chap. 20.

³ *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 'Feast of the Holy Innocents'.

⁴ Young, *Drama of the Mediaeval Church*, I, 102-7, 110-14. Hereafter in this article all footnote references to Young will be citations of this book.

⁵ According to the description of the seven heavens in the Middle English poem *Ipotis*, the fourth heaven, which alone is adorned with precious jewels, is reserved for innocents

The iijhe heven is godeliche,
ffull of precious stones & riche;
ffor Innocentes þat place is dight,
þer ever is day & never nyght.

(*Ipotis*, Trinity Coll. Camb. MS. B. 2-18, fol. 95b, lines 71-4, as printed in *PMLA* xxiv, 120). Hence there is peculiar appropriateness in Chaucer's comparison of his innocent to precious stones (ll. 609-10):

This gemme of chastite, this emeraude,
And eek of martirdom the ruby bright.

Compare the child in *Pearl*. One of the 144,000 brides of the Lamb, Pearl is explicitly identified also with the Holy Innocents, who were 'of two years old and under', by emphasis on the circumstance that she had died before she was two years old (*Pearl*, sec. 9, st. 41). There is also the legend from Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 6, Col. 99, of the child who shared his bread with an image of the weeping Christ Child, and was rewarded by membership in the company of the Lamb: 'The child was seized at once with a fever and died on the third day; wherefore he doth now most undoubtedly feast among the Innocents of Bethlehem' (translation by Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, I, 52).

O martir, sowded to virginitee,
 Now maystow syngen, folwyng evere in oon
 The white Lamb celestial—quod she—
 Of which the grete evaungelist, Seint John,
 In Pathmos wroot, which seith that they that goon
 Bifrom this Lamb, and syng a song al newe,
 That nevere, fleshly, wommen they ne knewe¹

So much for the Mass, of which the Introit, the Gospel, the Epistle, and the Communion are paraphrased or directly alluded to by the Prioress. Some details of the liturgy for the mediaeval service conducted by the children on the eve of Innocents' Day also may be pertinent. The one at Salisbury Cathedral² began with a procession during which the boys, as at all other observances of the Canonical Office for Childermas, sang the *Centum Quadraginta*, an arrangement of those verses from the Innocents' Epistle which Chaucer adapted for describing the celestial triumph of his little schoolboy. The remainder of the liturgy for that service was chiefly in praise of 'Cristes mooder deere', comprising passages from the Mass of the Blessed Virgin for the season from Christmas Day to Candlemas.³ The fact that schoolboys took part in Childermas ceremonies, where Mary was especially honoured in the observances of the Canonical Hours, would help to explain why the older schoolmates of Chaucer's little clergeon 'lerved hire antiphoner' at the approach of Christmas, with particular attention to Marian anthems like the *Alma Redemptoris Mater*.⁴ Naturally the little seven-year-old would wish to imitate the older boys who, we may suppose, were preparing to sing at the Innocents' services; and hence his anxiety to learn the *Alma Redemptoris* 'er Cristemasse be went'.

The little fellow's readiness to learn is compared to the precocity of St Nicholas:

Thus hath this wydwe hir litel sone ytaught
 Oure blisful Lady, Cristes mooder deere,
 To worshipec ay, and he forgat it naught,
 For sely child wol alday soone leere.

¹ Lines 579–85.

² The Sarum Office in use there is reproduced by Chambers, vol. II, appendix M, and is the basis of my summary.

³ The Offertory, *Felix namque est, sacra Virgo*, etc., and the Gradual, *Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum*, etc.

⁴ The *Alma Redemptoris* is the Marian anthem now sung during Christmas week. According to Skeat, the Roman Breviary for 1583 designated it for use at that time—i.e. from Advent to Candlemas. Since the Mass for the Innocents was essentially the same in Chaucer's time as now, and since the mediaeval ritual for the other Innocents' services at Salisbury Cathedral was composed of passages of liturgy still in use by the Roman Church during the Christmas season, the presumption is that the *Alma Redemptoris*, which was very popular in the Middle Ages, was sung from Advent to Candlemas, then as now. But see Carleton Brown, 'Chaucer's Litel Clergeon', in *Modern Philology*, III (April 1906), 9–13.

But ay, whan I remembre on this mateere,
 Seint Nicholas stant evere in my presence,
 For he so yong to Crist dide reverence.¹

Skeat and Robinson give no explanation of this reference beyond the fact, recorded in the Roman Breviary and elsewhere, that Nicholas as an infant at the breast fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays. Hence we may digress to note that Chaucer evidently was thinking also of such passages about him as this from the *Vita Sancti Nicolai* in the *South English Legendary*:

þo he was sethþe of grettere elde: to scole he was i-set;
So wel he leornede: þat man nuste, no child leorn bet.
 Sethþe þo he more coupe: al his studie he tok
 to guodespelles ant to holi writes: and alle opere bokes for-sok.²

Allusions to St Nicholas, although their appropriateness to Chaucer's narrative needs no justification, are especially germane to the echoes of Childermas in *The Prioress' Tale*; for the Feast of St Nicholas, 6 December, was closely related to Childermas. The boy bishop usually was elected on Nicholas' Day,³ sometimes officiated at the Feast of Nicholas as well as at the Feast of the Holy Innocents, and hence sometimes was called the Nicholas Bishop or Bishop Nicholas.⁴ Plays about St Nicholas were regular features of the less solemn festivities of Childermas,⁵ and on the eve of the feast the child bishop and his companions marched first to the altar of Nicholas where one was available.⁶

Granted that Chaucer related his story to the Feast of the Innocents 'of ful avysement', why did he do so? The delicate art of the result would be reason enough. Over and above its appeal to all ages, the legend of the little martyr had for the mediaeval mind rich overtones, through association with an ancient ceremonial that honoured the charm and innocence of all childhood and symbolized the grief of all bereaved motherhood, the universal Rachel:

Whan seyð was al this miracle, every man
 As sobre was that wonder was to se.⁷

Yet I suspect that the connexion between the feast and the 'miracle' antedates Chaucer's handling of the theme. The story of the little schoolboy, with its allusions to the slaughtered Innocents and the precocious sanctity of Nicholas, would make an ideal exemplum for a Childermas sermon. As in *The Pardoner's Tale*, the narrative might have been used as the framework for the whole homily, and the more likely if it had been designed for delivery by a boy bishop.

¹ Lines, 509-15. My italics.

² Young, I, 106; Chambers, I, 369.

³ Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, p. 61.

⁴ Prologue to *Sir Thopas*, 691-2.

⁵ EETS 87, 240, lines 13-16.

⁶ Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁷ Leach, p. 133.

That the theme of *The Prioress' Tale* was employed in sermons is certain. It appears in the *Promptuarium* (or storehouse of *exempla*) which Johannes Herolt appended to his *Sermones de Tempore et de Sanctis*, a collection much in demand during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹ Professor Woodburn Ross, in *Modern Language Notes* for May 1935,² gives the text of a hitherto neglected analogue to Chaucer's story from Bromyard's popular manual for preachers, the *Summa Predicantium*, composed in England, apparently shortly after 1370. On the evidence of that version, of another from the *Speculum Exemplorum*, and of still another from a book containing sermons, Professor Ross concludes that the story of the chorister or schoolboy murdered by Jews was 'very likely in fairly frequent use as a pulpit exemplum'.

This circumstance alone would explain the wide diffusion and popularity of the legend, and also, perhaps, Chaucer's associating it with Childermas. Very likely he first heard the story in a sermon on Innocents' Day, and thereafter always connected the two. The final invocation of the Prioress to 'Yonge Hugh of Lyncoln'³ suggests that the scene of the sermon may have been Lincoln Cathedral, where an analogue to the murder of Little St Hugh would have been particularly appropriate for a Childermas exemplum. This is the more probable since Chaucer 'had various reasons for interest in Lincolnshire'.⁴ His sister-in-law, Katherine Swynford, had a manor there; and Philippa Chaucer in February 1386 was admitted to the society of patrons of the cathedral.⁵

Finally, if Chaucer did hear the story of the Prioress in an Innocents' sermon, it not improbably was from the lips of a boy bishop.⁶ 'In various places in England,' says Professor Young, 'the Boy Bishop, as part of his assumption of mature responsibility, preached a sermon at Mass.'⁷ Chambers speaks in particular of the custom at St Paul's, where, not unnaturally, the boy did not write his own sermon.⁸ William de Tolleshunte, almoner of Paul's, bequeathed to the almonry copies of 'all the quires of sermons for the Feast of the Holy Innocents'⁹ preached by boy bishops in his time, the early part of the fourteenth century. Dean

¹ See Herolt's *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, translated by C. C. Swinton Bland (London, 1928), especially pp. 1-2, 92-3.

² 'Another Analogue to *The Prioresses Tale*', pp. 307-10.

³ Lines 684-90.

⁴ See Robmson's note 684, on p. 841 of the Cambridge Chaucer, citing Manly.

⁵ Cowling, *Chaucer*, pp. 18-19.

⁶ Lincoln was one of the cathedrals where the boy bishop held sway. See above, p. 2, note 7.

⁷ I, 110.

⁸ Chambers, I, 355-6.

⁹ Owst, *Preaching in Mediaeval England*, p. 220, quotes the phrase from Tolleshunte's will. See also Chambers, I, 354-5.

Colet, as late as 1512, specified that the boys of St Paul's School should 'every Chyldremasse day come to paulis Church, and here the Chylde Bishoppis sermon and after be at hye masse, and eche of them offre a 1d to the Childe Bishopp'.¹ A discourse on the infant Jesus written by Erasmus for delivery by a boy at Colet's school has been preserved, as have sermons unmistakably designed for boy bishops.²

All things considered, Chaucer probably heard *The Prioress' Tale* at an Innocents' Mass, *ex ore infantium*.

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TUCSON, ARIZONA.

¹ Chambers, I, 356, quoted from Lupton's *Life of Colet*.

² *Ibid.* p. 356 and note 3 It is not certain that Erasmus' sermon was for a boy bishop.

'WIT IN A CONSTABLE': CENSORSHIP AND REVISION

THERE are many plays of the early seventeenth century which bear traces of censorship and revision, and many more in which censorship and revision are suspected; but few plays contain in their printed texts such extensive evidence of both as Glapthorne's *Wit in a Constable*. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to suggest on a cursory reading that Glapthorne has substituted the ending of one play for that of another and entirely different play.

Wit in a Constable was entered in the *Stationers' Register* on 27 April 1640, strangely enough for a 'Master Constable', and was printed the same year with the following titlepage:

WIT IN / A Constable. / A Comedy written 1639. / The Author /
HENRY GLAPTHORNE. / And now printed as it was lately Acted / at
the Cock-pit in Drury Lane, by / their Majesties Servants, / with good
allowance. / LONDON: / Printed by Io. Okes, for F. C. and / are to be
sold at his shops in Kings- / street at the Signe of the Goat, and / in
Westminster Hall, 1640. /

The name *Wit in a Constable* may have been devised in deference to the fashion for using the word 'wit' in play titles about 1638, or perhaps from one of these plays, Davenant's *The Wits* (acted 1634, printed 1636) to which Glapthorne is indebted for ideas. That its title attracted attention is attested by the jeer of a royalist pamphleteer in *Mercurius Aulicus* at Thomas Audley, the puritan pamphleteer: 'What wit in a Puritan? As monstrous as the title of the play "Wit in a Constable".'¹ It may have been a popular play, for it was revived at Lincoln's Inn Fields by the Duke's Players on 23 May 1662,² and five years later Davenant repaid Glapthorne's borrowings by incorporating ideas from it in his enlarged production of *The Wits*.³

Fleay⁴ was the first to call attention to certain inconsistencies in the character names, which inconsistencies he attributed to the refurbishing of an older version of the play, suggesting that the older version was written about 1636. Unfortunately, he did not give his reasons for attributing the earlier part to 1636. Further, his statement, 'Thorough-

¹ Quoted without reference by Williams, *Hist. of English Journalism*, p. 53.

² Nicoll, *Restoration Drama*, p. 168.

³ Davenant's additions were printed in the folio of 1673.

⁴ *Biog. Chron.* I, 245.

good and Tristram in I, II, III become Freewit and Grimes in IV, V; and the occasional retention of the earlier names in IV, V shows that this was the part of the play rewritten', is only a partial truth. Granted that Acts IV and V have been altered (and so for that matter has Act III), yet it may surely be assumed that a playwright, rewriting the final acts of one of his older plays, does not wantonly add to his labours and confuse the actors by introducing at this stage new character names for old. Even supposing that Glapthorne did rewrite Acts IV and V, and did intend the names Freewit and Grimes to be used throughout, it is reasonable to expect that he would have inserted some emphatic indication of this in the first three acts. Such indication does not exist in the text as it stands; that it may have existed in the printer's copy is not impossible, but not very likely. There is, however, much more evidence than Fleay noted, evidence that points to a more comprehensive reconstruction of the play than the mere rewriting of certain parts.

The names Freewit, Grimes and Luce are omitted from the quarto list of characters, and Nell is described as 'daughters' (*sic*) to Busie, a description obviously intended to include Maudlin. In reality Luce was Busie's second daughter, and she takes the place of Maudlin, who disappears entirely after Act III. These two names obviously refer to the same character. The omission of names from the prefatory list of characters is not always reliable evidence of reconstruction since there are other possible reasons for such omissions. Here the omission is important as it is of a sort with the subsequent textual inconsistencies. It is significant that, apart from this, no trace of any revision or alteration appears before Act III.

In the first seventy lines of Act III Knowell derides Thorowgood and Valentine on being outwitted by Clare and Grace, but offers to help them obtain their revenge. Valentine departs in response to a message from Grace, and Thorowgood instructs Knowell:

Pray be you Sir *Timothy*, know his entrance;
Tis such another mad-cap my Scene is.

Enter Holdfast.

Hold. Nay, come forward Land lord Spoild else.

Trist. Bus.

Tis my Cosens lodgings, pray be bold in't.... (III, i, p. 199)¹

'Spoild else' is obviously out of place, and its restoration to the end of the preceding line is clearly demanded by the context; but even so the first two lines are corrupt and obscure. They may be taken to mean that

¹ The references are to vol. I of the Pearson Reprint of Glapthorne's *Plays and Poems*, 2 vols., London, 1874.

Knowell is to play the part of Sir Timothy, which, in fact, he makes not the slightest attempt to do. Alternatively, since the two lines are patently corrupt, 'be you Sir *Timothy*' may be all that remains of an expression like, 'be you Sir *Timothy's* guide'. If so, Knowell's only attempt to carry out Thorowgood's instructions is revealed by his single-line speech,

Or [Nor shall] this knight have *Valentines* reversions. (III, 1, p. 209)

Knowell does not appear in the play after this, unless the speech attributed to Thorowgood (v, i, p. 236) should be attributed to him. If not, he appears only twice, on both occasions in Act III, and this implies that his part has been curtailed.

The alignment of the entry notices for Tristram and Busie is peculiar, and suggests either that they were deliberately placed to indicate that Tristram and Busie lag behind Holdfast, which is unlikely, or that the printer was closely following his copy in which Tristram and Busie were later marginal additions to the original entry notice for Young Holdfast. This introduction of Busie to Valentine and Knowell occupies fifty-three lines, which is approximately the number of lines on an average folio manuscript page. It is strange, though not without parallel in other plays of the period, that Constable Busie, so important a figure that the play's title commemorates his quality, should make such a belated entry; and stranger still that not the slightest mention of him has been made before this. The ensuing conversation between Knowell, Holdfast and Busie is, from the point of view of the plot, practically pointless. It is largely a summary of Busie's character. Such peculiarities and weaknesses by themselves would imply nothing more than faulty construction—though Glapthorne is not usually so careless of his plots—but when they occur in company with textual faults, the most likely explanation is a cut followed by the insertion of fresh matter.

III, i, p. 207 may contain the broken thread of a subplot. Valentine, disguised as Sir Timothy's niece, is escorted in by Grace, and Sir Timothy introduces her to Covet and Clare. Covet remarks aside,

A very handsome woman, I could love her,
Did I but know her portion. Mistress welcome.

It may not be over-fanciful to see in this an intention at the back of the dramatist's mind to make Covet the victim of a mock marriage (a device he used in *The Hollander*), but if so, either he did not develop it, or he was forced to cut it out to make room for other matter.

III, 1, p. 208 contains a startlingly abrupt dénouement to Valentine and Freewit's revenge plot. Valentine's part, in fact, has been propounded, developed and concluded within the space of one act. This abruptness

is not perhaps in itself sufficient warrant for postulating cuts or compression, but the following time-analysis of Valentine's movements, when disguised as Sir Timothy's niece, reveals that cuts must have taken place. In III, i, p. 206 Sir Timothy explains to Covet that he sent a niece

Hither, to view my Mistris in a Coach
An houre agoe at least.

A few lines farther on (p. 207) Maudlin reports the presence of this niece. Finally, Knowell, after discovering Valentine's disguise, adds,

He has beene here all night too. (p. 209)

All this takes place within the same scene; it is not possible to assign these lines to separate scenes. Knowell's statement passes unchallenged by Clare and Grace, so presumably it is true. Sir Timothy's 'an houre agoe at least' is vague, but even his addled pate could hardly mistake the day. The inconsistencies can only be reconciled by placing the arrival of the disguised Valentine (III, i, p. 206) on the day before his discovery at the end of the act (p. 209). In this case, some definite scene division between these occasions would be expected, but of such a division there is no trace. Thorowgood's scholar plot ends at the same time as the revenge plot, and it is remarkable that from this point in the play Thorowgood and Valentine diverge from Young Holdfast and Sir Timothy; they do not again appear on the stage together until the final scene of Act v.

Covet's prose speech which ends Act III (p. 209) is possibly an addition, for he has spoken in verse previously in this scene. Furthermore, the 'Exeunt' which immediately precedes this speech has the appearance of marking the end of a scene, for the characters who go off are not specified, although elsewhere all departing characters are mentioned by name unless all are to go, and the stage is to be left empty for the end of a scene or act.

Covet's '*Formall* send post for Sir *Geffrey*' (p. 209) is a duplication of his earlier statement,

A messenger straight to him ^{the dispatch} [i.e. Sir *Geffrey*]. (II, i, p. 186)

If Covet's prose speech is an addition, then this duplication may be taken as a sign that Sir *Geffrey*'s arrival in Act IV was placed earlier in the original version.

In Act IV signs of disturbed text are even more frequent. Luce is now the name of the woman attendant on Grace and Clare. She is obviously the Maudlin of the preceding acts; the latter name is not used again. Likewise, Grimes is now the name of Young Holdfast's servant,

who was previously named Tristram. His character too suffers a change. In Acts I and II as Tristram, he is the witty, satirical servant so frequent in comedies of the period, but after this he does not speak at all though he enters the stage on four more occasions (pp. 217, 228 and 238) as Grimes, and once (p. 208) as Tristram.

The first seventy lines of this act are disordered (pp. 210-12). For forty-nine lines Clare, Grace and Busie plan to outwit Valentine and Freewit. Then Sir Geoffrey, Covet, Sir Timothy and Young Holdfast enter and discourse for thirteen lines, and apparently each group is totally unaware of the presence of the other. After this Busie continues as if nothing had happened. The last twenty-four lines of this passage are as follows:

Clare.
 ...some ingenious poet that shall keepe
 Thy fame alive in a brave Epitaph
 Grav'd on thy marble.

Enter Covet, Sir Geoffrey Holdfast, Sir Timothy, young Holdfast.

Geff. What varlet should that be trow?

Cov. Truth I know not,
 Nor can conjecture, yet I did believe
 Him to be truly yours, because attird
 Ith' habit and the phrase of a right Scholler,
 And for your sonne, pardon me master *Holdfast*,
 I tooke you for some lewd audacious varlet,
 That had usurpt that title.

Hold. I imagine
 It was some bastard of my fathers, gotten
 In youth upon his Taylors wife or Landresse,
 He has good store of them, but master Alderman
 You now conceive I me son and heire apparent
 Unto the *Holdfasts*, whosoever got me,
 That's not much matter.

Busie. How's that, anon before I set my watch,
 He visit you agen: meane time, pray give
 My daughter *Luce* leave to come home, her sister
 Poore wretched, is troubled with a paine ith' bottome
 Oth' body, pricks even to her very heart,
 And I would have *Luce* goe toth' Pothecaries,
 And get some Besar stone, they say 'twill cure her.
 Farewell good Ladies, you'l be sure to come *Luce*.

Ex. Busie.

Then Sir Geoffrey notices Clare and Grace for the first time in this scene. Busie's speech must be a continuation of his talk with Clare and Grace, and should be placed before the entry of Covet, Sir Geoffrey and the others. Now the thirteen lines of dialogue between Covet and his companions contain a hurried clearing up of the repercussions of Thorowgood's scholar plot, it is brief to the point of inadequacy, and seems to be the mere abstract of a cut scene, which dealt in full with the arrival of Sir

Geffrey, and which cleared up Covet's confusion over Young Holdfast. It is probable that they were written on a separate slip for insertion, and that the printer erroneously placed them one speech too soon.

Before this conversation Clare and Grace have not shown that they know anything of Busie, and the connexion here revealed—that he is the father of Luce, their attendant—is unusually belated even in a surprise motive play. Further, both Busie and Clare refer to the character hitherto named Thorowgood as Freewit (iv, i, pp. 211, 219, etc.), and throughout this act he appears under the latter name.

There are further inconsistencies in iv, i, p. 212. Sir Timothy and Young Holdfast previously rejected Clare and Grace after the discovery of Valentine (III, i, p. 209), yet here and to p. 217 they talk with the two ladies and arrange to marry them as if the events of the foregoing act had not occurred. Covet's explanation of the 'stain those idle gallants put upon them' is strangely inadequate and strangely placed. It would have been better placed before p. 212, or, on the other hand, iv, i, pp. 212–17 may have been placed much earlier in the original play, in fact, before the conclusion of the revenge plot. This would imply, however, that Covet's explanation and Sir Timothy's acceptance of it (p. 213) are later additions.

Busie's request to Young Holdfast and Sir Timothy,

...give me your mony,
And ile take out the licence, (iv, i, p. 218)

comes curiously after Young Holdfast's order to Grimes,

...goe you to th' office;
There's mony, fetch a Licence. (iv, i, p. 217)

There is no exit notice for Grimes until he goes out with Young Holdfast and Sir Timothy at the end of the episode (p. 218); but the order to buy the licence is not countermanded, and it would be natural to assume that Grimes carries it out immediately it is given. Actually Busie buys the licence (v, i, p. 226). The order to Grimes is almost certainly a trace of an earlier version.

Act v continues the tale of inconsistencies. In v, i, p. 236 the names Freewit and Thorowgood appear together in an entry notice. Only one speech is attributed to Thorowgood (p. 236), but from the nature of this speech and of Clare's reply to it, whoever speaks these lines is not Thorowgood-Freewit.

Thor. Come, your rage
Is uselesse now: he [i.e. Busie] has done better for you,
Than I by th' circumstance perceive you had
Intended for your selves: what would you've done

With two such March-pane husbands? I believe,
 For all you set a good face on the matter,
 'Twas your owne plot.

Clar. Ours? then may we dye Virgins,
 And these same trusty youths, now cald our husbands,
 Be suddainly transform'd to Eunuchs; we
 Had thought young *Holdfast*, and Sir *Timothy*
 Had bin the Squires had usher'd us, and them
 We had resolv'd to couple with. (pp. 236-7)

The only person in whose mouth the words would be appropriate is Knowell, but there is no indication that he is present. The most plausible explanation is, that for some reason or other connected with the state of the copy, the printer made a wrong ascription, for the Freewit-Thorowgood identification is too well established elsewhere to be put in question by this speech heading.

Busie's arrangements for the marriages of Freewit and Valentine with Clare and Grace are puzzling. Busie tells the two men that Clare and Grace

Wished me to assure you, that if you would speedily
 Take out Licences this very night,
 Twixt nine and ten, at my house they would meet you,
 And joyne with you in Matrimony.

In spite of this Freewit and Valentine act the parts of Young Holdfast and Sir Timothy (p. 237), and Clare and Grace marry them under the belief that they actually are Holdfast and Timothy (p. 236). This seems to contain vestiges of two distinct plots.

Busie's movements in this act are confusing. Early on (p. 226) he tells the priest,

when I have
 Dispos'd my Watch, I will be there my selfe.

Yet he makes no attempt to join the priest at all. He spends his time drinking with Mendwell in the St John's Head, and is there when Covet bursts upon him (p. 234). He must have changed over the brides and grooms, rushed ahead of the brides' sedans, given the priest his instructions and the Watch their lengthy charge (pp. 226-7) before the sedans arrive (p. 228). All this is not impossible, but it is unnecessarily complex.

The passage of the sedans through the Watch seems to be wrongly ordered. On p. 223 Freewit and Valentine are told to meet Clare and Grace at Busie's house 'twixt nine and ten', and they leave it with Clare and Grace before Sir Timothy and Young Holdfast, for the latter are 'held in discourse' (p. 237) by Luce and Nell. Yet Sir Timothy and Young Holdfast pass through the Watch earlier (p. 228) than Freewit and Valentine (p. 229).

From this welter of evidence some important facts emerge. The first two acts may fairly be claimed as belonging to the original play; the last three acts have been altered considerably, and while they doubtless contain some of the original play rehashed, they also contain much that is new. Busie is clearly a later addition, though his intrigues seem to incorporate portions of the original play, and hence it may be inferred that the Watch scenes are additions likewise.

This purely textual evidence of a revision is supported by the dates of certain events mentioned within the play itself. The titlepage claims that the play was 'written 1639', but this does not seem to be accurate. The original portions of the play, Acts I and II, were certainly written earlier than 1639. In the opening scene of Act I Holdfast, declaring that he has been idle since leaving Cambridge, bids Tristram

goe to my stationer
And bid him send me *Swarez* Metaphysickes,
Tolet de anima is new forth,
So are *Granadas* commentaries on
Primum secundae Thomae Aquinatis,

.....
John Taylor, get me his nonsense.

Trist. You meane all his workes sir.

Hold. And a hundred of *Bookers* new Almanacks. (p 170)

There is a definite statement that two of these books were newly published, and it is reasonable to suppose that the other books mentioned in the same context were issued but few years earlier. Such, indeed, is the case. Franciscus Toletus, Archbishop of Toledo, had issued his commentaries on Aristotle's *De Anima* separately, but forty years after his death they were published together as *In tres libros Aristotelis de Anima Commentarii... Lugduni*, 1636.¹ The Commentaries of Franciscus Suarez, or Granada—not the other and perhaps more famous Granada—were published posthumously a year earlier: *Commentariorum ac Disputationum in Primam Partem Divi Thomae... Auctore R. P. Francisco Swarez Granatensi... Partis Secundae De Deo Creatore... Lugduni* 1635.² The same writer's *Metaphysics* was originally published in two volumes in 1605 and again at Geneva in 1636.³ A collected edition of John Taylor's works appeared in 1630 under the title *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water-Poet*. Tristram's phrase 'all his workes' may allude to this title. Bowker's *New Almanacks* were issued for 1631–4. So far it is clear that this part of the play cannot have been written earlier than 1636, but was probably written soon after.

¹ Backer, *Bibl. Compagnie de Jésus*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

There is more evidence in the same scene. Thorowgood, greeting Valentine and Sir Timothy, asks what business has brought them up to London:

.... may I inquire the affaire
Which happily has brought you up to th' City?
May I know it? is't not to purchase a Monopoly
Of Salt and Herrings? for state businesse,
Unlesse it be to see the great new ship,
Or *Lincolns Inne* fields built, I'm sure you've none here. (p. 177)

The reference to the 'Monopoly for Salt and Herrings' is a satirical gibe at the group of men who were granted a monopoly of the salt trade by a charter of incorporation from the Privy Council in January 1636.¹ These men, like foolish Sir Timothy Shallowit, knew nothing of the salt business, but were ready to share their profits with the king.

The keel of the 'great new ship', or Sovereign of the Seas, was laid in 1636, and the ship was launched on 13 October 1637. All this time she was one of the sights of London, but particularly so when at Erith and Greenhithe she was being rigged and armed during the first six months of 1638. She joined the fleet in August, 1638, and was away for the whole of 1639 at least.² The reference in the text would have no point if it were written after August, 1638.

The original play then was most probably written between 1636 and August 1638.

One of the conclusions drawn from the evidence of the text was that the Watch scenes were most probably additions. Act v opens with a Watch scene in which occur the following lines:

Marry, that twixt *Deale*
And *Dover*, one fishing for flounders, drew
A Spaniards body up, slaine ith' late sea-fight. (p. 225)

The fight mentioned can only be that which occurred on 11 October 1639, between the Spanish and the Dutch in the Downs.³

Later in the same act the fiddler's boy begs permission to sing to those members of the Watch who have accompanied Busie into the tavern 'A very new song'. Busie scornfully replies:

I doubt it is some lamentable stuffe,
Oth' Swine-fac'd gentlewoman, . . .
.....her story's stale boy,
'T has beene already in two playes. (p. 232)

Three ballads and one prose tract by Martin Parker on this unfortunate lady, Mistress Tanakin Skinker of Wirkham, were entered in the *Stationers'*

¹ Price, *English Patents of Monopoly*, pp 113-15.

² See Callendar, *Portrait of Peter Pett*; Perrin, *Autobiography of Phineas Pett*; and Heywood, *A true Description of His Majesties Ship*.

³ *Cal. State Papers Domestic*, Chas. I, cccxxx, 24, art. 66 *et seq.*

Register during December 1639¹ The first entry occurs on the 11th. It is doubtful, however, whether this can be regarded as reliable evidence, for the ballad may have been popular among ballad singers before it was entered for printing. The previous piece of evidence, however, proves conclusively that the part of the play containing the Watch scenes, and presumably the scenes in which Busie appears, received their present form not earlier than October, 1639.

It now remains to find an answer to the questions of how and why these alterations and additions were made. It is not easy to suggest a story that will account for the facts economically and with probability, but as such the following is offered.

Sometime in the years 1637-8 Glapthorne wrote a play in which the chief themes were the plots and counter-plots of Thorowgood, Valentine, Clare and Grace, and the gulling of Young Holdfast, Sir Timothy and Alderman Covet. The first of these plots was Thorowgood's impersonation of Young Holdfast, the scholar. This impersonation was discovered by the arrival of Sir Geoffrey Holdfast, probably during Act III, certainly not as late as IV, i, p. 211 as in the present version. The discovery rendered it impossible for Thorowgood to gain access to Clare as Thorowgood, but he did so disguised as Freewit. Valentine's disguise as Sir Timothy's niece, ostensibly to woo Grace on behalf of Sir Timothy, was more elaborate and ended sooner than the scholar plot of Thorowgood. Alderman Covet was tricked into a mock marriage with Sir Timothy, who assumed Valentine's female disguise for the purpose of wooing Grace. Young Holdfast was tricked into marrying Maudlin, in reality Luce, the daughter of Grimes, also called Tristram.² Grimes, and not Busie, was the contriver of the later intrigues. That Tristram-Grimes was the original intriguer receives some support from Glapthorne's practice of using the same names in different plays for characters of the same type. Thus Grimes as a cunning servant appears in *The Lady Mother*, as do Thorowgood, a gallant, and Maudlin, a maid-servant (cf. also Freewit and Tristram in *The Hollander*). What share Knowell and Sir Geoffrey took in these plots, it is impossible to say with any degree of probability. The marriages of Thorowgood with Clare and Valentine with Grace were brought about by Grimes in much the same way as Busie contrived them.

Late in 1639 the play was sent to the Master of the Revels or his

¹ See *Roxburghe Ballads*, VIII, 28.

² Cf. the similar way in which Tristram-Urinal the witty servant of *The Hollander* tricks Sconce into marriage with Martha, Urinal's sister.

deputy¹ to be licensed for acting. Unfortunately, owing to the storm that had arisen over the satirical portraits of aldermen and other civic dignitaries in *The Whore New Vampt*, 29 September 1639,² the Master of the Revels took exception to the latter parts of the play, which revealed Alderman Covet in an unflattering and ludicrous light. Glapthorne, therefore, was obliged to cut out the original gulling of Covet. Now *The Whore New Vampt* had awakened the anger of the city authorities more particularly because it belittled their dignity and authority. The topical value of reproducing in this play some allusion to the matter was too good to be missed, if it could be done with safety. Glapthorne, accordingly, hit upon the ingenious idea of playing off two civic dignitaries against each other, a constable against an alderman, which idea, incidentally, provided him with a new title, *Wit in a Constable*. Nevertheless, he trod warily. The Song of the Constable (p. 233), probably a parody of Gyffon's *Song of a Constable*,³ after increasingly ribald stanzas, ends in an anti-climax with a refrainless stanza highly complimentary to constables. Further, Covet was detained in comfort at Busie's house rather than imprisoned; and Sir Geffrey praised London's excellent 'night-rule' (p. 230), and that he and Covet fall victims to its stringency is not without irony.

The problem of the name changes is difficult. When the offending matter had been cut, it was necessary to alter the disguise plots, to rearrange the revenge and scholar plots, and to introduce Busie as soon as possible. To do this most of Act v was rewritten, except perhaps the concluding scene or two where names and speech-headings were altered; a fair amount of Act iv was rewritten, and one scene introducing Busie was added to Act iii. If in the original play Thorowgood was disguised as Freewit through most of Acts iv and v, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the playwright, to avoid confusion in the parts that he was adapting and rewriting, kept the name Freewit. In the last scenes where he retained some of the original lines, and where Freewit had cast off his disguise and revealed himself as Thorowgood, he altered Thorowgood to Freewit. But the printer, seeing an indistinct speech-heading or that one was required (p. 236), preserved the deleted Thorowgood in the preceding entry notice, and assigned the speech to him. Later he preserved a deleted Thorowgood in the final entry notice.

In like manner, to avoid confusion the names Grimes and Luce were

¹ Sir Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels, was away in the north with the King's army during much of this year.

² *Cal. State Papers Domestic*, Chas I, ccccxix, arts. 51, 52.

³ *B.M. Harleian MS.* 367, fol. 159.

used throughout the last two acts, though, presumably, Tristram and Maudlin were not revealed as Grimes and his daughter Luce until late in the original play.

The changes in the plot made it necessary to find another bride for one of the two gulls, and so Nell is mentioned by Busie (iv, i, p. 218) though she does not appear until v, i, p. 239, after she is married to Sir Timothy.

This hypothesis is, of course, largely conjectural, but as far as it explains the discrepancies coherently, so far has it a claim to consideration.

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LONDON.

LA FONTAINE AND BIDPAI

IN the short preface which La Fontaine prefixed to the second collection of his *Fables*,¹ he says that 'he owes the greater part to Pilpay, an Indian sage'. This is an exaggeration, for out of the eighty-nine fables of which this second collection (Books VII–XI) is composed, there are not more than twenty which can be referred to Oriental sources. *The Fables of Pilpay or Bidpai*, known also as *The Book of Kalīlah and Dimnah*, has a long and distinguished ancestry. It may be traced back to a Sanscrit work, the *Panchatantra*, now lost, which a Kashmir Brahman composed at some date between 300 B.C. and A.D. 570, probably at least as early as A.D. 300. It was in substance a manual of instruction in worldly and political wisdom—it may almost be called a manual of statecraft—for young princes, and in form a collection of stories in most of which animals with many of the attributes of human beings play a leading part. It is now recognized that the text which comes nearest to the lost original is the *Tantrākhyāyika*,² of which its discoverer, Dr Johannes Hertel, has published a German translation, with a long and important introduction,³ and a critical edition.⁴ The *Panchatantra* is also represented by numerous texts which are more divergent from the original, for the transcribers have added or omitted stories at their pleasure, often in the interests of their religion, whether Brahmin, or Buddhist, or Jain. Blending several of these texts in an uncritical fashion, Rosengarten produced in 1848 the first modern edition, and upon this Theodor Benfey based his well-known and epoch-making work.⁵ Many of the conclusions to which he was led by the faulty character of his text have been disputed in the light of later research, but he must always be honoured as an 'immortal pioneer', who laid the foundations of the comparative treatment, not only of the fable,

¹ Four volumes, 1678–9. I and II are a reprint of his first collected fables III consists of books VII and VIII; IV (1679) of books IX, X and XI. Eight of the fables first appeared in 1671 in *Fables nouvelles et autres Poésies de M. de La Fontaine*.

² *Tantrākhyāyika, die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt, mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen*. In two parts, Leipzig and Berlin, 1909. The Pali text of the Buddhist Jātaka is said to date from about A.D. 500, but many of the tales are much older (before 380 B.C.). *The Jātaka translated by various hands*, ed. E. B. Cowell, 7 vols, Cambridge, 1895–1913.

³ Berlin, 1910; Editio minor, Cambridge, Mass., 1915 (Harvard, Oriental Series, XIV).

⁴ J. Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra, Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung*, Berlin, 1914, cc, v–x, vide c. IV for a résumé.

⁵ *Panchatantra. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen*, Leipzig, 1859.

but of literature in general. In recent years Dr Hertel has published a critical edition of a late recension (A.D. 1199) made by a Jain monk.¹

From an early text of the *Panchatantra* a translation into Pahlavi, the literary dialect of Persia, was made by one Burzoe, physician to King Khosru (Chosroès) Nushirvan, A.D. 531-579. His defective knowledge of Sanscrit and of Indian religion, laws, and customs led him, in spite of the assistance of an Indian pundit, into various mistranslations and other mistakes,² but it must not be forgotten that it is to his cleverness and enterprise—for the Indian texts were far from easy of access—that we owe the extraordinary diffusion and vogue of these tales among readers, high and low, of all nations.

Like the original Sanscrit work this Pahlavi version no longer exists, but it is represented by two translations, one Syriac and the other Arabic. The Syriac version, which was discovered in 1870, is the older of the two, being made about A.D. 570 by one Bud, who was entrusted with the oversight of the Christians in India and Persia.³ Though here and there it interpolates biblical reminiscences, it is regarded as on the whole the more faithful of the two. But the Arabic version concerns us much more nearly, for while the Syriac has no progeny, the Arabic has numerous descendants, through which the *Fables* have penetrated into all quarters of the globe.

It was made about A.D. 750 by Ibn-al-Muqaffa, a native of the province of Persia, who, though brought up in the Zoroastrian religion, made as a young man profession of Islam.⁴ He had much literary ability and was a master of both Pahlavi and Arabic. It was therefore natural that at a time when Persian influence was on the increase among the Arabs he should translate a Persian work into Arabic. His version, which is said to be 'a model of elegant style',⁵ was entitled *Kalilah and Dimnah*, the names of two jackals who play a leading part in the first chapter of the *Panchatantra* (*The Ox and the Lion*), but who appear in that chapter only.⁶ It is therefore probable that in the Sanscrit text used by the Pahlavi translator this title was transferred from the first chapter to the whole

¹ *The Panchatantra*, with a preface in English, by C. R. Lanman, Cambridge, Mass., 1908 (Harvard Oriental Series, xi). His text is based mainly on five MSS. after the collation of some ninety. There is an E.T. by Arthur W. Ryder, University of Chicago, 1925.

² See Hertel, *op. cit.*, i, 59.

³ *Kalila und Dimna. Syrisch und Deutsch*, von Friedrich Schulthess, 2 vols., Berlin, 1911. There is an earlier translation by Bickell, published at Leipzig in 1876 with an introduction by Benfey.

⁴ He was cruelly put to death by order of Mansûr, the founder of Baghdad and perhaps the greatest of the Abbasid Caliphs (752-75).

⁵ R. A. Nicholson, *A literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge, 1930, p. 346.

⁶ In Sanscrit Karāṭaka and Damanaka, in Pahlavi Kalilak and Damnak, in Syriac Kalilag and Damnag.

work. The Arabic version was edited in 1816 by the great Oriental scholar Silvestre de Sacy. His edition was based upon several manuscripts, but without a critical examination of them, and the manuscript upon which he chiefly relied was an inferior one.¹ Nearly a century later (1905) the Jesuit Father, L. Cheikho, published at Beyrut an edition with a proper critical apparatus, which is based on the oldest Arabic text, that which agrees most closely with the Syriac version.

The immediate descendants of the Arabic version (omitting a Hebrew one of the thirteenth century, which is of little value, and a Latin poetical imitation of the same century entitled *Alter Aesopus*) are five in number—Syriac, Spanish, Greek, Hebrew, and Persian. The Syriac version, of the tenth or eleventh century, was edited by William Wright, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, one of the great Orientalists of the last generation,² and translated by his pupil, Ion Keith Falconer.³ The Syrian translator was clearly a Christian priest, as is seen by the large number of Scriptural quotations and allusions. Moreover, when a story is about immoral conduct, he introduces words of condemnation.⁴ Thus in the story of *The Merchant's Wife and the Painter*, we read that 'her inward form was hideous', and that her lover was 'an enemy of his creator', and finally that he 'turned back from his evil way'. Keith Falconer further points out that the translator did not always understand the text; his knowledge of natural history was also limited.⁵

The old Spanish and the Hebrew versions are of very much the same date and were evidently, as Derenbourg first pointed out, made from the same text. The Hebrew version was made by an Italian Jew called Rabbi Joel in the first half of the thirteenth century. It now only exists in a single much mutilated manuscript, from which the first six chapters, with the exception of the last two stories, are missing.⁶ But between 1263 and 1279 one John of Capua, a converted Jew, who practised as a physician at the Papal court, made a translation of it from a completed text. He was a faithful, not to say a slavish translator; his Latinity was poor and his Hebrew scholarship moderate. But his work became

¹ It was translated into English by Silvestre de Sacy's pupil the Rev. Wyndham Knatchbull (Oxford, 1819), and into German by Ph. Wolff, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1837, 1839.

² Oxford, 1884 The edition reproduces a unique MS. of Trinity College, Dublin, full of errors and in places very difficult to decipher.

³ In the days of the high bicycle he was the champion bicyclist of England. In 1886 he was appointed Lord Almoner's Reader of Arabic at Cambridge, but died at Aden in the following year. His book is entitled *Kalilah and Dumnah or The Fables of Bidpai* (Cambridge, 1885). The introduction of 85 pages is still of great value and has been of great assistance to me.

⁴ Pp. lvi-lx.

⁵ P. lx.

⁶ Edited with a French translation by J. Derenbourg, *Deux versions hébraïques du livre de Kalilah et Dumnah*, in the *Bibl. des hautes études*, fasc. 49, 1881.

popular. It was printed four times in the fifteenth century under the title of *Directorium humane vite, alias parabile antiquorum sapientium*—the title given to it by its first editor¹—and found many translators—German,² Spanish and Italian at first-hand and Danish, Dutch, English and Italian again at second-hand. Of these, I need only mention Doni's *Filosofia morale* (Venice, 1552) and its translation by Sir Thomas North, the well-known translator of Plutarch. But it is a long way from the *Tantrākhyāyika* to North, and the latter only reproduces about fifteen stories of the Sanscrit text.

The old Spanish version was made by command of Alfonso the Wise, when he was Infante, and probably in 1251.³ Though, as I have said, it follows the same text as the Hebrew, 'it is a far truer representative', says Keith Falconer, 'of the Arabic'.⁴ It often preserves the Arabic names both of persons and animals.⁵

The only two versions from the Arabic that are connected by direct descent with La Fontaine are the Greek and the Persian. The Greek was made by a physician named Simeon Seth—by order, it is said, of Alexius I (1081–1118), the founder of the Comnenian dynasty—who substituted for the title *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* the fantastic one of *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης*. A text of this translation having come into the hands of the learned Jesuit, Pierre Poussines (1609–86), he appended a Latin version of it to his edition of Pachymeres' Life of Michael Palaeologus, calling it *Specimen Sapientiae Indorum veterum*.⁶ Thirty years later a German scholar, S. G. Starcke, edited the Greek text, and thinking the Latin translation of Père Poussines too free—which, as a matter of fact, it is—made a new one.⁷ Unfortunately the Hamburg text which he used is very incomplete and faulty. Accordingly, an Italian scholar, Vittorio Prentoni, set to work to prepare a critical edition. It appeared in 1809⁸

¹ c. 1480 fo. a⁶–m⁶ n¹⁰, with woodcuts (there is a copy in the Library of Trin. Coll., Cambridge), Strasburg, 1486 (*Bib. Nat.*), two editions without place or date (*Bib. Nat.*). It has been edited by Derenbourg with excellent notes (*Bibl. des hautes études*, fasc. 72, 1887–9).

² *Das Buch der Byspel der Alten Wysen*, without place or date [c. 1480]; *Buch der Weisheit der Alten Weisen*, Ulm, 1483 (twice); *Buch der Weisheit der Alten Weisen*, 1484; 1485 (B.M.). There are many sixteenth-century editions and it has been edited in modern times by W. L. Holland, Stuttgart, 1860 (*Bibl. des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, No. LVII).

³ *Kalala wa-Dimna*, ed. J. A. Bolufer, Madrid, 1915, ed. A. G. Solalina in *Bibliotheca Calleia*, Madrid, 1917. There is also an edition by Allen (Macon, 1906) which I have not seen.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. lxxx–lxxxi.

⁵ See for the earlier history of the *Kalilah and Dimnah* and especially for the Hebrew and Spanish versions, Gaston Paris, *Raïmond de Beziens, Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxiii (1906), 191–253. In the same volume is a notice by Paul Meyer of this great scholar, who died in 1903.

⁶ Rome, 1666, pp. 545–620.

⁷ *Specimen Sapientiae Indorum veterum... Græce*, *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης*, ed. S. G. Starcke, Berlin, 1697.

⁸ *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης*, Florence, 1889.

and includes a recension of four typical manuscripts, the best being a Vatican one which came from the Laurentian library (Vat. 704).

The oldest extant Persian version of the Arabic *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* was composed about A.D. 1120 by one Naṣrullah, and on this was based the well-known *Anwār-i-Suḥailī* (*Lights of Canopus*) by Ḥusain Waʿiz.¹ Its date is between 1470 and 1505. The reason for making it, says the author, was that the obscure and hyperbolical language of Naṣrullah's version had caused it to be almost neglected. To the English reader, however, as he reads it in Wollaston's translation, the language of Ḥusain Waʿiz seems as far as possible removed from simplicity. Here is an example from the first story, the well-known one of *The Two Pigeons*:

Two pigeons lived together in one nest and were confidants in the same abode. No dust of rivals settled on their minds, nor were their hearts vexed with the adversities of the world. Content with grain and water like dervishes, secluded, they intrusted themselves to the road of confidence in God.

But he is often much more flowing than this, so that it is no wonder that Noldeke says that Ḥusain is 'far more bombastic' than Naṣrullah. His version contains a large number of stories² which are not in the *Tantrākhyāyika*. Some come from other recensions of the *Panchatantra*, but the provenance of others is unknown. A long and stilted preface is followed by a new introduction, which relates the remote origin of the book, including the story of King Devaśarman and his pundit Vidyāpati (Bidpai). This is not found in any Sanscrit text and is probably an invention either of the Court pundit who helped Burzoe with his Pahlavi version or of the Arabic translator. In its older form it appears in the Arabic version edited by Sacy,³ but not in any of those made from it, except presumably that of Naṣrullah. Nor does it appear in the old Syriac version.⁴

In spite of its bombastic style Ḥusain's book had an enormous success, which is attested by numerous manuscripts and editions and by translations into some twenty European and Asiatic languages. The only one, however, that concerns us is the French one, which, stripped of the Persian bombast, appeared in 1644 under the title of *Livre des lumières ou la conduite des Roys composé par le sage Pilpay, Indren; traduit en français par David Sahid d'Ispahan, ville capitale de Perse*.⁵ The introduction was

¹ Translated by E. B. Eastwick (Hertford, 1854) and A. N. Wollaston (London, 1877, 1894). For Ḥusain Waʿiz and his translation see E. G. Browne, *A literary History of Persia*, II (1906), 350-3.

² There are over a hundred. See Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège, 1897, II, 113-29. The whole volume deals with the *Kalīlah and Dimnah* literature.

³ See Knatchbull's translation, pp. 1-32.

⁴ There is a convenient comparative table of all the contents of the different versions in Hertel's *Pañcatantra*, pp. 418-25.

⁵ Paris, Siméon Piget, 1644.

written by Gilbert Gaulmin who is believed by Sacy to have also had a hand in the translation. He was a man of great learning, and knew many languages, particularly Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. He died in 1665. A new edition of the *Livre des Lumières* was published in 1698, four years after La Fontaine's death, with the title of *Les Fables de Pilpay philosophe indien; ou La conduite des rois*.¹ It is 'very defective', as Chauvin says, and its only interest is that it adopts for the first time in the long history of these fables the title of *Les Fables de Pilpay*.²

Le Livre des Lumières was La Fontaine's source for the great majority of his fables of Indian origin. But as it reproduces only the first four chapters of the *Anwār-i-Suhailī*,³ we must look elsewhere for the source of those which are not included in these chapters, namely, *Les deux Perroquets*, *le Roi et son fils* (x, xii), *La Lionne et l'Ourse* (x, xiii), *Le Marchand*, *le Gentilhomme*, *le Pâtre, et le fils de Roi* (x, xv), and *Le Chat et le Rat* (viii, xxii). It was pointed out by Loiseleur-Deslongchamps in his *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes*⁴ that this second source was Père Poussines' *Specimen Sapientiae Indorum veterum*, and that La Fontaine probably had it brought to his notice by his friend Pierre-Daniel Huet, the Bishop of Avranches, who in his *Lettre sur l'origine des romans* mentions Simeon Seth's Greek version of the *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* and Poussines' translation.⁵ It has also been pointed out that another friend of La Fontaine' who might have given him information about Oriental literature was the distinguished traveller, François Bernier, who published in 1670-1 two volumes on the Mogul Empire. He was a well-known figure in Parisian society and frequented the *salon* of Mme de la Sablière, in whose house La Fontaine lived from 1672.⁶

¹ There was another edition of this year with the subtitle of *La conduite des grands et des petits*.

² *Le Livre des Lumières* was translated into English by Joseph Harris for the Duke of Gloucester, the son of Queen Anne (1689-1700), *The instructive and entertaining Fables of Pilpay an Ancient Indian Philosopher made English and addressed to His Highness the Duke of Gloucester*, 12^{mo}, 1699 (Chauvin, following Lowndes, gives the wrong date of 1679), 1743, 1747 (corrected, improved and enlarged), 1754, 1775, 1789, remodelled by J. Mitford, Weybridge, 1810, Whittingham, 1818 (reproduced in the Chandos Classics), 1852 (with numerous illustrations by T. D. Scott).

³ These four chapters correspond to chapters v-viii of the Arabic version of which v, vii and viii represent three *tantras* or series of the *Tantrākhyāyika*. Thus *The Lion and the Ox* (Arabic v) = *The Loss of Friends* (*Tantra* i), *The Ring-dove* (Arabic vii) = *The Winning of Friends* (*Tantra* ii), *The Ravens and the Owls* (Arabic viii) = *Tantra* iii, which has the same title, while *Dimnah's Trial* (Arabic vi) has no corresponding chapter in the *Tantrākhyāyika* or any Sanscrit text. It is regarded as an interpolation for moral purposes of the Arabic translator. *Le Livre des Lumières* and its English translation have five chapters, the first chapter consisting of Husain Wa'iz's introduction with five fables taken by him from some unknown sources, and the other four corresponding to his chapters i-iv.

⁴ Paris, 1838, p. 66.

⁵ Printed at the head of Mme de la Fayette's *Zayde*, 1670.

⁶ Michaut, *op. cit.*, ii, 134 ff.; R. Bray, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

A comparison of La Fontaine with Père Poussines puts the matter beyond a doubt. For instance, in *Les deux Perroquets* Simeon Seth is the only writer who says that the bird was a parrot,¹ and in *La Lionne et l'Ourse* he is the only one who calls the second animal a she-bear.² But there is much more than this. In *Les deux Perroquets* Seth alone says that the reason for the young prince killing the young parrot was that the latter had hurt his pet sparrow. Nearly all the other versions give different reasons, but not one of them says anything about a sparrow. A less obvious resemblance is the familiar tone which the she-bear adopts towards the lioness, 'Ma commère, un mot sans plus', which may possibly have been suggested by Père Poussines' remark, that the two were friends. On the other hand, there is nothing in *Le Marchand, le Gentil-homme, le Pâtre, et le fils de Roi* (x, xv) which definitely points to the Jesuit father as the source. The fable is clearly of Indian origin, but Dr Hertel's pronouncement that the four friends who are reduced to begging (*au sort de Bélisaire*) stand for the four castes, can hardly be sustained.³ The nobleman is not a Brahman, nor does the herdsman appear to be a Śūdra. Besides, would members of the higher caste be travelling with one of the lowest caste? The earliest version that has come down to us is the Arabic.⁴ It gives us a story which is fuller and more interesting than the one told by La Fontaine, who does not carry us beyond the first adventure, that of the herdsman, which is the least interesting of the four.

Je conclus de cette aventure,
Qu'il ne faut pas tant d'art pour conserver les jours;
Grâce aux dons de la nature,
La main est le plus sûr et le plus prompt secours.

But the original moral is different. It is that work, beauty, intelligence, and birth, all have their proper function in this world, and that by the help of providence all may lead to success.

La Lionne et l'Ourse, one of the shortest fables, also ends half-way through the story, for in the original the lioness repents of her sins and becomes a vegetarian—an ending which La Fontaine naturally omits as having no interest for his readers.

¹ Nearly all the versions designate the bird by a personal name, without saying what sort of bird it is. In the later Syriac and the Spanish it is 'a bird that could talk'. Seth's 'parrot' is of course an inference from its remarkable loquacity.

² In the Arabic the second animal is a jackal; in John of Capua a fox. The Spanish translation has *anzabar*, which is more or less the Arabic word.

³ Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, pp. 371–85; *Pâtre* corresponds to *Agricola* in Père Poussines. Professor Rapson suggested that the King's son and the Nobleman's son are Kshatriyas (the second caste) and the other two Vaiṣyas (the third caste).

⁴ There is a somewhat similar story in other texts of the *Panchatantra*, but the differences are strongly marked (Benfey, *op. cit.*, I, 603).

The fourth fable that he owes to the *Specimen Sapientiæ*, namely, *Le Chat et le Rat* (VIII, xxii), opens in his best vein. In five lines he puts the whole situation before us:

Quatre animaux divers, le Chat grippe-fromage,
Triste-oiseau le Hibou, Ronge-maille le Rat,
Dame Belette au long corsage,¹
Toutes gens d'esprit scélérat
Hantoient le tronc pourry d'un pin vieux et sauvage.

But the owl and the weasel keep in the background, and only the cat and the rat have speaking parts. In the Arabic version and those which follow it, there is a long and prosy argument between the hypocritical cat, who 'like any devout cat says his prayers every morning', and the rat who keeps at a safe distance and firmly declines an alliance with one who by nature is his mortal enemy. La Fontaine skilfully condenses this into ten lines, but he cannot make an interesting story. The real merit of the fable lies in his superb handling of the metre. He portrays the cat, and another Tartuffe, more vigorously in *Le Chat, la Belette et le petit Lapin* (VII, xvi), which is one of his great artistic triumphs.

What a delightful picture of Jean Lapin who, having paid his court to Aurora *parmi le thym et la rosée* and having *brouté, trotté, fait tous ses tours*, returns to find his paternal home occupied by Dame Weasel with her pointed nose in possession.

O là ! Madame la Belette
Que l'on déloge sans trompette.

Later comes the inimitable description of Raminagrobis, to whom the dispute is referred for arbitration:

C'estoit un chat vivant comme un dévot ermite,
Un Chat faisant la chattemite
Un saint homme de chat, bien fourré, gros et gras.

La Fontaine is of course thinking here of Grippeminaud the 'archiduc des chats fourrés' of Rabelais's Fifth Book, for towards the end of the fable he calls the cat by this name. All the versions from the *Tantrā-khyāyika* downwards represent the cat as praying fervently, and in *Le Livre des Lumières*² he wears a furred gown. In his choice of animals for the cat's victims La Fontaine has abandoned his source. In all the versions till we come to *Lights of Canopus* one of the victims is a hare. But

¹ In the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* or *Ocean of the Streams of Story* (a collection of stories in 18 books and 124 chapters from various Sanscrit sources translated by C. H. Tawney, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1884, I, 296 ff.) an ichneumon takes the place of the weasel.

² In the Sanscrit texts he is represented as praying with his face to the sun—a form of penance.

Wollaston gives 'quail', and *Le Livre des Lumières* 'bird'. The other victim in the *Tantrākhyāyika* is a bird named *Kapiñjala* which is usually rendered 'partridge', but which Dr Hertel translates by *Haselkuhn* (*Bonasa sylvestris*), a bird not found in India.¹ Benfey thinks that 'partridge' was in the original Arabic text,² and both the *Anwār-i-Suhailī* and *Le Livre des Lumières* have 'partridge'. But Knatchbull has 'nightingale', Keith Falconer 'sparrow', and John of Capua 'bird'. The Greek version has 'squirrel', and the Spanish *jneta* or genet.

La Fontaine was not a Gilbert White, but he was a sympathetic observer of animal life, and he no doubt felt that a partridge, or indeed any bird, was out of place here. He therefore substituted for the two birds of *Le Livre des Lumières* two animals with whose habits he was well acquainted—'Dame Belette au long corsage', 'au corps long et fluet', and a little rabbit whose gambols in the heather and thyme of the hill-side he must often have watched:

Des Lapins, qui sur la Bruyère
L'œil éveillé, l'oreille sur le guet,
S'égayoient, et de thum parfumoient leur banquet.³

The differences in the names of the animals are not surprising when one considers through how many languages the fables passed, how some of the translators were imperfectly acquainted with the language from which they were translating, and how probably none of them had more than the average man's knowledge of natural history. Thus it happened that when a translator was faced with the name of an animal unknown to him and perhaps unknown in his country, he either substituted for it the name of some animal familiar to him, or as the Spanish translator from the Arabic sometimes does, wrote it down as he found it, or, as the Hebrew translator followed by the faithful John of Capua did, put down simply 'a bird', or 'an animal' or 'a fish' as the case might be.

One of the best examples of how the names of the animals became changed during the migration of the fables from one country to another is *The Camel, the Lion, the Panther, the Crow, and the Jackal*, as it is entitled in the *Tantrākhyāyika*. Though it is not one of La Fontaine's sources, it bears a close analogy, so far as the moral goes, with his *Les Animaux malades de la peste* (VII, i), which inaugurates his second collection and which many regard as his masterpiece. In this fable, for which his source was Haudent's *Apologues* (Rouen, 1547) and Guesoult's *Emblèmes*

¹ So Schulthess in his translation of the old Syriac version.

² Benfey, *op. cit.*, pp. 350 ff. Cp. *Kaithā Sarit Sāgara*, pp. 67 f.

³ *Discours à Monsieur le Duc de la Rochefoucault* (x, xiv).

(Lyons, 1550), the part of the camel is played by the ass, but whereas the ass is an honest simpleton, the camel is a hypocrite who pays the penalty of his hypocrisy. In the *Tantrākhyāyika* the fable begins as follows:

In a wooded district there lived a lion, who had three flesh-eaters as followers, a panther, a crow and a jackal. One day, as they were hunting in the forest, they beheld a camel, which had strayed from a caravan. Whereupon the lion, seeing an animal of a comic and unfamiliar shape, said: 'Ask him who he is.'

Note that the lion and his followers are represented as never having seen a camel, but that the writer knows of their use for caravans. This is regarded by Dr Hertel as lending support to his view that the work was written in Kashmir, where the camel, he says, was unknown, but which borders on lands where it was used for transport.¹ The panther or leopard (*Felis pardus*), for which the Sanscrit word is *dvīpin* (with islands on its skin), is generally distributed throughout India, but as it is bolder and more active than a lion, the part that is assigned to it in this fable, that of scouting for the lion and being largely dependent on it for food, is inappropriate.² It seems probable that some smaller feline 'with islands on its skin' is meant. The Syriac and Arabic versions have 'jackal', which they probably found in the Pahlavi version. All the other non-Indian versions of the fable have 'wolf'. The crow may be either the jungle-crow (*Corvus macrorhynchus*) or the house-crow (*Corvus splendens*), both of which are common all over India, the former being rather the larger of the two. They closely resemble one another in habits and habitat.³

The third of the lion's followers is in the Sanscrit text and all the Oriental versions a jackal, and in the Spanish version Arabic *abrure*, which represents the Arabic *ibn āwā*. Seth, the Greek translator, has *θώς*, a word which occurs twice in the *Iliad* and is generally translated by 'jackal'. But Aristotle's description of its changing its coat in winter clearly points to a lynx.⁴ John of Capua gives the Latin form, *thos*, which is described by Pliny in terms borrowed from Aristotle.⁵ The substitution of a lynx for a jackal is interesting, because *lobos cervaes* or lynxes, is the name given by the Spanish translator to the two jackals, Karataka and Damanaka, who have been transformed into the Arabic Kalilah and

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

² The latest expert opinion seems to be that 'leopard' and 'panther' are different names for varieties of the same species and that the larger and smaller leopard of India are also mere varieties. See W. T. Blanford, *The Fauna of British India Mammals*, pp. 67-71.

³ The variation between 'crow' and 'raven' in the translations has no significance. 'Crow' in English, 'Krahe' in German, and 'cuervo' in Spanish are all used in common speech for crow, raven or rook, and 'crow' is used by ornithologists for the whole family of *Corvidae*.

⁴ *H.A.* ix, 44.

⁵ *N.H.* viii, 34, 52.

Dimnah.¹ For these John of Capua, no doubt following the Hebrew version, which, as we have it, here shows a gap, has *duo animalia*, and it is not till we come to *Le Livre des Lumières* that foxes are substituted for jackals. But, as we have seen, in the fable that we have just been considering, and in another entitled *The Lion and the Religious Jackal*, John of Capua has 'fox'. But long before his time, from Æsop onwards, the fox had taken the place of the jackal in European fabular literature as the type of malicious cunning.² The well-known fable of *The Fox and the Crow* represents *The Jackal and the Crow* of the *Jātaka* (No. 294).³

Another animal which is never found in Western fables is the ichneumon or mongoose (*Herpestes mungo*)⁴. It is the original hero, so to speak, of one of the most widely-spread fables, which in the *Tantrākhyāyika*⁵ tells how a Brahman left a mongoose to watch over his infant son, and how the mongoose saved the child's life by killing a cobra, and how with its nose and paws all covered with blood it came to greet its master on his return, and how the Brahman seeing the blood rashly thought that the mongoose had eaten his son, and killed it with his stick, and how, finding the child peacefully sleeping, he flung himself on the earth and cried, 'What a reckless deed I have done!' The story is told with admirable spirit and brevity. This is the description of the cobra's death:

At the sight of the cobra (a great hooded snake) his eyes grew red with anger, his lips, teeth, and paws twitched, and like lightning he sprang forward, hurled himself upon the cobra and tore it to pieces.

One is of course reminded of the historical encounter between Rikkitikki and Nag, especially of Mr Rudyard Kipling's remark that 'when a mongoose's eyes grow red, he is angry'.⁶

In nearly all the translations into other languages, including the Arabic, the mongoose becomes a weasel, an animal which was supposed in ancient times to be a killer of snakes. In the Spanish and Hebrew versions, which, as we have seen, follow a common Arabic text, the

¹ The Spanish lynx (*Felis pardina*) is peculiar to the Peninsula (see A. Chapman and W. J. Buck, *Wild Spain*, 1893, p. 446, and for excellent illustrations, pp. 107, 355 and 436). The northern form (*Felis lynx*) is found in the Upper Indus family, north of the Himalayas (see *The Fauna of British India. Mammals*).

² *The Fox and the Crow* appears in *The Jātaka* (No. 294) as *The Jackal and the Crow*.

³ The Hebrew *shū'al* is always translated in the A. V. by *fox*; in Judges xv. 4, Neh. iv. 3, Ps. lxxiii. 10 and Lam. v. 18 *jackal* is given as an alternative in the marginal notes, but not in Cant. ii. 15 and Ezek. ni. 4.

⁴ The Egyptian species (*Herpestes ichneumon*) is a common domestic pet.

⁵ It is here called *The father of Somaśarman*. It is the first story of the Fifth Book, entitled *Rash Actions*.

⁶ *Tantrākhyāyika*, ed. Hertel, II, 150. For a comparison with other versions of the fable see Benfey, *op. cit.*, I, 482-3. Everyone knows the Welsh version of Prince Llewelyn and his dog Gelert.

mongoose becomes a dog, perhaps from the idea of its typical fidelity.¹ But Gaston Paris ingeniously suggests that this text was an illustrated one, and that the Hebrew translator mistook a picture of a weasel for that of a dog.²

Another fable in which the mongoose figures is that of *The Heron and the Mongoose*. In this the mongoose, after killing a snake which preyed upon the heron's young, eats the heron itself and all its companions. This fable is wanting in the Arabic and later Syriac versions, and in the old Syriac the mongoose becomes a weasel and in the Spanish a dormouse—a dormouse which kills a snake and eats fish and herons.³ In *The Fables of Pilpay*, following *Le Livre des Lumières*, a frog is substituted for the heron, and a 'very large' cray-fish for the weasel.⁴

The heron, of which several species are common in India, also figures in *The Heron and the Crayfish*⁵ a somewhat similar fable, from which La Fontaine derived his *Les Poissons et le Cormoran* (x, iii). The versions all agree in calling the bird a heron, except the Greek, which has 'sivan',⁶ and John of Capua, who, puzzled again by the Hebrew word, has *avis quaedam*. Benfey gives *Kranich*, in his translation of the *Panchatantra*,⁷ and Professor Rapson told me that 'crane' is the usual English rendering of the Sanscrit *baka*.⁸ But 'crane' is a fairly common provincial term for a heron, and it is clear that the story demands a heron and not a crane, which seldom eats fish. A cormorant, which is a voracious fish-eater, is not quite so inappropriate, but it is a diver, and not a wader like the bird in the fable, and the European species frequents estuaries and rocky sea-coasts, not 'pools' or 'fishponds' or 'reservoirs'. Though occasionally found inland, it is essentially a sea-bird and therefore not likely to meet with a cray-fish, which, like the heron, inhabits rivers. Not that this slip in natural history, whether inadvertent or not, matters in the least. It is more important to note that whereas, in the story of all La Fontaine's predecessors, the heron is strangled by the cray-fish as the penalty for its treachery, his cormorant, after gobbling up the fish, escapes scot-free. And he adds a pessimistic, not to say cynical, moral:

¹ Wollaston has 'weasel' and Pliny (*N.H.* 29, 4, 60) says of one species that it *Serpentes persequitur*. Du Bartas is no doubt following Pliny when he writes:

Tu sais que la Belette ait un secret pouvoir

De meurtrir le Serpent si dangereux à voir. *La Semaine*, vi.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

³ *Tantrākhyāyika*, p. 53; *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, II, 41.

⁴ For another ichneumon, see above, p. 31.

⁵ *Tantrākhyāyika*, I, 22. See Benfey, *op. cit.*, I, 174 ff.

⁶ So Knatchbull.

⁷ Benfey, *op. cit.*, II, 58.

⁸ The story is given in *Buddhist Birth Stories*, No. 38, where Rhys Davids translates *baka* by 'crane'.

Qu'importe qui vous mange? homme ou loup; toute panse
 Me paroist une à cet égard;
 Un jour plus tost, un jour plus tard,
 Ce n'est pas grande différence.

It is far from my intention to notice all the fables that La Fontaine took from *Le Livre des Lumières*. A few are not among his best work, while *L'Ours et l'Amateur des Jardins* (VIII, x) and *Le Faucon et le Chapon* (VIII, XXI), though they are both excellent, for the purpose of comparison with other literatures have no special interest. On the other hand, *La Tortue et les deux Canards* (x, III) is not only admirably told but it is interesting both for comparison with other versions and as an example of La Fontaine's treatment of his material. All the previous versions of this widely-spread fable agree in representing the two geese (or ducks) as living in friendship with the tortoise in the same pond. La Fontaine does not actually mention the friendship, but the word *commère* seems to imply it, and I think Taine is wrong in laying stress on the words *marché fait* as implying that the agreement was a purely business proposition and that the ducks were transport-agents.¹ After all, what was the tortoise going to pay for his transport? Where La Fontaine shows his originality and his free treatment of his source is in the remarks of the lookers-on and the rash utterance of the tortoise. 'What is this sort of thing as big as a waggon-wheel that is being carried through the air?' 'I am a tortoise. These folk are light-minded babblers.' This is the version of the *Tantrā-khyāyika*. In the old Syriac and Arabic versions the tortoise expresses a wish that their eyes may be plucked out. In *Le Livre des Lumières* this becomes 'May the envious lose their eyes, if they cannot look at me!'. But La Fontaine, with his usual love of bringing out character in his animals, represents the tortoise as a *tête légère*—a quality that one would not naturally associate with a tortoise—and in keeping with this makes her say:

'Miracle, crioit-on, venez voir dans les nues
 Passer la reine des Tortues.'
 'La Reine. Vraiment ouy. Je la suis en effet;
 Ne vous en moquez point.'

In the *Jātaka*, it may be noted, the fable is told to cure a king of talkativeness.²

This fable is often regarded as an Oriental counterpart of the Æsopic

¹ *La Fontaine et ses fables*, p. 145.

² II, No. 215. See also *Buddhist Birth Stories* (Trubner's Oriental Series), pp. viii-x. The word *hamsa*, says the translator (p. 294), means a wild duck, but in another story he renders it by goose, to which it etymologically corresponds (cp. *anser*, *Gans*). Nearly all the versions which derive from the *Panchatantra* have 'ducks'; John of Capua has 'birds'. But Professor Rapson told me that *hamsa* is a beautiful white migratory bird which makes its annual journey from the plains to the Himalayas and that it is often translated 'flamingo'.

The Eagle and the Tortoise, but the two are essentially different. The humour that lurks in all the versions of our fable from the *Tantrākhyāyika* to La Fontaine is wholly lacking in the dull little apologue as told by 'Æsop' or Babrius, or Avianus, or Abstemius. While the geese are friends and act as friends, the eagle is a complete stranger and, to say the least, an unfriendly one. But for the character of the tortoise La Fontaine, I think, owes something to the Æsopic fable, more particularly to its version by Abstemius, to whom he owes a good many fables including some of his very best.¹ While in all the versions that go back to the Sanscrit original the tortoise's motive for its adventure is the fear of his pond drying up, in Abstemius it is discontent with his lot and an ambitious longing to behold vast expanses. So La Fontaine represents him as one 'qui lasse de son trou', 'qui voulut voir le pays', and as rightly punished for

Imprudence, babil... et vaine curiosité.

From the point of view of the migration of fables one of the most famous is *La Laitière et le Pot au lait* (vii, x), for it is the subject of a celebrated essay by Max Muller.² It is a fascinating story, which I need not repeat here, how the Brahman with his jar of barley-meal³ was transformed into Pierrette with her pitcher of milk. But the whole story of the transformation is not known to us. For La Fontaine did not take his fable from *Le Livre des Lumières*: but from the *Nouvelles récréations et joyeux devis* (nouv. xii) of Bonaventure Des Periers, whose source we cannot trace further back than the *Dialogus creaturarum optime moralitatus* of the thirteenth century.⁴

The charm which La Fontaine imparts to his story is carried into his moral. He does not preach against castles in Spain and day-dreams; he sympathizes with them instead, and points out that they are common to all men.

Picrochole, Pyrrhus, la Laitière, enfin tous,
Autant les sages que les fous.

He himself, he confesses, indulges in them when he is alone.

¹ For instance *Le Coche et la Mouche* (vii, ix), *La Mort et le Mourant* (viii, 1), *Les Obsèques de la Lionne* (viii, xiv), *Le Loup et les Bergers* (x, v), *Le Vieillard et les trois jeunes Hommes* (xi, viii). Laurentius Abstemius, whose real name was Bevilacqua, was born at Macerata. He was librarian to the Duke of Urbino. His Fables were printed at Venice in 1495 (100) and 1499 (200) and at Paris in 1529, 1535, and 1545.

² *Chips from a German Workshop*, 4 vols., 1875, iv, 145 ff. The essay appeared originally in *The Contemporary Review* for July 1870.

³ *Tantrākhyāyika*, p. 148. It forms part of the same story as *The Brahman and the Ichneumon* (see above, p. 31).

⁴ Attributed to Nicholas of Pergamo: first printed, 1480. An English translation was published by John Rastell, c. 1517, and reprinted in 1816. The story is told in the *Conde Lucanor* of Don Juan Manuel (fourteenth century) chap. xxviii, and Rabelais refers to 'la farce du pot au lait, duquel un courdouannier se faisoit riche par reverie; puis le pot cassé, n'eut de quoi disner' (*Garg.* chap. xxxiii).

This and the moral to *L'Asne et le Chien* (VIII, xvii), each of fourteen lines, are the two longest. The shortest is the excellent advice, *Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera* (VI, xviii). The tendency in the second collection of fables is for the moral to become longer, and this is in accord with the greater gravity of the fables themselves. 'I have thought it advisable,' says La Fontaine in his preface, 'to give these a rather different air and treatment to the first fables, partly on account of the difference in the subjects, and partly in order to introduce more variety into my work.' And later he makes the acknowledgement to Pilpay to which I have already referred. 'It is certain,' says M. Bray, 'that in the greater number of the fables of Oriental origin the tone is more serious, graver, better sustained.'¹ This is on the whole true. The proportion of graver fables is, I believe, greater among the Oriental ones than among the Æsopic ones. But some of the gravest are to be found in the latter category—*La Mort et le Bûcheron* (I, xvi), with its wonderful summing up—'les soldats, les impôts, le créancier et la corvée'—of the evils from which the peasantry suffered in the age of Louis XIV, *La Mort et le Mourant* (VIII, i), *Le Paysan du Danube* (XI, vii), and *Le Vieillard et les trois jeunes Hommes* (XI, viii). On the other hand, two of the most serious, both noble masterpieces, *L'Homme et la Couleuvre* (X, i) and *Le Berger et le Roi* (X, ix), are of Indian origin. M. Bray rightly calls special attention to these, and also to *Le Songe d'un Habitant de Mogol* (XI, iv), taken from the Persian poet Sadi, which is remarkable not for the story itself, but for the beautiful and touching lines, in which the poet, with reminiscences of the *Georgics*, expresses his longing for solitude and the country—'loin du monde et du bruit', 'loin des Cours et des Villes'.²

Neither *L'Homme et la Couleuvre* nor *Le Berger et le Roi* have been traced further back than the *Anwâr-i-Suhailî*. The first is a good instance of how greatly, as a rule, La Fontaine improves on his source. Here, leaving out as unnecessary to the story the fox, who persuades the adder to crawl back into the bag, he makes the cow and the ox and the tree express themselves in much more picturesque and forcible language than they do in *Le Livre des Lumières*. *Le Berger et le Roi* is an example of his deviation from his source, when it pleases him. Except that he turns the hermit into a shepherd, he follows it up to the point where the hermit's friend warns him of the dangers of the Court. He even includes the parenthetical apologue of the blind man and the snake. But whereas in the Indian story the hermit remains at the Court and, having unlawfully

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

² See Taine, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-72 for a detailed comparison of La Fontaine with Pilpay.

condemned a man to death is himself put to death by the king's order, La Fontaine's shepherd voluntarily goes back to his former life. The smock-frock, the scrip, and the crook, which he had carefully treasured up, evoke his memory of his former happy condition:

Doux trésors, se dit-il, chers gages qui jamais
N'attirastes sur vous l'envie et le mensonge,
Je vous reprends; sortons de ces riches Palais,
Comme on sortiroit d'un songe.

The whole passage is one of the most beautiful that La Fontaine ever wrote, and the last line is marvellous.

La Fontaine had not a higher opinion of human nature than his great contemporaries. In *L'Homme et la Couleuvre* he says:

A ces mots, l'animal pervers
(C'est le serpent que je veux dire,
Et non l'homme; on pourroit aisément s'y tromper).

But he could see good in the world as well as evil, and the best thing that he saw was friendship. The three fables that he especially devotes to its praise are all well known and are among the most beautiful examples of his exquisite art. They are *Les deux Amis* (VIII, xi), *Les deux Pigeons* (IX, ii), and *Le Corbeau, la Gazelle, la Tortue et le Rat* (XII, xv). The two former have not been traced back further than *Lights of Canopus*. In both La Fontaine follows *Le Livre des Lumières* fairly closely. The first is told with simple brevity, and with a characteristic touch of pleasantry the scene is laid in South Africa:

Deux vrais amis vivoient au Monomatapa:
L'un ne possédoit rien qui n'appartînt à l'autre:
Les amis de ce pais-là
Valent bien, dit-on, ceux du nostre.

The epilogue by way of moral (*Amans, heureux amans*) is worthy of the story. 'Everybody', says Chamfort, 'knows it by heart', and it reminds Regnier of the great essay which Montaigne dedicated to the memory of his friend, La Boétie.¹

The two Pigeons is the first story that is told in the introduction which Husain Wa'iz prefixed to *Lights of Canopus* and consequently the first in *Le Livre des Lumières*. La Fontaine, so far as the action is concerned, keeps to his source while shortening it, but for the argument between the two friends as to the advantages of travelling he substitutes a single moving appeal by the one who stays at home.² In *Lights of Canopus* the latter is a female, while the traveller is a male. But in *Le Livre des Lumières*³ and

¹ *Essais*, I, xxvii.

² We are reminded of the beautiful opening of the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* between Valentine and Proteus.

³ In the English *Fables of Pilpay* they are described as 'two pigeons, a male and a female, which had been hatched from the same brood of eggs'. This, I believe, is what usually happens with pigeons.

La Fontaine both are males—friends, not lovers. In the narrative of the traveller's adventures he makes one curious little alteration. Instead of a countryman guarding a recently sown field

Un fripon d'enfant (cet âge est sans pitié).

half kills the poor pigeon with a stone. The change is characteristic, for La Fontaine disliked children.

But the fable on friendship which is most useful for my purpose of comparing La Fontaine with Bidpai is *Le Corbeau, la Gazelle, la Tortue et le Rat* (xii, xv). It may be traced back to the Second *Tantra* or Series of the *Tantrākhyāyika* which is there entitled *The Winning of Friends*,¹ but in some of the versions, *The Ringdove*, and in *Lights of Canopus*, *The Crow, the Mouse, the Pigeon, the Tortoise, and the Deer*. The story, the scene of which is laid in the Deccan, opens with the crow, who witnesses the capture of a king of the doves in a fowler's net. The dove having been set free by his friend the mouse, disappears from the story. Then the crow is anxious for the mouse's friendship, but he only obtains it after a long argument. They are joined by a tortoise, an old friend of the crow's, and then by a gazelle. The four live together in love and harmony, and at this point La Fontaine takes up the fable:

La Gazelle, le Rat, le Corbeau, la Tortue
Vivoient ensemble unis: douce société.

'I find the society rather a strange one', says Chamfort. But La Fontaine has taken his animals just as he found them, and except that the² raven is substituted for the crow and the rat for the mouse,³ they are the same as in the *Tantrākhyāyika*. The animals, strange though their society may seem, were doubtless carefully chosen to show the effect of friendship on persons of utterly different habits, even on natural enemies. The gazelle is the swiftest of animals, the tortoise is the slowest; the tortoise—for it is a fresh-water tortoise—has his home in the water, the gazelle in the wood, the rat has his hole at the foot of the tree, the crow—the only bird among the friends, and the natural enemy of the rat—perches on its branches.

The only one of the four that seems to have given trouble to the translators is the gazelle. In the *Panchatantra* the word is *mṛiga*, which, I am told, means any animal that is hunted, but which is usually rendered 'deer' by Sanscrit scholars. Rhys Davids, however, in his translation of

¹ *Tantrākhyāyika*, II, 59 ff.

² The fable from the arrival of the gazelle is given by Regnier in an appendix (La Fontaine, *Œuvres*, III, 401-4).

³ Sanscrit and Hebrew have only one word for rat and mouse.

some of the *Jātakas* in the *Buddhist Birth Stories* sometimes has antelope¹, which is practically equivalent to gazelle. The two Syriac versions, the Arabic, the Greek,² and the Persian all have gazelle. But the Hebrew followed by John of Capua has stag,³ and the old Spanish version *dama*, which is 'fallow-deer'. The roe-deer is not found in India, but the beautiful spotted deer (*Cervus axis*), which is very similar to the fallow-deer, is common there. The two commonest species of gazelle or antelope in India are the chipāra (*Gazella bennetti*) and the black buck (*Antelope cervicapra*).⁴ In one of the *Jātakas* there is a curious variation; the mouse is absent, and a woodpecker takes the place of the crow. The result is that the tortoise gnaws the net to release the antelope, and the antelope gnaws it to release the tortoise, the two animals being equally unfitted for the job.⁵

To return to La Fontaine, the story is told by him with even more than his usual charm and skill, and Faguet's remark that 'he narrates by his rhythm' is as true for this fable as it is for *Le Lièvre et la Tortue* (vi, x). The graphic touch of the limping gazelle ('contrefait la boiteuse') is borrowed from his source, which in turn gets it from *Lights of Canopus*. In the original Sanscrit version the gazelle pretends to be dead, and in the old Syriac and Arabic versions to be wounded.

All the three fables on friendship end with an epilogue. It is not a formal moral, but a personal comment which in two of them becomes a personal confession. I have already called attention to the epilogue of *Les deux Amis* and its exquisite description of a true friend. That to *Les deux Pigeons* is a true lyric and might have been printed by itself as a complete poem. But curiously—for the pigeons are friends and not lovers—La Fontaine begins with 'Amans, heureux amans', and goes on to recall his own first love, followed by the 'tant d'objets si doux et si charmants', which had since occupied his restless heart, and he ends with the pathetic touch:

Ne sentirai-je plus de charme qui m'arrête?
Ai-je passé le temps d'aimer.

The whole of the third fable on friendship, on the other hand, is devoted to this theme. It is preceded by a long and charming dedication to

¹ See Nos. 12, 14, 16, 21.

² The word in the Greek version is *δορκάς* (bright-eyed). Cp. Acts ix. 36 'Tabitha (Aramaic) which by interpretation is called Dorcas', and in the margin of the R.V. 'That is, Gazelle'.

³ The Hebrew word is *ç'bî* which in 1 Kings iv. 23 and in several passages of Deuteronomy is rendered in the A.V. by 'roe-buck', and in the R.V. by 'gazelle'. In the Song of Songs, chap. ii, and in Isa. i. 14 the R.V. has 'gazelle' in the margin.

⁴ *The Fauna of British India. Mammals*, pp. 521–6; Douglas Hamilton, *Sport in Southern India*, 1892, pp. 1 and 2.

⁵ *The Jātaka*, II, 206.

Mme de la Sablière, whose permanent lodger he became in 1673 and who looked after him with the tenderest solicitude. As a husband and father, he was sadly deficient, but he was a staunch and delightful friend. He was a friend, as well as a grateful client, to M. Fouquet, and regardless of consequences expressed his warm sympathy with him in prose and verse. But his greatest friend was François de Maucroix, Canon of Reims, a poet and prose-writer, who shared to the full his love of the country and a contemplative life. Friends of his later life were M. and Mme Hervart, who, on Mme de la Sablière's death in 1693, gave him a new home. 'Venez chez moi', said Hervart, meeting him in the street just after her death. 'J'y allois', replied La Fontaine. The story is a perfect illustration of *Les deux Amis*. La Fontaine, therefore, was well qualified to award the prize for friendship to the one of the four friends in the fable who had most deserved it. Which should it be? The rat who had gnawed both net and bag, the gazelle who had drawn off the fowler by pretending to be lame, the raven who had flown to look for the gazelle, or the wise tortoise, who had suggested it?

A qui donner le prix? Au cœur, si l'on m'en croit.

As La Fontaine says in the first line of *L'Asne et le Chien* (VIII, xvii):

Il se faut s'entr'ayder, c'est la loy de Nature,

a line which might well be inscribed in letters of gold over the entrance to the Assembly Hall of the palace of the League of Nations.

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VROUWEN SCHOUWEN

MEDIAEVAL literature has some remarkable cases of love at no sight at all. But even savages are agreed that love enters through the eyes as a rule. This commonplace was duly received into the code of Andreas the Chaplain: 'Amor est passio quaedam innata procedens ex visione et immoderata cogitatione formae alterius sexus' (Trojel, p. 3). The devoted chaplain took it for granted that his friend William was familiar with the normal occasions when conversation with a lady was possible and after a few brief definitions proceeds to unfold how such occasions might be turned to account. It would be no court which did not establish conventional times and places for conversation between the sexes. English gentlemen of the Restoration reserved their most potent curses for something they called Love, but at fashionable hours were to be seen making their way to the Ring, to St James' or superciliously to the Exchange, and if the ladies were there to charm, the beaux were assuredly there to ogle. In a less sophisticated manner German knights courted Frou Minne herself before persons were thought of, despite their frequent maledictions of her name. Andreas' omission to say where and when they went to court her is made good by passages in Middle High German literature containing some such phrase as *vrouwen schouwen* or *sehen*, 'to note the ladies'. In general it can have been no lewd or prying custom which gained the mark of acceptance in language. At least the mediaeval knight was not indulging any forbidden or one-sided predilection in going to take note of the ladies. It will be seen that the latter were no less prepared to sustain critical approbation than the dazzlers of St James'. Given greater prominence in M.H.G. than in mediaeval French by a convenient rime, *vrouwen schouwen* was nevertheless an accepted phrase expressing an institution of an undoubted reciprocal nature.

The qualification must be made that the reciprocity held between the sexes as a whole. The word *huote* and all the invective heaped on the restricted freedom of gentlewomen which it implied, remind us that husbands, brothers, fathers and uncles did not habitually associate the feelings they may have entertained towards the women-folk of other families, with those awakened in other men by their own. The logical connexion between *huote* and *vrouwen schouwen* is shown by the

phrase *schouwen, sehen lán*. Galagandreiz says to his three guests in *Lanzelet*.

795 Swem ir die ere geruochoet lan,
der sol an mine hant gan:
ich wil nuch lazen schouwen
min tohter und ir vrouwen.

In his first *buechlin* to his lady Ulrich von Liechtenstein envies his mis-
sive's opportunities at court (line 11 of 1st *buechlin*):

wol dinen spehenden ougen,
der heimlich und der tougen
die man dich lat ze hove sehen
und kanstu vrowen rehte spehen,
so ist si, der ich dich han gesant,
der immer dienen muoz min hant.

The *buechlin* is a substitute for Ulrich himself until such time as the lady's guardians accord him the privilege of seeing her, or she flout convention to that end, and accordingly takes over his role as a critic of beauty. Guardians were very mean in the exercise of their privilege and apt to provoke a poet's wrath. Ever in the vanguard of those who clamoured for fair play, whether from the lady or her guardians, Heinrich von Morungen likens his lady to the sun and her close keeping to a gloomy cloud offending his eye. He continues:

MF 136, 37 Swer der frouwen huetet, dem kund ich den ban:
wan durch schouwen so geschuof si got dem man,
daz si were ein spiegel, al der werlde ein wunne gar.
waz sol golt begraben, des nieman wirt gewar?

Heinrich was not a friend of the family either, and his indignation at his lack of privilege has caused him to make an inadvertent concession in the word *wan* which was not likely to be overlooked.

The wandering damsel whose distress is so dire as to override all etiquette, the amorous fay at the source or in the castle, were more exotic in their behaviour by far than in any strangeness of dress or supernatural affinity, which will explain something of their excessive attraction for knights—and shy poets. The lonely damsel was a pleasant myth. Having introduced such a one a M.H.G. author will sometimes find it necessary to offer an explanation. So Ulrich von Zatzikoven:

Lanzelet 2322 eines tages siu uf ir pfert saz,
daz nieman mere mit ir reit
wan der ritter gemeit,
des si ungern ane rite.
hie vor was ein ellich site,
daz ez deme manne niht was leit,
swa ein vrowe hin reit,
selb ander oder aleine.
nu pfiget es wibe enkeine:
si lant ez durch der manne zorn.

Wirnt gives another explanation which at first sight seems to have nothing to do with Ulrich's:

Wigalois 2356 eine juncfrouwen al eine
 sahen si vur sich riten.
 bi den selben ziten
 was daz gewonlich,
 si waere arm ode rich,
 daz si wol mohte durch ir muot
 riten swar si duhte guot,
 unbesprochen und ane leit.
 daz was do gewonheit,
 swa man deheine riten sach,
 daz ir nieman ensprach.
 nu ist diu werlt valschaft
 und ist ane meisterschaft
 beidiu lut unde lant.

But Ulrich and Wirnt refer to the same thing from their different points of view, to the clandestine warfare between gallants and guardians which might blaze up into family feuds no doubt as in Boccaccio,¹ or find apt expression in a poet's open declaration: 'swer der frouwen huetet, dem künd ich den ban.'

When did the ladies emerge from their retirement for the unprivileged to see? They were to be seen at church, a locality well known to the beaux of a later age,² at tournaments, at and on the way to court festivities. Even Kriemhild, who as a royal maiden had not been glimpsed by Siegfried once within a year, made a notorious appearance at church after her marriage, and it was at church that Ulrich von Liechtenstein disgracefully abused his role as Lady Venus to bestow on several charming women the kiss of peace (e.g. *Frauendienst*, str. 538-9). The appearance of ladies at tournaments and festivities needs no documentation—the peculiar quality of tournaments and mediaeval court functions lay in their not being Spartan activities. The new mode of escorting ladies in cavalcade is made much of by M.H.G. writers. The arrangement of one knight to each lady is so clear that the only remaining subject of interest is their conversation. Eilhart says:

Tristan 6437 die erstin zwei retin da
 und ein ander zwei dar na
 also verre, daz ir wort
 niht me wordin da gehort:
 sie sprachin swaz sie woldin.

¹ Cf. Andreas Capellanus: Nam exinde unus ab altero divertitur amicus, et inimicitiae inter homines capitales insurgunt, nec non et homicidia malave multa sequuntur. Trojel (1892), p. 316.

² 'I pull out my snuff-box, turn myself round, bow to the bishop, or the dean, if he be the commanding-officer; single out a beauty, rivet both my eyes to hers, set my nose a-bleeding by the strength of imagination, and show the whole church my concern, by my endeavouring to hide it; after the sermon, the whole town gives me to her for a lover, and by persuading the lady that I am a-dying for her, the tables are turned, and she in good earnest falls in love with me' (*The Beaux Stratagem*, II, II).

Ulrich von Zatzikoven is equally non-committal:

Lanzelet 8989 dazs alden tac samen riten
mit zuhten und mit solhen siten,
der guote lute sich niht schament.

Wirnt varies the custom out of the respect for *huote* which has already been remarked on:

Wigalors 8872 mit schimpfe und mit lachen
die riter kurzten in die vart.
ir zwein ein vrouwe bevolhen wart
der si mit vlize pflegen.
sine dorfte niht betragen
der schimpflichen maere.

Wolfram gave currency to the idea of *wariu minne* which Wirnt adopts, but this does not embolden him to interfere with the only possible arrangement which could satisfy Gawan, one and one as in the first two examples, nor does he demand of the average the high tone he reserves for his chosen couple:

Parzival 669, 19 daz waren kranke sinne
op sie sprachen niht von minne.

It need not be feared that this pleasant custom was another myth like that of the wandering damsel in which we must fain believe from sheer repetition. If this were so there would be no point in Ulrich von Liechtenstein's account of his third meeting with his lady. On the day before this they had met by arrangement in cavalcade, and he had not been able to utter a word for very shyness. Overnight he had plucked up courage, and on the way to the next resting place he seized his opportunity to ask for permission to serve, in a speech that is like nothing so much as a scattered bundle of conventional phrases which would have made a lyric if they had been tied up neatly. Exasperated by his insistence, the lady says:

Frauendienst 153, 3 'lat mir iwer runen sin:
ir wizet wol, man huetet mîn'....
Die guote sa hîn umbe sach,
zuo emem ritter si do sprach:
'ir sult zuo mir ouch riten her.
sol bi mir niemen riten mer
niwan ein riter, daz ist niht guot.'

Here was an opportunity for Ulrich to show his powers of concealment:

155, 1 ich sprach: 'si hat iu reht geset:
ez ist zewar ein unhübscheit.'

Since conversation in Wolfram's vein has proved irksome, the lady adopts an arrangement more like Wirnt's.

Without broaching the question of the exact nature of *huote*, it can

be seen how easy it was for a phrase like *vrouwen schouwen* to gain currency. The appearance of gentlewomen in public was an event awaited with considerable interest. Their movements were more restricted than is commonly supposed, those of Andalusian ladies somewhat less so. But interesting as it would be to adduce common motives in the poetry of the two cultures—here particularly the vituperation of guardians, watchers and spying sycophants¹—all that can be undertaken now is to refer to the part which ‘noting the ladies’ may play among other legitimate diversions at a mediaeval German court.

At Mark’s court, in *Tristan*, in a lush meadow painted with flowers there was other, richer pasture for the eye:

614 man sach da swaz man wolte sehen:
dise fuoren sehen frouwen,
jene ander tanzen schouwen;
dise sahen buhurdieren,
jene ander justieren.

In *Willehalm* the usage is an alternative to after-supper chat. Princes and other king’s men had foregathered at the court:

208, 24 unz si den abent hin vertriben:
etsliche waren durch schouwen
dar komen vur die vrouwen,
etsliche ouch sus durch maere.

Whenever a select company of princes and their peers wished to enliven the march, in *Wigalois*, by the sight of lovely women they went up to Queen Larie’s compartment which was carried on an elephant’s back in the manner of the great Khan’s:

10594 da vunden si der saelden schin
und schoener kurzewile vil
von zabel und von seitspil
und suezzer ougen weide.

How closely *vrouwen schouwen* and other court accomplishments were linked is shown by the ivory carvings of court scenes in the Stricker’s *Daniel*:

626 ez enwart nie werk so spaech
von vogelen und von tieren;
striten und turnieren,
tanzen und schouwen,
hoveschen zuo den frouwen.

But the most important fact which emerges here is the absolute use of *schouwen*. There is no more certain indication of a technical term, and therefore of a settled custom, than the ellipsis of a stereotyped object².

¹ See L. Ecker, *Arabischer, provenzalischer und deutscher Minnesang. Eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, 1934.

² Cf. *verliesen* for *sinen dienst verliesen*, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* xxxiii (1938), pp. 416ff.

This inelegant abbreviation, together with the term *höveschen*, is used by a man of another class, as if his detachment from the amusements of the court were bought at the cost of his sensibility.¹

Did these extracts leave any doubt as to the reality of the institution of *vrouwen schouwen*, Ulrich von Liechtenstein would remove them once again. His cousin has engaged to deliver his first message to his lady, and the one distraction which seemed at all tolerable to him is conveyed by the following:

Frauendienst 69, 3 funf wochen reit ich vrouwen sehen.

Again, when awaiting the famous operation to his lip:

88, 9 do reit ich aber frowen sehen.

On analysis the frequent beauty competitions of romance prove to be competitions of manly prowess. But so to analyse them is to ignore their rich symbolic content. Beauty and courage were aspects of the same thing, of high birth. Beauty also engendered high courage in him who beheld it. But the most remarkable thing about the beauty competition militant, this synthesis of the outstanding qualities of the male and female, is that it mirrors the social attitudes of a very competitive age. People not only knew, but expressed more openly than we do, who was the best man present at any gathering. If there was any doubt the issue was likely to be brought to a head in no less childish terms than in Restoration England: 'I am a better man than you, sir', with its childish consequences. The attitude to birth held good for the qualities of beauty and prowess. Every sporting or serious military occasion had a decided tendency to become a competition.² And the fact that many phrases containing the word *pris*, such as *den pris nemen*, *behalten*, *jehen*, *bekennen* are applied indiscriminately to the hero of a tournament or the fairest of a bevy of ladies, makes it highly probable that when the ladies appeared their charms were the subject of more open and thorough-going discussion than would be considered tolerable to-day. In the following quotation from the *Crane* of Berthold von Holle there is even question of pointing, much as one would expect from contemporary standards of etiquette:

2262 an minnlichcher schouwe
 ein ritter ind ein vrouwe
 sat ummer bi ein ander dar
 ind manich juncvrowe clar.

¹ *höveschen* is avoided by court authors, except for that carefree tyro, Ulrich von Zatzikoven. Cf. Rosenhagen's note in his edition of *Daniel*.

² Even when life depended on self-restraint, as when the Count of Artois usurped the functions of the Templars before Mansourah. *Joinville*, II, xlv.

do men se alle priste
 ind uf de schonsten wiste
 de dar juncvrouwen wern genant,
 do dete men ir den pris bekant
 der vromeden ind der cleinen
 ind der minnichlichen reinen
 Achuten, als ich hore sagen:
 den pris se beide mosen tragen.

Berthold's exclusion of the married ladies from this public appraisal would seem to be inspired by a somewhat fastidious caution. A quotation from *Wigalois* combines a phrase with *pris* and an expression meaning 'to know a fine woman when you see one':

8118 minnu ougen kunden rehte spehen,
 so si dir prises jahren.

kunde rehte spehen has a variant:

Parzival 630, 6 swer rehte kunde schouwen,
 von Logroys diu herzogin
 truoc vor uz den besten schin.

The phrase *vrouwen schouwen*, absolute *schouwen*, now clearly receives a further critical connotation from the use of *schouwen* in the last passage.

The ladies did not disapprove of this quizzing, but returned the compliment by appearing in their best array. Display was more openly, perhaps even more keenly appreciated then than now. Its detailed description was not felt to infringe the canons of narration. M.H.G. descriptions have much of the sense of hierarchy which enlivens the social columns of our newspapers on the morrow of a court ceremony or royal race meeting, but none of their professional sense of individuality. The heroine's dress, and perhaps the dress of a close friend whose affairs belong to a secondary plot, may be described individually, but those of the others will be dealt with in the mass. Indeed when hero and heroine take part in that most desirable of all mediaeval ceremonies, the marriage coronation, the occasion is conceived as between two corps de ballet, male and female, each represented and led by a principal dancer. *Wigalois* has not yet reached this consummation, but his first reception at Larie's court will illustrate the hierarchical pyramid of display and appreciation, with the qualification that the knight's supporters are reserved for a future occasion—he collects some of them on the way. On *Wigalois*' presentation religious Wirnt exclaims: 'owi, herre got, waz er da schoener vrouwen vant!' (4101f.), and enlarges on the rich and varied dresses the fifty maidens had donned 'iegeliche nach ir ahte' (4105). He then passes over thirty of them as inferior in birth, demeanour, beauty and riches to the other twenty.

4119 do begunder umbe schouwen
 und nam ir aller rehte war.

Wigalois judged they were 'ze lobe' and 'ze wunsche wol gestalt', but of course Larie had received God's special attention in her making and outshone them all. The beauty competition has been carefully seeded in the interest of romantic theory.

Meleranz is entertaining King Arthur with the resources of his newly won kingdom:

12144 '...welt ir schouwen
den wunsch von schoenen frouwen,
die muget ir uf der burge sehen.'
Artus sprach 'daz sol geschehen'.

They go to the palace and find many fair ladies 'die man gern moht schouwen' and two queens

12158 die heten sich vil herliche
gen der ritter kunft bereit
und heten sich in ir kleit
gekleidet wunnecliche.

But the most touching episode of woman's legitimate pride in her appearance, where the description comes nearest to the realistic novel of a later age both in style and conception, is found in Wolfram's *Willehalm*. Gyburc and her maidens have defended the walls of Orange with a handful of retainers against a host of assailants. When her husband and his new followers at last relieve the castle, she finds that she and her ladies are quite unpresentable. She urges them to remove the signs of past toil from their persons and present grief from their faces:

248, 9 vil schiere daz geschehen was,
daz die vrouwen und der palas
wunneclich waren an ze sehen.
man muoste den vrouwen allen jehen,
daz si truogen guot gewant.

The men come in,

ir aller kleider waren guot,
die ze sehene heten muot
die kunegin, des wirtes wip.

They found her as well dressed as Secundille arrayed in the gifts of Feirefiz.

si truoc geschickede und gelaz,
ich waene, des iemen kunde baz
erdenken ane die gotes kunst.
si bejagete et al der herzen gunst,
der libes ougen an si sach.
ir gurtel man hoher koste jach,
edel steine druf verwieret,
daz er noch beidiu zieret
ir huffel und ir siten.
zetlichen ziten
des mantels si ein teil uf swanc:
swes ouge denne drunder dranc,
der sach den blic von pardis.

It was not only the knighthood who were expectant of finding paradise in what their eyes could show them. Certain mystics valued their eyesight as highly as Wolfram, and were encouraged to say so by the tale of joys in the Revelation of St John, a book which only lived down the stigma of sensuality attaching to it when the really athletic Old School of mystics was no more. In an effeminate age the author of *Die Warnung* tries to seduce his noble audience to the good life with a list of the courtly entertainments available in heaven in a strangely spiritualized form. The gambler is told that he will be given riches without pawn, a curious failure to understand the gambler's passion, since no other arrangements for his distraction are mentioned. However, the promised riches are great, but not infinite, and so there was no cause for him to abandon all hope at the portal. Social aspirants are promised golden crowns, but their clothes are of mere silk and satin. The musical will hear stringed instruments and wondrous song. The ready *naveté* of the next promise suggests that there was something mystical in the *schouwen* of the knights and something quizzical in devout contemplation:

1439 so sehet ir unser frouwen,
die muget ir gerne schouwen.¹

The author of *Die Warnung* passes on to Christ, Whose beauty he describes at length. But the Rhenish Franconian *Marienhimmelfahrt*, the peroration of which is conceived in the same spirit of stealing the Devil's thunder as *Die Warnung*, will supply a gloss on *gerne*.

1703 wiltu an minnen han gewin,
so kere allen dinen sin
an hohe werde minne
und minne ein kuneginne
die ouch diner minnen gert
und die dich minnens wider wert. . . .

Having praised the Holy Virgin's blessed qualities in terms which become superlatives when applied to her, though ordinarily used to flatter earthly ladies in Minnesang, he continues:

1717 und ob si danne id schone si?
ja quemes du ir also nahe bi
daz dinen ougen worde irkant
ir minestir finger von ir hant,
der durch luhtige clare schin
dede dir daz herze din

¹ This is a stock phrase from court romance, see above, p 45, *Meleranz* 12156. It is at least as old as *Alexander*:

3631 ahzig tusint in einer scaren
sendih dir gegen frowen,
di mahtu gerne scowen

gahes von ein ander gan . . .
 nu sich dan obe die frouwe
 zu schouwen id were wunnenech.¹

The ladies must perforce give way to Our Lady beyond compare, but *schouwen* remains.

* * * * *

Vrouwen schouwen, taking note of the ladies, their persons and their array, might thus be allowed within the domestic circle as a privilege to friends or honoured guests, or constitute one among other legitimate diversions at and on the way to a festal gathering. The claim sometimes made that a lover has served his lady since childhood does not seem to be so extravagant, since *vrouwen schouwen* implies that the most intimate contacts with unrelated women in a man's life must go back to the time when he served as a page. The occasions in later life when he moved among larger assemblies on a freer footing have a decidedly festive tone about them, hence the recurrence of a riming couplet with *vrouwen* and *schouwen*, like the lists of musical instruments, to evoke an atmosphere congenial to the hero and heroine in the great moments of their lives. Here was fine opportunity, not for ogling, but for trials of *spilnde ougen*; not for losing one's fancy, but for deciding whether a lady was *guot* in the peculiar sense of the phrase 'si dunket mich guot'²; not for winning a mistress, but for being accepted into the service of a lady; not of risking a reputation, but of compromising *êre*; not only of gambling with life, but of endangering one's future life as well, should one be overtaken by death in mortal sin. Comparison of the naïve beginnings and the sophisticated decline of an international tradition reveals much similarity in difference, and whets one's appreciation of the quality of either. But the main purpose here was to sketch in something more of the living reality without which the literature of Minnesang will never be savoured to the full. Words, and we have no more than words, do not yield up their meanings until their referents are known. These are part and parcel of life and by hook or by crook this life must gradually be rediscovered.

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LONDON.

¹ *Zeitschrift für d. Altertum*, v, pp. 560-1. Cf. F. Norman, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* xxiii (1928), pp. 453 ff.

² Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.* xxxiii (1938), p. 267.

DUKE HEINRICH JULIUS OF BRUNSWICK'S COMEDY OF VINCENTIUS LADISLAUS

IT is generally agreed that of Heinrich Julius's four comedies¹ *Vincentius Ladislaus* is the most remarkable both for historical interest and for literary merit. Only Bruggemann,² of the comparatively large number of critics who have appraised it, rates it low in the canon of the Duke's works; and it is difficult to concur with his judgement. The play differs in scope and style from any of the dramatist's other efforts, and there is good reason (though no certainty) for supposing it to be his last.³

Vincentius Ladislaus differs from the other works especially in this: that it is a comedy ridiculing eccentricity and false pretensions. Herein, as in other respects, it appears to have affected the development of German comedy for about a hundred years, as is shown by works such as *Horribilicribrifax*, *Vom verfolgten Lateiner*, and *Frau Schlampampe*. It is in fact the first Baroque comedy, just as the Duke's play *Von einem Vngerathenen Sohn* may be called the first Baroque tragedy. Of Heinrich Julius's other three comedies two (*Von einem Weibe* and *Von einem Wirthe*) are concerned with very ordinary persons and situations, while the third, *Von einem Edelman*, is not so much a comedy as a succession of moralizings or sermons.

A second difference from Heinrich Julius's other plays is this: that the comedy appears to be founded on actual experience and on a real person. Literary predecessors and connexions it certainly has, and I shall discuss them later; but it seems to me probable that, as various critics have suggested, Heinrich Julius had also actually met a braggart eccentric soldier-turned-fencing-master such as Vincentius Ladislaus is.⁴ This odd type was probably not uncommon about 1594, and its emergence may have been connected with the rise of Spanish and other foreign, extravagant customs. Such a person may even have turned up at Wolfenbüttel at the Duke's own second wedding festivities in 1590, though this is purely conjectural. However, there are, in my opinion, individual touches about Vincentius Ladislaus which seem to be absent from Gryphius's *Horri-*

¹ The Duke's eleven plays were published in 1593 and 1594.

² *Versuch einer Zeitfolge der Dramen des Herzogs Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig* (Aachen, 1926).

³ Bruggemann, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁴ As Flemming points out (in his introduction to the reprint of *Vincentius Ladislaus* in the volume *Deutsche Barockkomödie* of *Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen*) the long and pompous self-description, on Vincentius's visiting card and elsewhere, as 'Kaempfer zu Ross und Fues', etc., amounts simply to this, that he is a travelling fencing master.

bilicribifax and Daradirndatumtarides, and suggest that *Vincentius*, though partly modelled upon various literary forerunners, is also partly studied from life. To prove this contention is impossible, but several points tending to support it may be found in the course of the action. Such a point is the extraordinary 'Zettel', which *Vincentius Ladislaus* makes his servant affix to the door of the inn where he is staying. This, I think, cannot be the Duke's own invention, at any rate, if it is, it reveals him as possessing a mind quite different from that which we infer from his other plays, in which fantastic and bombastic elements of this kind never occur. Another such point is *Vincentius's* habit of going up and down, as it were immersed in deep thought, of which an example is afforded by the stage direction at the end of Act II, scene 1, the first scene in which the hero actually appears. His habit of pretending not to hear when addressed for the first time¹ also seems based on direct experience, and so too does the scene² where he is discovered praying. In the same scene we note his remarkable attempt to address the priest in Latin. The Latin is in fact more or less correct save for the trifling fact that it contains no grammatical concords, but is a sort of literal uninflected translation of what *Vincentius* would have said in German. *Heinrich Julius* was a learned Latinist, but I do not believe that he could have written this out of his own head, had he not heard some actual person speaking Latin in this outrageous fashion. Again, the stage directions in v, 1, where *Vincentius* comes to court, are surely a reminiscence of the arrival of some similar fantast at *Wolfenbüttel*, to the delectation of *Heinrich Julius* himself: for surely Duke *Silvester* is a self-portrait, though rather colourless, and the Marshal, the Court, the ladies, the Duchess, the Hofnarr, and the ceremonies and customs, are simply those of his own household rather palely reproduced. Examples of this kind, which seem to show evidence of personal knowledge and direct contact, could be considerably multiplied, but it is not necessary to multiply them now.

We have thus found two important points in which *Vincentius Ladislaus* differs from anything else which the Duke had written. Another difference, almost as striking, is in the subordinate role of the Fool. The

¹ E.g., II, 2, 11. It may be argued that the indications which I have here advanced amount to very little, but are merely such slight touches as anyone could easily have invented, and so prove no derivation from a living model. As I have said above, I do not claim that they prove anything; but they must be set against the Duke's normal practice of giving his dramatic characters no personal peculiarities at all, but only describing them (in the crudest fashion as a rule) through the mouths of others, or by gross and unmistakable actions. It is only when considered in contrast to the Duke's other plays that these small points assume any significance.

² III, 4.

Fool, it is true, is still called Johan Bouset, as in nearly all the Duke's other plays. On the other hand, he is no longer a servant in the household who happens to be a fool (or a wise man, according as one looks at it). Instead he has become the Court Fool, 'des Herzogs kurtzweiliger¹ Rath', though in the list of *dramatis personae* he is as usual simply called Johan Bouset Morio. Moreover, he speaks High German, instead of a sort of Dutch, and altogether he plays a very minor part. His remarks are seldom amusing (save for the well-worn joke about the great pan to fry the great fish, which he produces rather effectively in v, 2), and he is merely used to comment, for the most part very feebly, on Vincentius's braggart tales and eccentricities. At the very end, in the mock-marriage scene, he is master of the ceremonies, and takes the lead in throwing the rotten eggs and driving the fantast away, but on the whole his intimate connexion with the action is lost. The reason for this is that this time the Duke's famous actor Sackeville did not take the role of Johan, but of Vincentius. Johan can therefore be a minor person: indeed he is not even necessary and probably has only been retained out of habit.² Vincentius, on the other hand, is always in the centre of the picture. It is clear that the only talent required of Johan is to be a fencer and springer skilful enough to make a fool of him, and therefore, in this play alone, the role would be allotted to the regular 'Springer' whom every company of English comedians had with them. Brüggemann sees in this alteration of Bouset's role a great weakness of this piece as compared with others:

Der Herzog, [he says] . . . schrieb die Rolle des Johan Bouset falsch (im Edelman). Und er schrieb sie falsch und zehnmal falscher in der Komodie *Von Vincentius Ladislaus*, denn er konnte sie nicht richtig schreiben, wenn er Sackevill nicht in dieser Rolle gesehen hatte. . . .³

And again:

Dabei ist die Art, wie Johann Bouset den Vincentius Ladislaus übertrumpft, manchmal ganz schlagfertig, zumeist aber sehr schal und geistlos, sodass man wohl sagen kann, dass er ein Hofnarr ist, der versagt. Wohl ist er auch hier ein Schalksnarr, der die Leute zum besten halt, aber er ist ein ganz anderer Narr als der Johann Bouset, den wir kennen, er ist eigentlich nur ein Narr, der Johann Bousets Namen zu Unrecht führt. Und da ist es gewiss kein Zufall, dass wir von 'Vincentius Ladislaus' ausser dem Wolfenbüttler Druck des Jahres 1594 noch einen zweiten Magdeburger Druck derselben Zeit ohne nähere Jahresangabe besitzen, in dem der Narr dieses Stückes einen anderen Namen führt. Er heisst hier nicht Johann Bouset, sondern Johann Panzer, ein Name, der auch in den Dramen von Jakob Ayrer zur Bezeichnung der komischen Figur vorkommt, die aber bei Ayrer durchaus nicht den Charakter des Johann Bouset in den Dramen des Herzogs Heinrich Julius zeigt.⁴

¹ But see p. 55 below.

² For the role of the Fool in more characteristic plays of Heinrich Julius see my paper in the *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* of March-April 1937.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 47-8.

We should next notice another point which constitutes a difference of principle between this play and all the others, except the peculiar tragedy *Von einem Vngerathenen Sohn*. I have touched upon this matter in passing, without emphasizing its importance. It concerns the milieu in which *Vincentius Ladislaus* is played. This is of course the Court (the Wolfenbüttel Court) as opposed to the middle or lower class surroundings of the typical works. The realism with which Heinrich Julius often drew those surroundings is not sacrificed, but it is stylized, and from this stylization begins an important new practice in German literature, which constitutes a characteristic and essential element in the drama of the 'Baroque' seventeenth century, an element retained by Gottsched in his reform of German tragedy. The realism is used to provide a social ideal (that of the Court) and a standard of social criticism. This 'Baroque' contrast is partly between pretensions and reality, 'Schein' and 'Sein', false culture and true. It corresponds to the deeper contrast, typical of the seventeenth century, between this unreal, transitory life and the real, everlasting life of the next world: here it probably also relates to a contrast between Heinrich Julius (Sylvester) himself and some particular upstart fantst, who provided an occasion for first drawing this particular moral.

The new importance of the courts as centres of power, wealth, prestige and culture, is one of the most striking phenomena of the late sixteenth and of all the seventeenth century, and there can be no doubt that Heinrich Julius would have confidently accepted this state of things, so that for him Court standards, in etiquette, table manners, love, modesty, and so on, would be unquestioned standards. The contrast here is thus a simple contrast between a braggart worthless adventurer, who comes lying and posturing and trying to impress, and a set of people, headed by his own simulacrum Sylvester, who belong to the Court, and are therefore sterling and civilized, who necessarily know, and do, what is right. These are so far superior to Vincentius that even their Fool can be put forward to confront him (successfully, the Duke thought, very feebly, we are bound to feel) as the representative and mouthpiece of cultured society. But it may be remarked that the dénouement of this play, like the whole very similar deception in Christian Weise's *Niederländischer Bauer*,¹ appears very differently to a more modern (and, as I should say, a more truly 'civilized') mind than the Duke's. To the Duke Vincentius Ladis-

¹ For this play see: (1) the volume *Deutsche Barockkomodie*, referred to above, (2) my article in the *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* for 1935, entitled 'Das Komische in den Lustspielen Christian Weises'. *Der Niederländische Bauer* may quite well be partly based upon *Vincentius Ladislaus*. It also closely resembles the opening scenes of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

laus has deserved the trick played upon him: he is 'merely' contemptible and ridiculous: if he is fooled, cheated and derided, he only gets his deserts: the whole episode is purely comic. But to a more modern view it appears that though Vincentius is a fool, a liar, and a braggart, he is a harmless, poor, man. This is evident from his dialogue with the innkeeper in II, 2 and 3: after conversing with the host he decides to feed on bread and water because really he cannot afford anything else: and his real object in appearing at Court is to get a paid post by impressing the Duke and his entourage. This being so, he is mercilessly fooled by people who are really in no way superior to himself, who indeed, save that they do not boast about their own virtues, because they are so certain of them, are really even more arrogant than he. Seen in this light, the comedy, though it remains laughable, satirical and clever, suddenly appears sinister. Herein it closely resembles the typical seventeenth-century play, whether comedy or tragedy; for the comedy and tragedy of that age are both cruel, although the cruelty takes various forms and is sometimes more obvious, sometimes less. It is incontestable that people in the sixteenth and seventeenth century saw as amusing things which we now see as cruel or sinister.¹ *Vincentius Ladislaus* is in my opinion an outstanding instance of this, but there are other examples in Heinrich Julius's work, such as the execution scenes in *Susanna* and probably the mad ravings of Gallichoraea in the tragedy *Ehebrecherin*, though this scene may be meant to be taken tragically, with horror and fear.

Still, sinister or not, *Vincentius Ladislaus* is on the whole good comedy, and it is so because, unlike Heinrich Julius's other plays, it revolves around the personality (not the *adventures*) of one central figure. The action is very slight, consisting simply in this: that an eccentric stranger arrives in a ducal capital, that the court hear of him, invite him to dine, marvel (and laugh in secret) at his pretensions, manners, boasting and lies: finally they make a laughing stock of him, souse him in water, and drive him away under a rain of rotten eggs, after he has delivered himself into their hands by supposing that a charming young lady-in-waiting has fallen in love with him, when in fact she is convulsed with merriment at his fantastic behaviour. As there is little plot, so there is only one character. Of the 'redende Personen', neither Duke, Duchess, Servant, Priest, Marshal, Innkeeper, Bouset nor any save Vincentius Ladislaus is more than a mere puppet. Bouset especially, as I have already suggested,

¹ In the work of Hebbel, perhaps alone in German literature, there occurs another form of the sinister or ominous, a form more characteristic of Scandinavia, in which the sinister element is dependent upon, or emerges from, scenes which at first sight appear only grotesque.

is a lamentable creature; not a Fool, but an imbecile. Even Vincentius begins better than he ends. The stories which he tells the court are too many and too similar,¹ so that they become tedious and irritating: but his first appearance in Act II, scene 1 is most impressive. I do not propose to quote, since the text is easily accessible, but only direct special attention to the passage.

Apart from its grotesquely extravagant elements in the character of Vincentius himself, the comedy contains a few specimens of what one might call wit, some of them quite creditable. Of these I refer to two. Both are stories of Vincentius which, unlike their fellows, are most effective. The first (Act V, scene 1) concerns a wartime adventure with a horse (or, more accurately, with half a horse), the second (Act V, scene 2) concerns an encounter with a fierce wolf, which was easily quelled by being turned inside out. These stories are so absurd that they become witty; a term which may also be used of one remark of Bousset, to which I have referred above. This remark is a rejoinder to one of Vincentius's tallest, silliest, and most characteristic stories, which, by way of an exception, I propose to quote:

Wir sind einmal, [says that hero] im Winter bei einem tiefen Wasser hergeritten / Und sahen / das eine Fisch Reuse unter den Eiss Schulfern herfloss / da dachten wir / Es musten ohne allen zweifel gute Fische darin sein / Namen derowegen mit unserm Knechte rath / Wie wir die Fische mit der Reusen mochten heraus bekommen / Derselbe bedachte sich nun nicht lange / Und ritte mit dem Gaul in das Wasser / in meinung / Die Reuse herausser zuholen / In dem kompt ein grosser Fisch zu seinem grossen ungluck / und verschlinget ihm sampt dem Pferde / Drey Tage aber hernach wirdt der Fisch am Lande / da er sich ins Sandt gewickelt hatte / gefunden / Da schossen wir denselben Fisch todt mit einem Pirsch Rohr / Und liessen ihn aufschneiden / Da sass unser Diener noch auff dem Pferde / wie er war hinein gesprengt / Und kam wieder heraus mit dem Pferde unversehret.

Johan Bousset. Ich wils wol gleuben /
Dann est tregt sich viel seltsames dinges zu in der Welt /
Ich habe gesehen eine Bratpfanne schmieden / die war so gros /
Das drey hundert Schmiede daran arbeiteten /
Und sassen so weit von emander /
Das Keiner des andern schlag horen kondte.

Vincentius. Was wolte man aber mit einer solchen grossen Pfannen machen?

Johan Bousset. Der Fisch / davon jhr gesagt / solte darn gekochet werden.²

Small wonder that after this retort Vincentius, for once palpably taken aback, 'schweiget ein wenig stille'.

But, I say once more, this kind of thing, whether or not it be a species of genuine wit, is not typical of the humour of the work, which is generally eccentric, extravagant, pompous, 'baroque' (though, rather curiously, never obscene). Of this characteristic humour another excellent example is afforded by Vincentius's greeting to the Duke in Act V, scene 1,

¹ Nor are they even original: see below, p. 58.

² V, 2.

together with the stage-direction which precedes it. The reader is again referred to the text.

A considerable part of this particular comic effect, which of course was widely employed by the seventeenth-century dramatists, comic and tragic, as well as by seventeenth-century non-dramatic writers, consists in the use of those 'hohe zierliche phrases loquendi' of which the priest complains in III, 4. This is something quite new in Heinrich Julius. In the other plays he is often didactic and pompous (as continually in the long version of *Susanna*, in epilogues and dying speeches, and in the 'Koler' scenes in *Von einem Edelman*), sometimes harrowing (as in *Von einem Vngerathenen Sohn*), occasionally pathetic in a rather clumsy way (as in *Buler und Bulerin*): but nowhere else do we find this startling and exuberant tendency to baroque ornamentation of language. A few examples seem desirable at this point. Here is one:¹

So wollen wir auch heute mit keiner Speise unsern Magen beschweren / Sondern wollen ein bisschen Brodt durch den Schlund des Magens verzeren / Und ein Zimmet Wasser darauff trincken / Und uns dann darauff zur Naturlichen ruhe der Glieder begeben.

Another is taken from his conversations at table with the Duke:²

Gnediger Herr / Es hat sich das schneidende Instrument / das man zu zertheilung der Speise / Damit es der Schlund des Magens desto has verdeuen kan / Pflaget zugebrauchen / Durch seine bewegung unter den Tisch verfuget / Und wir seind in wirklicher ubung / Unnd gedencke es mit zuthat Gottlicher huff wiederumb herauff zuverschrauben.

We may compare with this the phrasing of his request to the Duke for Angelica's hand:³

Vincentius. Gnediger Herr /
Wir konnen aus grosser Quael / Pein / unnd Marter / so wir in unserm
Hertzen tragen nicht unterlassen /
Derselben unser grosses anligen zuoffenbaren /
Und ist nun an deme /
Das wir aus angeborner unnd eingepflantzter grosser liebe unnd treu dermassen
unser Hertz gegen der schonen Angelica in liebe entbrent /
Das wir auch auff Erden keine andere zu unser Ehegemahel und Bettgenossen
begeren / als eben dieselbe.
Wir haben auch wol so viel aus allen jhren geberden vermerckt / das sie zu uns /
wegen unser geschicklichkeit / erfarenheit / auch schonheit ein sonderlich Hertz
gefasset / und ein Aug auff uns geworffen hat /
Dieweil dann E.F.D. hier in dieser sachen viel guts thun kondten / als wollen wir
gebeten haben / sie wollen diese Heyrat zu werck richten.
Denn solts nicht geschehen / so musten wir vor angst / schmerzten und hertenleid
sterben und vergehen.

In contrast to this sort of thing, Vincentius's final speech, when he finds how he has been cheated and mocked, is not without a certain

¹ II, 3.

² V, 2.

³ V, 5.

(perhaps unintentional) dignity. He crawls out of the bath into which he has fallen, and is extremely angry, and speaks.¹

Wie sollen wir das verstehen?
 Was meinet man wol /
 Was man an uns fur einen Man habe.
 (Schweiget ein weing.)
 Ihr möget gleichwol wissen /
 Das dieser /
 Ja eben dieser Man /
 Ein solcher Man ist /
 Der auff den Keiser nicht viel geben sol.
 Sol man einen so Furtrefflichenn
 Weitberhumbten /
 Erfahren
 Und Verständigen Man /
 Als wir sein /
 So schamphieren / und einen solchen Spott beweisen.
 Hette man uns nicht bessers /
 Als solchen Spott / beweisen wollen /
 So hette man uns wol in unser Herberg lassen mogen /
 Wir hetten noch wol so viel von unserm Vater ererbet /
 Das wir hetten vor unser Geld zehren können.
 Nun wer weis /
 Es kondte die zeit kommen /
 Das man unser von nothen haben mochte /
 So sol man auch alsdann befinden /
 Was man an uns jetzundt gethan hat.
 Dieser Man ist so from / als einer leben mag /
 (Weiset auff sich.)
 Aber wo man jhn erzurnet /
 So gleubet kein Mensch /
 Wie ubel man ihn wieder zu frieden sprechen kan /
 Nu hat man uns so hefftig / und uber die masse erzurnet /
 Weil man uns so schamphiert /
 Und einen solchen Spott beweisen hat /
 Nun wir wollens gedenccken /
 Wenn man meinet / wir habens vorlangst vergessen /
 Oder /
 Wir wollen nicht sein / der wir sein.

But naturally this only encourages his mockers: they

... pfeiffen alle hinter jhm her / Lachen jhn aus / schreyen jhn an:

Herr Kempffer zu Ross und Fues etc.

(und andern dergleichen Speywort brauchen sie mehr / und werffen jhn mit faulen Eyern vom Platz.

Er ist wol zornig / und wil wiederumb von sich schlagen und werffen / Aber viel Hunde ist der Hasen Todt / Er mus davon lauffen / Und gehen alle abe.)

There is no epilogue, such as is frequent in Heinrich Julius's works, nor is one needed.

Vincentius Ladislaus is probably the Duke's last work, as it is his most mature. We do not know why he gave up dramatic composition after writing it: but it is not difficult to suppose that he simply became tired of an occupation in which he was always a dilettante. He had many other

¹ VI, 5.

irons in the fire, and political affairs, as we know, absorbed him more and more in his later years: ultimately his chief trouble, the eternal quarrel with the town of Brunswick, took him permanently to Prague in his efforts to enforce his own alleged rights. In his abandonment of the theatre at this point there was probably much sound sense. He may have seen that with *Vincentius Ladislaus* he had reached the limits of his dramatic achievement, and may have been content to stop at the height of his success and reputation, rather than risk an almost certain decline of both.

Certain questions concerning the literary affinities of the play remain to be considered. Here it may be recalled in the first place that in the portrayal of eccentricity, and in particular of the kind of eccentricity ridiculed in this play, Heinrich Julius had several literary predecessors, though most of these were not his fellow-countrymen. Frischlin is the obvious exception to this statement, but the exception very likely ought to be extended, inasmuch as there may exist a connexion with the extensive 'Narrenliteratur' of the preceding century. The most obvious, and most influential, force affecting *Vincentius Ladislaus* appears to be Plautus, who had been one of the great discoveries of the Renaissance, and had exercised considerable fascination upon German as upon other Humanists. This does not mean that Vincentius Ladislaus is in all respects like Pyrgopolinices: the similarity is a matter of general conception rather than of minute detail. But it is important to remember that the Duke was a good classical scholar for his day, and assuredly must have known the *miles gloriosus*: Plautus was among the authors especially selected for his reading when he was a boy.¹ It is to be remembered, too, that braggartry, and especially the braggart soldier, though a much commoner theme after (and because of) *Vincentius Ladislaus*, is treated previously in several German works other than Frischlin's *Julius Redivivus*.

I am unable to make anything satisfactory out of certain suggestions put forward by Hermann Grimm.² This critic, who is followed all too uncritically and naively by Albert Cohn,³ seems to think that there is a close connexion between *Vincentius Ladislaus* and *Much Ado About Nothing*. He asserts that in each of these plays one figure shows a near affinity to a stock character of Italian comedy, the boastful 'Capitano', who was originally derived from Plautus and passed from him via Italian

¹ The somewhat similar figure of Thraso, in Terence's *Eunuchus*, may also have contributed.

² *Das Theater des Herzogs Heinrich Julius zu Wolfenbüttel* (Westermanns Monatshefte, 1857).

³ *Shakespeare in Germany* (London, 1865).

literature into that of nearly all Europe. It seems likely enough that Vincentius himself has such an affinity, but it is much less evident that he has a direct connexion with the alleged corresponding figure in *Much Ado About Nothing*. This figure is Benedick, or, rather, Benedick as Beatrice, in Act I, scene 1, wishes to depict him, not as he really is.¹

This scene Grimm and Cohn compare with the first description of Vincentius in Act I, scenes 1 and 5, especially the latter. In these the lackey tells how his master, eccentric and incomprehensible man that he is, has had an extraordinary card affixed to his door.

Ich weis nicht [he says], Was mein Juncker vor ein seltzamer Man ist. Dann damit ja jederman zum anfang hier erfahren moge / das er ein Narr sey / hat er seinen Namen auff einen Zettel schreiben lassen / Und mir befohlen / Denselben an die Thur zuschlagen. Nun bin ich sein Diener / Ich mus thun / was er mir bevehlt / Ich wils anschlagen / Was gehets mir die lenge an / Aber mit der Weise werde ich nicht alt bey jhme werden. (Der Lackey schlegt den Zettel an / darauff stehet geschrieben / wie volget · 'Vincentius Ladislaus Sacrapa von Mantua Kempffer zu Ross und Fues / weiland des Edlen / und Ehrnvesten / Auch Manhafften und Streitbaren Barbarossae Bellicos von Mantua, Rütter zu Malta, Ehelicher nachgelassener Sohn / mit seinen bey sich habenden Dienern und Pferden.')

But how, from this vague, slight casual resemblance, which might be found anywhere, can one presume to argue, as both the above-named critics do, that 'the Duke's "Comedy of Vincentius Ladislaus" leads us still more directly [than *Von einem Vngerathenen Sohn*] to Shakespeare', that it 'contains the rough prototype of Benedick', and that 'the connexion between the two pieces is very close'?² Nor indeed is even Cohn certain, on reflection, that he can maintain his theory. He goes to the extent of drawing a far-fetched comparison between the deception practised upon Vincentius Ladislaus over the lady Angelica, and the deception whereby Benedick and Beatrice each believe that the other is in love with him or her, and says that 'the gist of the intrigue in both cases is the trick played on a man possessing an exaggerated opinion of his own merits by making him believe that a girl is in love with him'. Having done this, however, he has to admit that *Vincentius Ladislaus* is several years earlier than *Much Ado About Nothing*,³ and concludes that the assumption that Shakespeare had become acquainted with Heinrich Julius's play through the Duke's actors on their return to England, and had 'metamorphosed the clumsy braggart Vincentius into the amiable Benedick... could hardly be ventured without better evidence than that

¹ It has been suggested to me (as I think, very aptly) that a far closer analogy is with the figure of Armado in *Love's Labour's Lost*: but I am not aware of any reason for imputing a connexion or influence.

² Cohn, *op. cit.*, as above.

³ *Much Ado About Nothing* was first published in 1600, and had probably been written about 1598 or 1599.

which we have adduced, and there is no other at present forthcoming'. Indeed it could not be ventured; the surprising thing is that both Grimm and Cohn would have liked to venture it. For not only is the positive content of this comparison so slight as not to be worth making, but actually there is quite good evidence of the sources, Ariosto, Bandello, *The Faerie Queene*, etc., from which Shakespeare in all probability derived his play. It also seems conclusively established that Shakespeare's play has no close affinity to Ayler's *Schoene Phaenicia* (of 1618), the existence of which Cohn also tries to prove; and this critic's final, comparatively modest conclusions that 'both authors [i.e. Shakespeare and Heinrich Julius] took their matter from an old English piece derived from an Italian source, or directly from an Italian source with which we are unacquainted . . . there must be some common origin hitherto unknown to us, whence Shakespeare, Henry Julius (*sic*), and Ayler derived their matter',—even these are the merest unsupported hypotheses, unworthy of a moment's credence as they stand. It is true that the Duke often seems to use stories from Bandello as sources, a fact which might induce one to suspect some common origin where Bandello has once been mentioned: but the particular Bandello story which, in some version or other, may underlie Shakespeare's play, has no resemblance to *Vincentius Ladislaus*, and cannot conceivably be the Duke's source, though it might perhaps have served Ayler. It appears thus that we have no right to connect *Much Ado About Nothing* with *Vincentius Ladislaus*, or to use a consideration of the one in order to draw any conclusions respecting the origin of the other.

In his otherwise admirable introduction to the volume of German baroque comedies, already cited, Professor W. Flemming suggests that the character of Vincentius Ladislaus may have been affected by a passage in the first of John Donne's *Satires*.

Im Unterschied zum Pyrgopolimces ist Vincentius kein solch aufdringlicher Schürzenjäger und vor allem ein übermodischer Zeremonienmensch. Einen solchen aber hatte gerade (1593) der junge John Donne in der ersten seiner Verssatiren keck gezeichnet; und zwar nicht, wie es sonst im 16. Jahrhundert üblich war, als Narren, sondern als 'humorist'. Darin dokumentiert sich die Einstellung einer neuen Epoche, welche einen solchen Menschen medizinisch-psychologisch fasst. Er besitzt das seelische Gleichgewicht nicht, ein einzelner Trieb herrscht in krankhafter Weise vor. Dessen Auswirken wird geschildert, nicht mehr wie früher die Existenz eines Narrentyps konstatierend beschrieben. Es wäre nun bei des Herzogs nahen Beziehungen zu England gar nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die Lektüre dieses Schriftchens die letzte Anregung gab. Auch könnte einer der englischen Schauspieler ihm das Buch in die Hand gespielt haben, etwa Sackeville, der darin eine Bombenrolle witterte.¹

This conclusion, which even at first sight looks far-fetched (for the

¹ Leipzig, 1931, p. 39.

passage in Donne has only the slightest, vaguest similarity to the Duke's play), appears wholly untenable. Donne's first Satire cannot have been written before 1593,¹ that is, the year before *Vincentius Ladislaus* was published. This would in any case make it unlikely that Heinrich Julius could have known it: but one must also realize, firstly, that nothing of Donne was published until 1611, and secondly, that this particular poem was not published until 1633, twenty years after Heinrich Julius's death.² Therewith improbability becomes impossibility.

No doubt there is also in this comedy a good deal which comes from popular literature. It is to be observed at the outset that the play certainly affected Gryphius's *Horribilicribrifax* both in the conception and the details. Probably it also influenced Raspe's *Munchhausen*,³ although this may really be another case of common sources. At any rate there seems to be no doubt that the Duke, as often, almost ransacked Kirchhof's *Wendunmuth* for Vincentius's tall stories. Kirchhof for his part got them in great measure from Bebel's *Facetiae*⁴ or, again, from Pauli's *Schimpff und Ernst*: some of them are also found in Romance sources, e.g. in Poggio, and some in Frischlin. It hardly seems necessary to enumerate the details⁵ either as they occur in Kirchhof, or in Bebel, or in the various French versions, such as 'La nouvelle fabrique des excellens traits de vérité... par Philippe d'Alcricpe, sieur de Neri en Verbos', of the sixteenth century. One of the phrases used by Vincentius appears to be derived from Murner's *Ulenspiegel*; and there is at least a possibility that something of the hero's unique mixture of braggartry and timidity may be taken from an old French play *Farce nouvelle du franc archier de Baugnolet*.

In making use of these many literary and popular sources Heinrich Julius is following his normal practice: but out of them he managed to construct something which for him was quite unusual.

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¹ To this year, as we see, Flemming assigns it.

² For all this cf. the edition of John Donne's Poems, edited with introduction and commentary by H. J. C. Grierson (2 vols., Oxford, 1912), vol. II, pp. lviff. and 100ff.

³ It seems also to have been among the models for a curious Swedish work, *Tisbe*, by Magnus Olai Asteropherus, of Arboga, written (probably) in 1609, and performed several times in various places between 1610 and 1626.

⁴ Strassburg, 1508.

⁵ They are to be found in W. L. Holland's edition of Heinrich Julius, the only complete edition (*Stuttgarter Literarischer Verein*, 1855), pp. 899 ff.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

'FLESHLY LOVE' IN CHAUCER'S 'TROILUS'

It is somewhat startling to find a moralist of the fifteenth century turning to the *Troilus* for material to illustrate an exhortation against 'fleshly love'. His treatise, called *Disce Mori*, actually contains a stanza quoted from Chaucer's poem, and, although the anonymous author speaks of the poem as 'sweet poison', he invites the interested reader to peruse it in its entirety. These and other moral reflexions he expresses in a style so controlled and flexible that he deserves a high place among the early fifteenth-century prose writers.

In discussing the first token of fleshly love, the author illustrates the conflicting passions in the breast of a worldly lover by quoting the opening stanza of the *Canticus Troili* (*Tr.* I, 400-6):

...and a noþer poete seith

If no loue is O god what fele I so
And if loue is what þinge and whiche is he
If loue be goode from whens cometh my woo
If it be wykke a wondre þenketh me
Sith euery turment and aduersite
That from it cometh may me sauoury þenke
ffor ay thrust I þe more þat I. it drynke.¹

It will be noted that he does not mention Chaucer by name: the Father of English Poetry is simply 'a noþer poete'. In much the same familiar manner Thomas Usk refers to the *Troilus* without actually naming the author. The reference thus takes us back to a day when Chaucer, like Rolle or Gower or Hoccleve, was simply a recent poet whose name had not yet become stereotyped among the worthies of English literature.

Similarly, in discussing the last token of fleshly love, this anonymous fifteenth-century writer speaks of the *Troilus* as a whole but does not name the author:

þe vijth tokene of flesshly loue is mordinate dissimulacion of vices betwix þees louers þe whiche þei fauoure and excuse þat oon þat opere obstinatly ayenst alle opere þat speke þer of or wolde amende hem so be þei considered² in ille as a þeeft to a þeeft and dronken of þis sweet poison.

¹ MS. Jesus Coll. Oxf. 39, fol. 311, MS. Laud Misc 99, fol. 252^a f. I print the text from transcripts made from these MSS by Professor Carleton Brown, who first called my attention to this quotation from the *Troilus*. The fifth and sixth lines of the verses as here quoted present an interesting variant of the accepted text:

When every torment and aduersite
That cometh of hym, may to me savoury thinke.

The reading in the *Disce Mori* differs from that in any of the MSS. of the *Troilus* recorded by Professor Root (see *Textual Tradition of the Troilus*, Publ. Chaucer Soc., pp. 49, 56, 68, and 82).

² The Laud MS. reads 'confedered', which is obviously correct. It also reads 'and excuse þat in þat opere', which seems to be inferior. The Jesus Coll. MS., being the older, is the source of quotations in the text of this article. The passage quoted above is from fol. 313.

That the author was here again referring to Chaucer's poem is shown by a footnote reference which he has appended to the phrase 'sweet poison'.¹ of which poison if ye lust more to rede seep þe storie of Troilus Cresiede & Dyomede.² This reference makes it certain that the *Troilus* was by that time fairly accessible. the poem was actually circulating among the clergy—among even those members who were not completely certain of its moral soundness.

The prose work containing these references to the *Troilus* is devoted, somewhat incongruously, to a treatise on holy dying which begins

Disce mori, &c. Unwillfully he deyeth that hath not lernyd to deye; lerne to deye so that thou shalt best can lyue.

These words are translated from Frère Lorens's *Somme des Vices et Vertus*, as are also extensive sections of this treatise (deriving not directly from the *Somme*, however, but from a later redaction known as the *Miroir du Monde*).³ The *Disce Mori* is extant in two sister-manuscripts, Jesus College Oxford 39 (containing 325 leaves) and Laud Miscellaneous 99 (containing 261 leaves). The manuscripts have been dated mid-fifteenth and late-fifteenth century respectively.⁴

The person for whom they were written is—of all people whose atten-

¹ Professor Brown has pointed out that *dulce venenum*, the Latin equivalent of this striking phrase, appears in MS Trinity Coll. Oxf. 71, fol 1^b, as a contemptuous epithet answering the question *Quid est Mulier?* (see C. Brown, 'Mulier est hominis confusio', *MLN*, xxxv, 479–82). The phrase occurs also in Bernardus Morlanensis, *De Contemptu Mundi*, printed by T. Wright in *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century*, Rolls Ser., II, 57. The English phrase occurs, moreover, in Milton's *Comus*, l. 47. Although it is there applied to liquor, Milton may well have been acquainted with the expression from its mediaeval use. Certainly, in looking for his source, one need not go so far afield as would a correspondent of the *London Times Literary Supplement* for 19 July 1934 (xxxiii, 511), who suggests that Milton in some way received the phrase from Persia. Though Milton's use of a mediaeval phrase does not surprise us, it is interesting in itself and serves to remind us of his extensive debt in other respects to mediaeval literature. Emerson quotes this passage from *Comus* in his essay *Friendship*, giving the phrase—perhaps fortuitously—a metaphorical sense very similar to the 'fleshly love' of the fifteenth-century writer.

² The Laud MS. reads 'of whiche poison more to rede Se of Troilus Cresied'.

³ The *Ayenbite of Inwyrt* (ed. Morris, E.E.T.S., O.S., xxiii, 70 ff.) and Caxton's *Royal Book*, chap. LX, have other translations of the section of the *Somme* which furnishes the basis of the opening chapters of the *Disce Mori*. Miss F. M. M. Comper, moreover, in her *Ars Moriendi: The Book of the Craft of Dying* (1917), pp. 127–30, prints a short tract which appears in two MSS. under the title 'A Capite taken owte off a Boke cleped Toure of alle Toures'; and she asks whether anyone can throw light upon its source. This is also a translation of the same section of the *Somme*. I am indebted to Mr W. Nelson Francis, of Philadelphia, for pointing out these relationships to me, and also for showing me three other unpublished Middle English translations of the same section of the French text. All seven English versions are thus apparently independent of each other. See his forthcoming edition (E.E.T.S.) of the *Book of Vices and Virtues*. For the French see R. W. Evers, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik von Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyrt* (1888), pp. 13 ff.

⁴ The Jesus Coll. MS. hand is more regular, using *p* for *th* throughout. The Laud MS. has some lines added in the margin which appear in proper position in the text of the Jesus Coll. MS. For information about the two MSS. I am indebted to Miss E. G. Parker, of the Bodleian.

tion might profitably be directed to the *Troilus*—a nun, Dame Alice.¹ In the opening dedication of three rime-royal stanzas she is given a brief indication of the scope of this treatise on dying, and is urged to read it often and with glad heart, 'pough Disce mori called be þe booke'. The prose treatise follows, occupying about four-fifths of the manuscript. The text concludes with a prose exhortation of nineteen chapters, again addressed to Sister Alice. These consist of further instruction in matters pertaining to her life and thoughts as a nun: she is referred particularly to the writings of Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton. Indeed, much of this literature has been assimilated into the text of the exhortation itself.² The source of Chapter x, as Miss Hope Emily Allen has pointed out, is Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae*;³ Chapter xvi parallels material in Hilton's *Epistle on Mixed Life* and *Six Things in Prayers*;⁴ and the seven tokens of fleshly love, in Chapter xvii, embody suggestions from Hilton's *Eight Chapters on Perfection*. This material, however, has been thoroughly digested, and is given back clothed in richer style and in more orderly form.

For example, Hilton begins his *Eight Chapters on Perfection* with the apparent intention of analysing the tokens of love:

The first token of love is that the lover submit fully his will to the will of him that he loveth; and this special love hath three workings.⁵

But Hilton, like Rolle, quickly becomes rhapsodic on the subject of love; and we are never told what the second token is. When he comes in his last chapter to deal with the subtle process by which 'ghostly love' may change to 'fleshly love', he abandons entirely the analytical method, even though he had a good opportunity to use it there. In tracing this change from 'ghostly' to 'fleshly' love, he begins by imagining a spiritual love between two people:

...after this love increaseth so much betwixt them that each of them desireth the presence of the other unmeasurably, so far forth that if they may not have presence at will they wax heavy and sickly, and sometimes when they come together their affection ever waxeth so that they are more sickly; and that bindeth them together in such an homely acquaintance of hearts that whatso the one willeth the other willeth, and whatso liketh the one liketh or misliketh the other, be it good, be it evil.⁶

¹ Although the name has been erased from the Jesus Coll. MS., it is still faintly visible—Miss Parker informs me—on close examination.

² The writings of St Bernard and St Gregory are also acknowledged as sources. Parallel to Chapter iii of the exhortation ('Of a bed to be made and arrayed in the whiche Ihesu will rest hym wth his spouses') is an unpublished passage in MS. St John's Coll. Cambr. 176, fol. 49^b, describing a bed allegorically. I am indebted to Dr R. H. Robbins for bringing this unpublished passage to my attention.

³ *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle* (1927), p. 399.

⁴ Texts of these treatises appear in C. Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* (1895), I, 264 ff., 301 ff.

⁵ Dorothy Jones, ed., *Minor Works of Walter Hilton* (1929), p. 81.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

However, to the writer of our fifteenth-century exhortation this passage apparently suggested the whole series of tokens of fleshly love, culminating in the intoxicating 'sweet poison' of the *Troilus*. Whereas Rolle and Hilton had shown themselves temperamentally incapable of keeping to strict analytical method, this fifteenth-century moralist succeeded in holding the parts of his analysed scheme in clear balance. In doing so, moreover, he displayed an unusual feeling for concrete expressions and for effective climaxes.

The passage immediately preceding the quotation from the *Canticus Troili* will serve as a good example of his style

The furst token of carnal loue is that lyke as a goostly loue is accustomed to be fed with goostly communicacion and doctrines spirituel entending to pedificacion of mannes soule and to haue in abhominacion al ydel and vnclenne langage impertinent So in the contrarie wise fleshly louers out of mesure desiren to commune no þunge of goostly edificacion nor of þe spirit but of þeire loue how she loueth hym and he hir and what he wol doo and suffre for hire and she for hym and what þei wissh and desire eche to othere of wele and plesance it can not be here expressed for an houre suffiseth not to hem ne a day ne dayes ne no tyme to open þeire herte oon to oþer for þeim þenketh þei shal neuer haue spoken ynough to geders ne be saciat of þe vnleful desires of þeire hertes ¹

This prose passage is obviously conceived in large units: three lines on ghostly love are balanced against the description of fleshly love which follows the phrase 'So in the contrarie wise'. Yet it is surprisingly detailed and sensitive: the lovers' conversation reproduces admirably the give-and-take of the infatuated couple. The vivid imagination of this passage contrasts sharply with Hilton's matter-of-fact statement: 'whatso the one willeth the other willeth, and whatso liketh the one liketh or misliketh the other.' Still more striking is the dramatic piling-up of time-units to represent the lovers' oblivion of time: 'an houre suffiseth not to hem ne a day ne dayes ne no tyme . . . neuer . . .' The reader is thus made to feel the time stretching out before his eyes. Hilton, to be sure, *says* that fleshly love is a waste of time,² but our writer actually represents that loss of time in the very phraseology of his exhortation.

This representational quality of the fifteenth-century writer's prose is re-enforced with poetical quotations which show the author's wide reading and catholic tastes in literature:

þe whiche loue as seith þe philosophre in yonge men is called rage and in olde men it is called dotage. Here accordeth þe poete Ouide De arte amandi sayng þus
Nescio quid sit amor nec amoris cencio nudum
Set scio si quis amat nescit habere modum

¹ Jesus Coll. MS., fol. 310, Laud MS., fol. 252^a.

² Jones, *op cit*, p. 99 of fleshly lovers Hilton says, ' . . . much of their time be lost and wasted through van speech and in their common conversation, by reason that their hearts are indiscreetly fastened in love'.

pat is I wote not what is loue ne I feele not þe knot but I wote þat who so loueth kepeth no more manere þan dooth a sotte.¹

Then follows, as by 'a noþer poete', the quotation from the *Canticus Troili*, and, finally, a French proverb:

De chiens doseaux darmes damours
pour vn plais quatre dolours.²

It is easy to see that he has read widely. He has a poet's power of representing his feelings vividly, and he can even turn a rime or so himself on occasion.

Clearly his work—as prose—excels the drab style of Capgrave and Fortescue. He obviously belongs to an entirely different world from that of Regnald Pecock, although Pecock has been called 'the greatest prosaist' of this period.³ If the fifteenth century produced much prose of this character, we shall have to revise our estimate of its literary achievement.

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A SUPPRESSED HENDIADYS IN A POEM BY SURREY

Hendiadys, the figure of speech 'in which a single idea is expressed by two words connected by a conjunction' (*O.E.D.*), has become rare indeed in modern literature. But in Tudor verse it was common enough. The garrulous Puttenham writes of it in his *Arte of English Poesy* as '*Endiadis*, or the Figure of Twinnes', and quotes several examples with approval, as, 'your lours and your lookes' ('lowring lookes'), 'with horses and with barbes' ('barbd horses'), and 'with venim and with dartes' ('venimous dartes'). The characteristic quality of the hendiadys, the relation of two words so that over and above their separate meaning they have a different meaning in combination and yet do not lose their single significance, seems to form a very passable pattern (or, as Puttenham would doubtless have called it, an '*Icon*, or semblance by imagery or portrait') of the 'climate of

¹ MS. Jesus Coll., fol. 310 f.; MS. Laud, fol. 252^a f. The Latin quotation occurs also in MSS. Trinity Coll. Camb. 263, fol. 32, and 1109, fol. 52:

Nescio quid sit amor nec amor nec amavi
Set scio quis amat vritur igne gravi
Nescio quid sit amor nec amoris sencio nodum
Set scio quis amat nescit habere modum.

These lines do not appear in the love-books of Ovid, but seem rather to be related to Propertius, *Ellegiarum Liber*, II, xv, l. 30: 'Verus amor nullum novit habere modum'.

² This couplet is given, without indication of its source, in G. Strafforello, *La Sapienza del Mondo... Proverbi di Tutti i Popoli* (1883), I, 86.

³ L. Kellner, ed., *Caxton's Blanchardyn and Englantyne*, E.E.T.S., E.S., LVIII, p. cxi; E. V. Hitchcock, ed., *Pecock's The Folewer to the Donet*, E.E.T.S., O.S., CLXIV, p. IV.

opinion' at a time when Renaissance and Pre-renaissance ideas were battling in men's minds.

The Earl of Surrey's noble obituary poem on Sir Thomas Wyatt opens with this verse, as printed in Tottel's *Miscellany*:

W. resteth here, that quick could neuer rest:
Whose heauenly giftes increased by disdayn,
And virtue sank the deper in his brest.
Such profit he by enuy could obtain.

This version (as reprinted in Rollins's edition, vol. I, p. 28) can be read as follows: 'whose heavenly gifts were augmented by reason of his own disdain of them, and because of this humility his virtue was more deeply ingrained.'

But if the comma after 'disdayn' were a misprint or addition due to Tottel (whose reputation for accuracy is none too high), then a new, and, I think, richer meaning would appear. The elegy in question was first printed as part of an eight-page booklet (now in the Huntington Library, see Rollins's edition of the *Miscellany*, vol. XI, pp. 154-5) which appeared shortly after Wyatt's death in October 1542, and in this version (which, unlike that printed by Tottel, appeared in Surrey's own lifetime) there is no comma at that point. Without a break at the end of the line (the full poem in the original version has an unusual number of run-on lines), 'disdayn and virtue' would form an hendiadys, meaning 'disdainful virtue'. The verb 'increased' would then have a participial, not an active sense, giving the following reading of the second and third lines: 'whose heavenly gifts, increased as they were by his proud disdainful virtue, were deeply ingrained in him.' Read thus as an hendiadys, the two words retain their individual meanings, plus the combination 'disdainful virtue', as of a Coriolanus.

Confronted as we are in this instance by two texts, to neither of which can be given undue credence, either reading is possible. But the reading of the earlier text has a subtle overtone of meaning not uncommon, as almost any page of Puttenham will demonstrate, in contemporary verse, and would seem to be more in the Tudor idiom. The whole poem repays the most careful scrutiny, for the resolution of its grammatical problems helps to focus attention upon its artistic merits, and in this it is characteristic of much early Tudor and Elizabethan verse.

S. GORLEY PUTT.

EXETER.

A 'HAMLET' EMENDATION

The accepted reading of *Hamlet*, III, ii, 396-7.

Hamlet. Methinks it is like a weasel.

Polonius. It is back'd like a weasel.

is based upon the texts of the 1604 quarto and first folio, both acting versions of the original text.¹ Yet this is not the reading of the 1611 quarto, the last issued during Shakespeare's lifetime, and of the many that followed it.² In these players' quartos, as they may be termed, 'back'd' has been changed to 'black'.³ Now the line, 'black like a Wezell', is corrupt as it stands, for a weasel is not black. Pope, noting this discrepancy in 1725, retained 'black' but in place of 'Wezell' substituted 'Ouzle',⁴ an archaic term for blackbird which occurs in two of Shakespeare's plays.⁵ Succeeding editors of Shakespeare, Theobald in 1733,⁶ Hanmer in 1744, Warburton in 1747, Johnson in 1765, followed Pope's reading, his emendation being generally accepted until 1778 when the Johnson-Steevens edition appeared.⁷ Steevens restored the reading of the 1604 quarto and the first folio, and thus the lines have read in all later editions of *Hamlet*.

Should, however, Pope's emendation be discarded? An examination of three playhouse copies of *Hamlet* discloses the fact that when the play was performed on the Restoration and early eighteenth-century stage the lines were spoken exactly as Pope in 1725 suggested they should read.⁸ Two of

¹ This reading is found also in the 1603 quarto.

² The quartos of 1637, 1676, 1683, 1695, 1703, and the undated quarto issued some time between 1611 and 1637.

³ Both the 'Hughes-Wilks' text of *Hamlet*, first printed in 1718 and reprinted more than fifteen times before 1761, and the 'Garrick' text, published in 1763, follow the reading of the later quartos. In the Folger Shakespeare Library is a copy of the 1747 edition of the 'Hughes-Wilks' text prepared for acting by Garrick himself. No change has been made in the reading, 'black like a Wezel'. It should be added, however, that this is not a prompt copy.

⁴ *Works of Shakespear*, 1725-3, VI, 416.

⁵ *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, 1; 2 *Henry IV*, III, II.

⁶ In an interesting note on the reading, 'Ouzle', Theobald says: 'But there is a Propriety in the Word being used in the Passage before us, which determines it to be the true Reading; the Reason of which, I presume, did not occur to Mr. Pope. 'Tis obvious, that *Hamlet*, under the Umbrage of suppos'd Madness, is playing on *Polonius*; and a particular Complaisance is shewn in the old Man, (who thinks *Hamlet* really mad, and, perhaps, is afraid of him) to confess, that the same Cloud is like a Beast, a Bird, and a Fish: viz. a Camel, an Ouzel, and a Whale. Nor is there a little Humour in the Disproportion of the three Things, which the Cloud is suppos'd to resemble' (*Works of Shakespear*, 1733, VII, 305).

⁷ Neither Steevens nor Capell accepted the emendation. In his edition of 1766 Steevens gave the reading of the later quartos. Capell introduced an emendation of his own, an emendation that was adopted by no other editor but Rann:

Hamlet. Do you see yonder cloud, that's almost in shape of a weasel?

Polonius. By the mass, and 'tis like a weasel, indeed.

(*Mr William Shakespeare his Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*,
[1767], x, 76.)

⁸ Pope knew Betterton intimately—'I was acquainted with [him] from a boy'—and must have known his rendition of the lines.

these copies, a 1676 quarto¹ and a 1683 quarto,² have prompt notes in the same seventeenth-century hand. The notes in the third copy, a 1703 quarto,³ are in a different hand, dating from the early eighteenth century. In all three, the prompter has made the following alteration in the lines under discussion:

Hamlet. Methinks it is like a Wezel [deleted] 'an Ousel'.

Polonius. It is black like a Wezel [deleted] 'an Ousel'.⁴

The prompter whose hand appears in the 1703 quarto alone has but partially prepared the text for acting, his excisions, corrections, and marginal notes breaking off suddenly toward the end of the fourth act. It is worthy of comment that the correction of weasel to ousel is one of the few which do not restore the reading of the first folio.

The other two prompt copies are more interesting. Mr H. N. Paul has clearly shown that the 1683 quarto of *Hamlet* was set up from a copy of the 1676 quarto 'in which some-one has entered a number of corrections taken from the first folio of Shakespeare'.⁵ Undoubtedly the 1683 quarto represents the version acted by the United Companies. The 1676 quarto, as is well known, is the version, attributed to Davenant, that was given by the Duke of York's Company before the union. The existence of play-house copies of both quartos in the hand of the same Restoration prompter points to the probability that, when the later quarto was published, the prompter laid aside his copy of the earlier text and made a fresh one, using the new text.⁶

In the production of *Hamlet* on the seventeenth-century stage, there was a continuity of tradition unbroken by the Interregnum. Betterton, Downes tells us, spoke Hamlet's lines as Taylor had spoken them, and Taylor, it is believed, was taught the role by Shakespeare himself. It is, therefore, probable that not only Betterton but Taylor, and Burbage before him, compared the cloud to an ousel and that the actors who played Polonius to their Hamlet replied 'It is black like an Ousel'.⁷ If such is the

¹ A copy of the first issue of 1676. In the Library of the Tudor and Stuart Club, Johns Hopkins University.

² In the Folger Shakespeare Library.

³ A copy of the 'Barnardo' issue of 1703. In the Folger Shakespeare Library.

⁴ Prompter's correction in the 1683 quarto; noted without comment by Mr H. N. Paul in the article referred to below. 'an Ouzle', 'an Ouzle' in the 1676 quarto. 'an Ouzle', 'an Ouzle' in the 1703 quarto.

⁵ 'Players' Quartos and Duodecimos of *Hamlet*, *M L.N.*, June 1934 (XLIX, 369-75). Mr Paul conjectures that Dryden was responsible for the corrections.

⁶ A full discussion of these two prompt copies is in course of preparation by one of the writers.

⁷ As late as the end of the eighteenth century, the line was thus spoken on the Dublin stage. In the Folger Shakespeare Library is the prompt copy of *Hamlet* used at the Theatre Royal, Crow Street, during the management of Richard Daly. This is a copy of the Dublin edition of 1750, which has the 'black like an Ouzle' reading. The prompter has left the reading unaltered.

case, the reading 'black' instead of 'back'd' in the 1611 quarto is not a careless corruption of the text but a deliberate attempt to bring it into conformity with stage usage. One can only guess why weasel was not changed to ousel. There is a similarity between the two words which may have led to confusion, especially since in the Elizabethan age it appears that their first syllables were pronounced very much alike. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakespeare mentions 'The Woosell cocke, so blacke of hew'. Moreover, if the 'woosell' spelling occurred in the playhouse manuscript of *Hamlet*, which was presumably in the author's hand, it would further account for the printed 'Wezell', as Elizabethan scribal 'o' is easily mistaken for 'e'.

JAMES G. McMANAWAY.

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THE 'MYSTÈRE D'ADAM': TWO PROBLEMS

In a series of lectures, given at the École des Chartes and printed in 1936¹, Professor Walberg makes two statements which suggest two problems. He says:² 'Comme le *Jeu d'Adam* était destiné à célébrer les fêtes de Noël...'; and earlier:³ 'Ce qui constitue l'unité, si faible soit-elle, du drame, c'est cette idée que tous les personnages qui y paraissent, sont en quelque sorte des précurseurs du Christ...'

The questions raised are those of the season envisaged, and of the construction of the play. The latter has been discussed by many people: Studer⁴ regards it as a development of the *Processus Prophetarum*, Ward⁵ as a fragment of a great Nativity play, Sépet⁶ as the grouping of three separate 'plays'. It is perhaps worth while remembering that, if Studer is right, there is a terrible lack of balance between the parts, arguing far less stagecraft in the writer than is suggested by the Adam and Eve section. Another consideration is that the Adam and Eve part is complete in itself. After the depiction of the Fall, the sowing of the tares is the fulfilment of God's punishment, the dragging off to Hell of the two concludes this, and Eve's final triumphant words of hope complete the dramatic action. If the second and third parts show the results of the Fall and the hope of future deliverance, the mime and Eve's last words are dramatically unnecessary.

¹ *Quelques aspects de la littérature anglo-normande*, Paris, Droz, 1936.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 82-3.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 78-9.

⁴ 2nd ed., M.U.P., 1928, p. xvii.

⁵ *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v, 11.

⁶ *Le Drame chrétien au moyen âge*, Paris, 1878, pp. 121-8.

It may be argued that, if Sépet's view is to be accepted, the question of dramatic unity is all the more important and that so weak a link as Walberg suggests is even weaker once the play is a mere juxtaposition of three originally distinct compositions. The objection would be entirely justified if his view of the unity were complete. It is quite true that there is a unity of idea: that of the coming of Christ, although I would prefer to describe it as the coming of Christ to conquer sin and overcome death,¹ but there are other means of securing dramatic unity, less tangible perhaps, but none the less present. There is first the unity of inspiration and then the unity of method.

In addition to the biblical inspiration of the play there is the feudal and the ecclesiastic. The attitude of Adam to God, God to Adam, Adam to Eve, Abel to Cain is essentially feudal. The prophets, too, tend to view Christ as a great feudal lord who will deliver them from an oppressor. The ecclesiastical side is brought out strongly in the first two parts, although only hinted at in the third. In the first part God is obviously modelled on the mediaeval priest, an impression confirmed by his dress when turning Adam and Eve out of the garden. He not only speaks as a priest pronouncing sentence of excommunication, but also wears the stole, a vestment he puts on for that occasion only. In the second part there is the insistence on the paying of tithes and also the pronouncement:

Ton frere as mort en ma creance,
Griés en serra ta penitance

which must have recalled to the listeners the idea of confession followed by penance.

Such intangible factors create an atmosphere which helps to connect the three parts of the *Mystère*, but there is a far more tangible factor: unity of method. The appearances of *Figura* are a help (although he is absent from the unfinished third part); the work of the devils throughout is another feature which helps to bind the sections together, but there is one other factor which is probably the most important: the *lectriones* and the *chori*. These, inserted between each section and subsection, act much as a modern *compère*, presenting a strong, even if superficial, impression of unity. All these elements are important and together form a much stronger link than Walberg seems to suggest.

The second problem raised, the season envisaged, is in some ways separate, although dependent on one factor mentioned in the question of unity. The missing end of the *Mystère* makes it very difficult to say with

¹ This mode of expression is important in that it links up with the second section of this note.

certainty at what time of the Christian year the play was intended to be performed, but there seems little internal evidence in favour of the Christmas theory. The deliverance of mankind from the results of Adam's sin is not effected by the mere coming of Christ, but by his death and resurrection. It is important, too, to realize that in almost every reference in the play the coming of Christ is less important than his victory over sin and death, e.g. Eve (v. 590), Abraham (v. 764), Aaron (v. 778), David (v. 788), Solomon (v. 806: *Quant le filz deu por nos morra*, and vv. 809-16), Balaam (v. 825), Daniel (vv. 834, 837-40), Jeremiah (v. 873-6: *Son cors dorra por rançon*), and Isaiah (v. 925).

This tends to suggest that the play would have been far more suitable for Good Friday or Easter, probably the latter, than for Christmas. It might also be added that a series of prophecies, beginning with the story of the Creation and going through to Nebuchadnezzar, as in the *Mystère d'Adam*, exists in the catholic office for Holy Saturday. Whilst not suggesting that the *Mystère* is built up on this office, the similarity is interesting in the consideration of the season for which the play was intended and also in seeing how the addition of the Adam and Eve and Cain and Abel parts would complete the outline contained in that office.

KENNETH URWIN.

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MARQUARD VON LINDAU AND HIS 'DEKALOGERKLARUNG'

One cannot help thinking that the Franciscan mystic Marquard von Lindau has received less than his due from literary historians. He was famous enough in his own day, as is seen from the number and diffusion of manuscripts of his works in German, Austrian and Swiss libraries, and even farther afield. These codices and the printed editions that followed them were read and appreciated till Luther's day. This does not necessarily imply literary merit, but his importance is shown by the following considerations: (1) his writings form the connecting link between the great German prose writers of the fourteenth century and those of later times; (2) although chiefly written for nuns and friars, his works were used for the instruction of the laity for several generations and contain references of considerable historical value; (3) his German prose style is remarkable for the fourteenth century. He has an unusual range of expression and wide interests. He rises at times to heights of real eloquence. His Latin style does not concern us here, but it is that of a scholar and a poet.

Nothing but the merest accident has so far prevented Marquard from taking his rightful place in literary history. Cruel gave a brief, but in-

accurate account of him in the *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*,¹ but mediaeval sermons and didactic treatises are so numerous that Cruel's description did not give rise to further research. Marquard attracted the passing attention of a greater scholar some thirty years ago, and in fact the friar narrowly escaped being 'discovered', but the investigation promised by Professor von der Leyen was never completed. In 1928 Dr Anton Mayr published an article on Marquard,² but this was little more than a classification of the manuscripts of the *Dekalogerklärung*, and it was buried in the centenary *Festschrift* of a Bavarian Gymnasium. Since then no interest has been taken in Marquard. Ehrismann makes no reference to him in his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*. He is not even mentioned in the *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*,³ either under 'Mystik' or under 'Franziskaner', although the learned authors of this work have dragged sundry obscure, not to say dreary, writers from oblivion. While the present article was in preparation, however, a useful account by Dr Klapper appeared in the *Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon*. 'Pereant qui ante nos nostra dicunt.' Unfortunately Dr Klapper overlooked the contributions of Professor von der Leyen and of Dr Mayr, hence the list of manuscripts given in the *Verfasserlexikon* is very incomplete.⁴

It was while searching for Eckhart manuscripts in the Munich library that Professor von der Leyen came across a commentary on the Decalogue in dialogue form. Von der Leyen pointed out⁵ that this work quotes a lengthy passage from a dialogue ascribed to Eckhart which passes under the name of *Meister Eckehartes Wirtschaft*. He recognized the intrinsic merit of the *Dekalogerklärung* and its importance for the literary historian: 'Dieser Dialog ist für die Erkenntnis des Nachlebens und der Nachwirkung der deutschen Mystik höchst bedeutsam und bewahrt manches ihrer edelsten Kleinode.' As all the Munich manuscripts concerned are anonymous, von der Leyen did not connect this Commentary with Marquard von Lindau. Fortunately other texts bear the author's name. Von der Leyen's article indicates, therefore, a link between Marquard and Eckhart's circle. There happens to be further evidence of this.

We might begin with sermons of Eckhart the authenticity of which is

¹ Detmold, 1879, pp. 402-4.

² 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Dekalogerklärung Marquards von Lindau', in *Festschrift zum hundertjährigen Jubiläum des humanistischen Gymnasiums Freising*, Freising, 1928.

³ Ed. Merker and Stammler.

⁴ Neither Klapper nor Mayr mentions Cgm. 506 (Munich Staatsbibliothek), which is one of the very best MSS.

⁵ *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, xxxviii (1906), 358.

not disputed. Marquard is quoted from the Munich manuscript Cgm. 506, collated with Basel, Universitätsbibliothek A X 138.¹ We shall call these M and B respectively. Eckhart is quoted from Pfeiffer's edition.

Pfeiffer, p. 42, ll. 25-6.

Juncfrouwe ist alsô vil gesprochen als ein mensche, der lidic ist aller fremder bilden, alsô lidic als er was dô er niht enwas.

Pfeiffer, p. 62, l. 22.

Ein vrouwe und ein man die sint einander ungelich: aber in der minne sint sie gar gelich. Dâ von sprichet diu schrift gar wol, daz got die vrouwen nême von des mannes rippe und siten, weder von houbet noch von den fuezen, wan swâ zwei sint, dâ ist gebreste.⁴

Other parallel passages are found in Marquard and sermons of Eckhart of which the authenticity is doubtful. If not by the great Dominican mystic himself, they are at least the product of his school.

Pfeiffer, p. 100, l. 18.

Dar umbe hât got dise sêle geschaffen daz er sinen eingebornen sun in sî gebêre.

Pfeiffer, p. 122, l. 27.

Ein heiden sprichet: wâ geist ist und einekeit und êwekeit, dâ wil got wurken. Wâ fleisch ist wider geiste, wâ zerstorunge ist wider einekeit, wâ zit ist wider êwekeit, da enwurket got niht: er enkan niht mite.

Pfeiffer, p. 76, l. 25.

Got gesprach nie kein wort mê danne einz und daz selbe ist noch ungesprochen ... Daz êwige wort ist ... Jêsus Kristus.

Pfeiffer, p. 100, l. 21.

Dâ dîsiu geburt geschicht noch hiut dis tages in einer got minnender sêle, daz ist gote lustlîcher, denne dâ er himel und erde geschuof.

¹ I should like to take this further opportunity of thanking Geheimrat Leidinger of Munich and the authorities of the Basel University Library for their good offices. The Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland made a generous contribution towards the cost of rotographs.

² This passage from Marquard supports the better readings of the Coblenz text (edited by von der Leyen in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, xxxviii, 180) as compared with Pfeiffer.

³ *an anderen* is Marquard's usual form of 'einander'.

⁴ Cf. also Berthold von Regensburg, ed. Pfeiffer, I, 329, l. 23.

⁵ wirt M, wurket B.

⁶ Cristus, das ist ain vngeprochen wort vnd ain ewig wort M; Cristus ist ein ungesprochen ewig wort B.

Marquard, fo. 133r.

Nun spricht ain maister, das magt als vil sey gesprochen, als der von allen fromden bilden ledig ist, als ledig als er was, da er nit enwas.²

Marquard, fo. 130r.

Das ander ist, das sy an anderen³ sond an klainen dingen vbersehen. Wan darvmb hât got die frawen von dem ripp vnd nit von dem haupt noch von den fussen genomen, das sy soltent sein zwen gesellen, da ainer nit vber den anderen will sein.

Marquard, fo. 133r.

Es spricht ain maister, das got darvmb die sel hab geschaffen, das er seinen angebornen sun dar in geberen well.

Marquard, fo. 133r.

Ain haiden...spricht: 'wa gaist ist ainikait vnd ewigkait, da wurket⁵ got, wa aber flaisch ist wider gaist, manigualikait wider ainikait, zit wider ewigkait, da wurket got nit, er kan da mit nit.'

Marquard, fo. 120r.

Wann du solt wissen, das das ewig wort nie gesprochen ward, noch nymmer gesprochen wirt... Jesus ist das gesprochen wort; Cristus ist ain vngeprochen ewig wort.⁶

Marquard, fo. 122r.

Auch das lob was so suss vnd so luter, das es lustlicher was, denn do er himel vnd erd geschüff.

Pfeiffer, p. 44, ll. 12-20 is paraphrased in Marquard fo. 133r.; cf. further Pfeiffer, p. 16, ll. 1-3 and Marquard, fo. 129v., Pfeiffer, p. 122, l. 26 and Marquard, fo. 123v.; Pfeiffer, p. 185, ll. 4-5 and Marquard, fo. 138r.; Pfeiffer, p. 102, ll. 26-28 and Marquard, fo. 137v. Cf. also Pfeiffer, p. 285, ll. 11-13 and Marquard, fo. 128r.

The *Dekalogerklärung* bears unmistakable signs of Eckhart's influence. Quite apart from parallel passages such as those quoted above, we find words, phrases, turns of thought which forcibly remind us of the greatest of German mystics. It is noteworthy that Eckhart is nowhere mentioned by name. This kind of thing is common practice in the fourteenth century, for a contemporary, however famous, did not possess the same authority as the Fathers of the Church. In the case of Eckhart there was an additional reason for the omission; his writings had been condemned as heretical in 1329. It is not irrelevant to point out that in at least one instance Marquard tones down a passage which he borrows in order to avoid the suspicion of unorthodoxy.

Marquard's indebtedness to Tauler is even more apparent than his debt to Eckhart. Here again the name of the authority is never cited, though in one passage Marquard refers to a written source ('ich han auch gelesen'). For the sake of brevity we might give one typical example and add the references for others. Tauler is quoted from Vetter's edition in the *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, Bd. xi.

Tauler, p. 292, l. 26.

Das ist das der mensehe Got also gros erkernt und sich als gar klein in sinem grunde das er Got nut geloben kan; das lob ubertrifft verre sprechen und gedenken und verstentnisse. Ein meister sprach: 'der spricht aller schonest von Gotte, der von bekenntnisse inwendiges richtumes von Gotte kan gewigen.' Ein meister lobet Got mit worten. Do sprach ein ander meister: 'swig, du lesterst Got.' Und si sprachen beide werlichen. Das ist ein wunderlich ding das die unsprechliche grosse gute also gros ist, das sich desiemā annemen wolte das man in loben solte mit worten, die als unsprechlich uber alle verstentnisse ist engel und menschen und aller creaturen.

Marquard, Cgm. fo. 120r.

Vnd sint etlich vnter den (Gottesfreunden), die got als gross bekenntent vnd sich selbs als klein in irem grund, das sy got nit genemmen geturent vnd die wirdikeit, so man sy also an sicht, ist ob allem gesprochenem¹ lob. Vnd dar vmb so spricht ain maister also: der spricht aller schonost von got, der von bekantnuß inwendiges richtumes² von got kan schwygen. Ich han auch gelesen, das ain maister hort ain andern got loben vnd in nemmen mit worten. Do sprach er zū im: 'schweig, du lesterst got,' vnd sprächen baid: 'das ist ain wunderlich³ ding, das dew vngesprochenlich guti also groß ist, das sich des ieman an niemen welti, das man in mit worten loben solt, des er ob allen worten vnsprechenlichen ist vnd so hoch ob aller verstantnuß.'

It is clear that the mystical element in Marquard's Commentary on the Decalogue owes a good deal to Eckhart and Tauler. Other mystical

¹ gesprochen M, gesprochenem B.

² rümes M B.

³ wunderlich M, wunderbar B.

sources are Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Richard of St Victor (*De Gratia Contemplationis*). It must not be imagined that he is devoid of originality. In the Middle Ages authorship is often another name for compilation, but our good friar can be original and some of the finest passages in his work cannot be traced to any predecessor.

Other passages are either taken over almost unchanged from Tauler or are freely paraphrased: Tauler, p. 165, ll. 25–31, p. 166, ll. 27–31 = Marquard, fo. 118v.; Tauler, p. 154, ll. 27–29 = Marquard, fo. 118v.; Tauler, p. 205, ll. 13–16 = Marquard, fo. 117r.; Tauler, p. 235, ll. 8–19 = Marquard, fo. 117r.; Tauler, p. 201, ll. 23–202, 11 = Marquard, fo. 126v.–127r.

I have not been able to trace any borrowings from Suso in the *Dekalogerklärung*, though another of Marquard's works, the 'Ausgang der Kinder Israel aus Ägypten'¹ contains many quotations from Suso. One suspects a reminiscence of Berthold von Regensburg in the derivation of *Ave* from *ân wê* (ohne Weh).²

Apart from the authors already mentioned, Marquard's chief authorities are Jerome and Augustine (whose *Questiones in Pentateuchum* deal with the Ten Commandments). As a Franciscan, Marquard knew Bonaventura well and derived some hints from the latter's *Sermones de Decem Praeceptis*. There are two anecdotes about St Francis in the *Dekalogerklärung*: the well-known story about the sermon preached to the birds and another to the effect that the Saint once picked up a letter he found on the road, because it might have contained the name of Jesus and a passer-by might unwittingly have trodden on it.

The only pagan author cited by name is Aristotle. There are isolated quotations from Greek and Latin Fathers: Cyprian, Epiphanius, Chrysostom (whose name is translated: der lerer mit dem guldin mund), John of Damascus, the *Epistles* ascribed to Ignatius, Ambrose of Milan and Gregory the Great. The post-patristic period is represented by Johannes Scotus Erigena (who is called 'der behend maister von Schotten'), Anselm of Canterbury, Alexander Neccam, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and finally the Franciscan Nicolaus de Lyra (d. 1349). One vernacular work is mentioned: *Das Büchlein des Leidens Jesu Christi*. Marquard is familiar with Canon Law: he quotes the *Decretum Gratiani*, the *Decretalia* of Gregory IX, the *Extravagants*, the *Summa* of Raymundus de Pennaforte and 'Wilhelmus' (doubtless the French canonist Guillaume Durand,

¹ Wrongly attributed to Geiler and printed with some of the latter's genuine works at Augsburg in 1510, under the title *Das Buch Granatapfel*.

² Cgm. 506, fo. 132v.

Bishop of Mende). For a short treatise this is a varied array of witnesses, but it must be emphasized that Marquard's originality is surprising. The plan of the work is his own, in particular the combination of the dialogue form and a threefold division of each section. After a detailed discussion of every commandment, in which stress is laid on the difference between mortal and venial sins, the question is asked how the Virgin Mary obeyed it and then how the 'Gottesfreunde' obeyed it. The frequent references to the Friends of God enable us to place the *Dekalogerklärung* in its proper setting, since Marquard was a lector in Strasburg in 1373,¹ Provincial Minister of the Franciscan Province of Upper Germany (of which Strasburg was the capital) in 1389;² he died in 1392.³ Strasburg was the centre of the movement associated with the Gottesfreunde.

Besides the true Friends of God, who are highly commended, there are others who are less worthy, both clergy and laity, so Marquard tells us.⁴ They disregard the commandments of the Church. They claim to be free and talk gladly of holy things, but they despise all severity and ascetic practices as vulgar. They pay little heed to those teachers who are well versed in Holy Writ and prefer their own opinions. They think little of those who do not fall in with their ways. The reader is warned to beware of such persons, for they are the 'potten des endcrists' and they lead astray many people. This would seem to refer to the 'Bruder vom freien Geist', who were considered to be heretics.

It is now generally accepted that the great German mystics enriched the vocabulary of German and laid the foundations of the prose tradition that culminated in Luther. But between Eckhart and Luther lie two centuries of vigorous literary production and it is obvious that many links in the chain are missing in our literary histories. Nowhere do we get a clear conception of the intervening period. The present article is intended to indicate one of the most important channels through which the stream of German prose flowed and at the same time to demonstrate that the German Franciscans deserve closer attention. Apart from Berthold von Regensburg and David von Augsburg they are almost unknown. They are still buried beneath the mountains of prejudice heaped up by the Renaissance and the 'Aufklärung'. I am convinced that an investigation of the leading German Minorites will throw much light on various literary problems. The present article indicates that the quotations from Eckhart and Tauler found in such writers as Marquard are occasionally

¹ Mayr, *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

² Fl. Landmann, in *Franziskanische Studien*, xv (1928), p. 98.

³ *Analecta Franciscana*, II, 218.

⁴ Cgm. 506, fo. 127r.

useful in helping to establish the text of the original source. The manuscripts of Eckhart's and Tauler's sermons are notoriously corrupt and unreliable. Then there is the question of *exempla*. The importance of this subject is now fully recognized. The German Franciscans used *exempla* copiously and their repertory has never been made the object of study, if we except a few isolated attempts, such as that of Franz. Even the *Dekalogerklärung*, short as it is, contains eleven *exempla*, but they might properly form the theme of a separate article.

JAMES M. CLARK.

GLASGOW.

A SOURCE FOR HEINRICH VON KLEIST'S
'PRINZ FRIEDRICH VON HOMBURG'?

In the January issue 1938 of the *M.L.R.* (pp. 52ff.) I pointed out that the experiences in Württemberg of Lieutenant Karl von François contain a number of features which resemble the fate of Kleist's Prinz von Homburg so strongly that they may possibly have furnished the poet with motifs for his play.

Meanwhile I have learnt that I overlooked an article in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* (Oct. 1931, pp. 239-41) by Robert Schmidt who came to similar conclusions as myself. Schmidt even went further, and called François 'das Urbild des Prinzen von Homburg', although the fundamental problem with which the rash and quarrelsome young officer was faced is by no means comparable to that of Kleist's hero.

François's description of the whole affair is handed down to us in his memoirs, written forty years after it had happened. They, of course, could not be known to Kleist. Professor R. A. Williams of Cambridge has suggested to me the interesting possibility that François may conceivably, consciously or unconsciously, have remodelled his experiences in their written form under the impression of Kleist's play. It is important, therefore, to discover what the exact facts of François's experiences were. So far no newspaper account of the affair has been found nor has the popular poem in which according to François his exploits are related come to light. The mention of the affair in Georg Bärsch, *Schills Zug und Tod im Jahre 1809* (Berlin, s.a., about 1860, p. 41) furnishes no new facts, though Bärsch was a close friend of Schill and knew François intimately.

A thorough investigation at the Württembergische Archivdirektion revealed that no military documents relating to the trial of François are preserved and that, according to the index of the contemporary Kabinetts-

akten, no State documents ever have existed about the case. The only contemporary references, for which I am indebted to the State Archive in Stuttgart, are two extracts from the Offiziersstammlisten. According to these François enrolled as a cavalry Lieutenant in the Württemberg Jägerregiment zu Pferd König on 3 June 1808. The entry under 3 August 1808 runs as follows:

wegen Subordinationswidrigem Betragen zum Arquebusiren verurteilt, nach ausgestandener Todesangst das Leben aus Gnaden geschenkt, mit dem Befehl, dass er vor der Front des Regts. cassirt, zu allen künftigen Militärdiensten für untüchtig erklärt, auf sechs Jahren auf die Festung Hohenasperg gesetzt und nach dieser Zeit über die Grenzen des Königreichs gebracht werde.

The only interesting new feature in this official account is that it conveys the impression that the death sentence was not intended to be carried out, but that the real punishment lay in the torture of anticipation.

An examination of the historical circumstances under which the *Prinz von Homburg* was written shows that a great variety of elements and motifs were merged together in the final version of the play, which according to Kleist's own words contained 'mancherlei Beziehungen' to contemporary events.

R. SAMUEL.

CAMBRIDGE.

PLAYS AT CLERKENWELL: A CORRECTION.

In the Note on Plays at Clerkenwell in the *Modern Language Review*, xxxiii (October 1938), page 565, note 8, reference is made to 'Dr R. Fowler'. The reference should be to Dr R. Flower.

EDITOR.

REVIEWS

The Manuscripts of Caedmon's Hymn and Bede's Death Song. With a Critical Text of the Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedae. By ELLIOTT VAN KIRK DOBBIE. (*Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature*, No. 128.) New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1937. 129 pp. 11s. 6d.

The plan of this monograph originated with an examination of the manuscripts of Caedmon's *Hymn* and Bede's *Death Song* for the sixth volume of the *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, the material growing in bulk and complexity, it was decided to publish it separately.

The result is an exhaustive study of the texts mentioned above; Mr Dobbie describes no fewer than seventeen MSS. containing Caedmon's *Hymn*, giving most of the versions *in extenso*, and collating the others; he likewise examines twenty-seven copies of the *Death Song*. On Caedmon's *Hymn*, admittedly little new has come to light since M. G. Frampton's article in *Modern Philology*, xxii (1924); the Leningrad and Hereford MSS. have appeared in print, and a new transcript of the Alfridian Bede (Br. Mus. Add. MS. 43703) has become accessible to scholars. The Leningrad MS. was collated, too, and the Hereford MS. mentioned, in A. H. Smith's valuable and concise little edition, *Three Northumbrian Poems* (London, 1933). But Mr Dobbie has identified Wheloc's MS. 'T', and has certainly made more clear the relationship between the Northumbrian and West Saxon versions of the *Hymn*.

On Bede's *Death Song* Mr Dobbie's work has proved particularly fruitful. The work of Brotanek (published 1913) has necessarily been his starting-point; but he has printed two texts of the Northumbrian version of the poem, found in Austria, for the first time; and he has undoubtedly broken fresh ground in establishing the importance of a critical text of the *Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedae*. By a collation of the known copies of the text of the *Epistola*, the existence has been shown of two distinct versions, the Continental Version and the Insular Version, which were transmitted independently of one another. Unfortunately, it is not as yet possible to trace the history of the Insular Version; but that of the transmission of the Continental Version from St Gall and Reichenau (pp. 70ff.) is both romantic and probable. A collation of the two versions figures as an appendix.

The *Epistola* is of importance as a check upon Bede's *Death Song*, for the textual relationships between Latin copies of it must correspond to those of the Anglo-Saxon copies of the *Death Song* contained in the *Epistola*. The readings of the Latin text are particularly helpful for the Northumbrian version of Bede's *Death Song*, since they show that, contrary to Brotanek's statement, the St Gall and Bamberg MSS. belong to the same group. By a similar investigation Brotanek's belief that the MS. copies of the West Saxon version of the *Death Song* go back to the text given by Symeon of Durham is proved to be invalid.

The only textual crux discussed at length by Mr Dobbie is *th'e* in Bede's *Death Song*, l. 1, where, after discussing the various readings, he decides for an original *thaere*

Two points of criticism may be made. In describing the Vatican Library MS of the *Epistola* (p. 82) Mr Dobbie states that it came from Cupar in Fifeshire. It really came from the Cistercian abbey of St Mary, Coupar-Angus; confusion of the two places is common. Again, the fact that the version of Bede's *Death Song* found in MS. Cotton Titus A II is in the hand of John Joscelin, Archbishop Parker's Latin secretary (p. 86) was stated in 1935 by Dr C. E. Wright, in a letter to *The Times Literary Supplement*. These, however, are but small points in a work which is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

ANGUS MACDONALD.

EDINBURGH.

Legendys of Hooly Wummen. By OSBERN BOKENHAM. Edited from MS. Arundel 327 by MARY S. SERJEANTSON. (Early English Text Society, No 206.) London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1938. lxxx+322 pp. 18s.

Just over a century ago the text of this unique manuscript of fifteenth-century verse was first published for the Roxburghe Club, and about fifty years later Carl Horstmann's competent edition appeared in Eugen Kolbing's *Alienglische Bibliothek*. It is appropriate that after another fifty years a new edition should be prepared in accordance with the standards of present-day linguistic scholarship, and it is gratifying that this should have found as its editor so eminent a philologist as Dr Mary Serjeantson, who now presents us with an utterly reliable conservative text, accompanied by marginal summaries of the thirteen legends, with Introduction, Bibliography, Notes, Select Glossary, and Index of Names.

Miss Serjeantson would dismiss Horstmann's surmise (which, by the way, he owed to Julius Zupitza) that Osbern's surname may be associated with the village of Bookham in Surrey; and she likewise rejects Samuel Moore's suggestion that the poet was born in Lincolnshire since mention is made in the Prologue to the Life of St Margaret of the town of *Borgh* and the *Castel of Bolyngbrok*, presumably Burgh Le Marsh and Old Bolingbroke in that county. She claims convincingly that Bokenham came from the village of that name in Norfolk, now known as Old Buckenham, fifteen miles south-west of Norwich, and near enough to the Suffolk border to confirm the testimony added by a later hand to the note at the end of the manuscript that the author was *a suffolke man*, and to corroborate the poet's own words in the Prologue to the Life of St Agnes that he was writing *after þe language of Suthfolk speche*. We are informed that he began to compose the Life of St Margaret in 1443 and the evidence is fairly conclusive that he died in 1447. The manuscript is contemporary, and its 10,616 verses were written by three local scribes who were careful copyists employing a uniform orthography and taking few liberties

with the text. Here, then, is a mediaeval document which can be fixed in place and time. Even for the Late Middle English period such a lengthy speech record is precious. The editor has therefore made full use of this valuable linguistic material, devoting fifty pages of the Introduction to a comprehensive analysis of the phonology and accentuation which is of very great value to all students and historians of the English language.

Of the intrinsic merits of Bokenham's work Miss Serjeantson is duly aware. 'It is easy to underestimate Bokenham's literary qualities, and after a study of his *Legendys* one retains at least a real impression of his sincerity and of the pleasure he found in the work which he "compyld not wythout labour"' (Introduction, p. xxvi). That Bokenham has been underestimated is doubtless due more to George Saintsbury than to any other, for it was he who marked it down, in Volume II of *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, as 'an extraordinary failure to attain even the slightest tincture of poetic style and sentiment'. As we know, Saintsbury did not like this kind of writing very much and indeed he read his text so negligently that he left it with the erroneous impression that it was 'entirely in Chaucerian decasyllabic verse'. The Legends are in fact uneven. Much is pedestrian verse. Here and there, however, are imaginative passages which prolong the music of those pleasing alliterative cadences of the older traditions in our devotional literature, expressing a calm piety and a genuine sincerity.

It is unfortunate that the present editor perpetuates Horstmann's error in identifying *Galfridus anglicus*, *Galfryd of ynglond* with Geoffrey Chaucer, giving it prominence at the opening of the paragraph on 'Style and Characteristics' (Introduction, p. xxv), and inevitably repeating it in the marginal summary (p. 3), and in the Index of Proper Names (p. 318). Bokenham tells us in his opening Prologue, vv. 83-96:

The forme of procedyng artifycal
Is in no wyse ner poetycal
After the scole of the crafty clerk
Galfryd of ynglond in his newe werk
Entytlyd thus as I can aspye
Galfridus anglicus in his newe poetrye
Enbelshyd wyth colours of rethoryk
So plenteuously that fully it lyk
In May was neuere no medewe sene
Motleyd wyth flours on hys verdure grene
For neythyr Tullius prynce of oure eloquence
Ner Demostenes of Grece more affluence
Neuere had in rethoryk as it semyth me
Than had this Galfryd in hys degre.

Clearly it is Geoffrey de Vinsauf and not Geoffrey Chaucer that the poet is comparing (not for him and his age incongruously) with the two greatest orators of antiquity. To Vinsauf's *De Nova Poetria* the most thinly veiled allusion is made in v. 88. One is led to believe that the above passage is not ironical like Chaucer's own appeal to his namesake, 'deere maister soverayn', in *The Nun's Priest's Tale*. Bokenham is paying sincere homage to the twelfth-century pedant whose manual enjoyed prodigious

vogue, for two centuries and more, as an authoritative treatise on poetry.

Again, in the Life of St Margaret, the author humbly prays that he may be 'excused though he do rudely', acknowledging regretfully that he cannot ever hope to rival the great Latin and English writers, and he places Vinsauf after Boethius, Homer, Ovid and Vergil among the Latin masters of the 'craft of description', but Chaucer he names with the English 'fresh rhetoricians', Gower and Lydgate, vv. 407-18:

Wherefore if the craft of descrypceounn
I cowde as weel both forge and fyle
As coud Boyce in hys physycal consolacyounn
Or as Homer Ouyde or ellys Virgyle
Or Galfryd of ynglond I wolde compyle
A clere descrypceounn ful expressly
Of alle hyr fetuys euene by & by.
But sekyr I lakke bothe eloquens
And kunnyng swych maters to dilate
For I dwellyd neuere wyth the fresh rethoryens
Gower Chauncers ner wyth lytgate
Wyth lyuyth yet lest he deyed late.

Miss Serjeantson gives no note, apart from repeating Horstmann's obvious reminder that *physycal* (v. 409) is presumably a mistake for *philosophical*, but in the Index of Proper Names she makes both *Galfryd of ynglond* and *Chauncers* refer to Chaucer, thus attributing to Bokenham an inane and pointless repetition and marring the symmetry of a significant passage.

The Select Glossary is handy for reference. Even for so late a work as this it is by no means an unnecessary luxury in view of the dialectal and personal character of the text. It may be noted, however, that the following corrections should be made:

Encence, *ensence* vb. inf. is explained as 'to excite, inflame. O.Fr. *incenser*, fr. Lat. *incens*-, p.p. stem of *incendere*'. But the meaning in the two passages listed is clearly 'to enlighten, inform': O.Fr. *ensenser*. See *N.E.D.* s.v. *insense*.

hayle vb. inf. is glossed as 'to pour out, be shed copiously. O.E. *haghan*. Not in *N.E.D.* in this sense (intrans.)'. Such a sense would indeed be strained. The meaning is simply 'to flow', duly recorded in *N.E.D.* s.v. *hale*, v¹ 4b, deriving not from O.E. *haghan* but from O.Fr. *haler*.

mayle n. is interpreted as 'defence, protection. Fr. *maille*, fr. Lat. *macula*'. In the sole context in which this word appears, this interpretation makes no sense at all. 'And of her godhed makyn a mayle' must mean something like 'And make light of, belittle their divinity.' If *mayle* is a genuine form—MS. *mssayle* (with *ss* crossed through) makes one suspicious—then perhaps it is *mayle*, O.Fr. *maille*, fr. Lat. *metallea*, meaning 'half-penny, coin of slight value', and so 'trifle'.

veniabyll 'adj.? venial, Late Lat. *veniabilis*' is a bad guess, since it enfeebls the meaning of the text, which demands the interpretation 'cruel, dreadful'. Both form and meaning are duly recorded in *N.E.D.* s.v. *vengeable*, 2. Lat. *vindicabilis*.

wealdful adj. 'powerful. O.E. *weald* + *ful*. Not in *N.E.D.*' But Bokenham's text is actually cited by *N.E.D.*! See s.v. *wealthful*, adj. 'abounding in wealth'. *Wealdful* should therefore be added to the instances of *p* or [ð] > *d* in the Phonology, §76 (d).

SIMEON POTTER.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance. By WILLIAM G. CRANE. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1937. 285 pp. 17s. 6d.

This book is mainly an illustration by 'clouds of witnesses' of the prevailing importance of rhetoric in English Renaissance literature. Apart from this weight and range of testimony, however, the book lacks effectiveness. It is difficult to determine the type of reader for whom it is designed. Those who are accustomed to handle sixteenth-century ideas and vocabulary (who are also those to whose needs the minuter detail in the book would appear to be relevant) are unlikely to be baffled by the protean connotations of sixteenth-century 'wit' and will find (I suspect) the connexion between wit and rhetoric less of a revelation than Chapter II supposes. Inexperienced students, on the other hand, though they cannot fail to derive from it an enhanced appreciation of the general role of rhetoric, may, as the chain of imitations and common responses is forged by example after example, be left with an impression of Elizabethan prose literature as 'too much of a muchness' for them to take any further interest in it. For Dr Crane's method is strictly historical and descriptive. As books and authors are summoned by a sort of roll-call method, 'placed' and dismissed, it is not generally apparent why some (e.g. Ascham) retain a secure place in the interests of professional students at least, and a few (e.g. Montaigne) an impregnable position in the literary world at large. The lack of light and shade shows too in the style. The sentences vary little in length or pattern and frequently lack precision. In scale, method and expression the bones of the card-index structure are allowed to show through too clearly.

The body of the book has been carefully seen through the press, but insufficient attention has been given to the preparation of the *apparatus criticus*. There are a number of errors and misprints, particularly in names, titles and foreign words (e.g. 'Aphthomus' p. 49, 'Exoration' p. 89, 'virutibus' p. 253, 'Gouernance' p. 259, 'Blunderville' p. 255, 'demeureé', p. 259, 'Puerbes' of Lydgate p. 266). The appendices giving in full the passages briefly referred to in the text were a useful thought, but (so far as I have been able to check them) they are textually inaccurate. For example, on p. 212, §10, in a passage of fourteen lines, there are nine errors. The 'Bibliography' or reading-list summarizes fully and usefully material available for further study, but many of the items (especially in the case of well-known and standard works) are clumsily expressed with almost over-anxious detail. One or two assumptions are too easily made, e.g. that 'L.P.' can quite certainly be identified with Anthony Munday. In the editorial material there is some hawing over names which may

puzzle the inexperienced. Thus, there is no consistency as between text, bibliography and index as to whether the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* shall be given first under Stephanus, with cross-reference to Estienne, or *vice versa*. William Paulet's compilation is given three times as *The Lord Marques Idleness* (text p. 39, Appendix III and index) and once (bibliography) correctly as '...Marques...'. The (in this case consistent) spelling of (Sir William) Cornwallis as 'Corne-Waleys' is perhaps intended to be a meticulous observance of the *editio princeps* of 1600, but this principle is not regularly observed elsewhere and it appears definitely misleading to enter in the index under W 'Waleys, Sir William Corne, see Corne-Waleys'.

There are also some inconsistencies in the texts used and mentioned. In the first part of the book quotations from the *Gouverneur* are referred to the 1531 edition giving a laudably firsthand impression. Then, on p. 154, we are suddenly switched to the Everyman edition. The numerous quotations from Nashe are referred in the footnotes to the first editions, though Dr McKerrow's *Nashe* is mentioned where its editorial material has been used. It would seem simpler to use for such authors the accepted scholarly editions, while ensuring that the bibliography shall give full information as to both first editions and modern standard texts. The result here has been that the reader is informed of the existence for his benefit of Dr McKerrow's *Nashe*, but is left to infer that for the *Gouverneur* there is nothing between the original version and the Everyman, since Croft's edition finds no mention either in the text or the bibliography. The reader who already knows his way about will not be baffled, but our hypothetical inexperienced student, to whom many of the statements and judgments in the book seem to be addressed, may be temporarily baulked.

G. D. WILLCOCK.

ENGLEFIELD GREEN.

Jack Juggler (Third Edition). Edited by B. IFOR EVANS and W. W. GREG. 1936 (1937). xvi + A₁-E₄.

Susanna. Edited by B. IFOR EVANS and W. W. GREG. 1936 (1937). xiv + A₁-F₃. (Malone Society Reprints.) London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press.

The third quarto of *Jack Juggler*, known previously to exist from the fragment of two leaves in the Huntington Library, was discovered at Coleorton Hall in 1936 by Professor B. Ifor Evans. Q1 was printed by the Society in 1933, while J. S. Farmer reprinted Q2 in 1912. The editors conclude that Q3 is derived from Q2, though they would not preclude the possibility that Q3 might have been 'printed from a lost edition intermediate between Q1 and Q2'. Q3 was printed by Allde, probably after 1568-9, the date of the death of Copland the editor of Q1 and Q2. Its text has been extensively revised and modernized. No complete collation has therefore been attempted, but the editors have listed doubtful and irregular readings and the more important differences

of reading between Q1 and Q3. This reprint is the more valuable to English students since all three original quartos are now in America.

The *Commodity of Susanna* was likewise discovered at Coleorton Hall. A copy of the play was seen early in the eighteenth century by Thomas Coxeter, but until Professor Evans's discovery it had not since been recorded. The editors give reasons for supposing that it was probably licensed by Colwell as early as 1568-9, although this edition of 1578 claims that the play was 'neuer before this tyme Printed'. The author, Thomas Garter, the editors suppose, was related to the poet Bernard Garter; indeed, the genealogical records might be interpreted to prove that Bernard and Thomas were one and the same person. Some difficulty was encountered on the verso pages where the speakers' names had been generally trimmed away. The editors have supplied these names conjecturally, although they note that the attribution of speeches to *Voluptas* and *Sensualitas* in ll. 246-64 is uncertain. A list of irregular and doubtful readings is provided.

The gratitude of students is due to the Malone Society for making available the text of these two plays in carefully edited reprints.

J. H. WALTER.

LONDON.

The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama. By ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY. (Modern Language Association of America. *Monograph Series*, VIII.) Boston: D. C. Heath; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1938. xiv + 428 pp. 18s.

Mr Cawley's aim is 'to show the impact of the voyaging influence on Elizabethan drama'. He has restricted himself mainly to printed books in English and to those translated by a fairly early date in the seventeenth century. Europe, apart from Russia, is omitted because it was 'too much within the ordinary Elizabethan's experience to constitute a voyage'; Turkey, Persia and the Moors are omitted because another worker is engaged on them. It is difficult to see what is the value of Mr Cawley's book, for, as he says: 'All, therefore, that a study of this kind can hope to establish is a gradual shift from a generalizing, often inaccurate allusion to countries as a whole towards a mention of the individual components of those countries.' Surely, this is a conclusion obvious to any serious student of the period. Mr Cawley has collected evidence with the utmost assiduity, but he is not invariably happy in using it. Thus, it is hardly just to contrast a rhetorical figure from Greene with a scientific statement from Bacon (p. 10): the two are entirely different in kind and purpose. Indeed, the notorious inaccuracies of geographical knowledge in the plays of Greene and his fellows were due as much to mediaeval tradition as to their own flights of fancy (p. 2). Mr Cawley, however, has promised that his second volume shall deal with the contribution of Ancient and Mediaeval geographical knowledge to the Renaissance. In this respect the limits of the present volume are arbitrary since much of the knowledge displayed by dramatist and historian alike is derived from Avicenna, Serapion and

Thevet (*Cosmographie Universelle*). Thus the 'raven' allusion (p. 174)—which, by the way, also occurs in Du Bartas—has an involved and lengthy pedigree. The statement that Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana* was a 'pathetic attempt to convince his countrymen of what he scarcely believed himself' is perhaps a modern scepticism. Note 158, p. 228, misconstrues 'Chine', which in the phrase quoted is almost a synonym of 'pith'.

The final estimate of Mr Cawley's extensive labour must wait until he has published his deductions from the evidence he has so painstakingly sought out and arranged in this volume.

J. H. WALTER.

LONDON.

The Meaning of Spenser's Fairyland. By ISABEL E. RATHBORNE. (*Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature*, No. 131.) 1937. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Mulford. x+275 pp. 16s. 6d.

The subject of this dissertation is the nature and purport of Spenser's fairy lore as represented in the mythological and legendary material centred upon the characters of Prince Arthur and Gloriana in *The Faerie Queene*. The text of the argument is a sentence from Spenser's letter to Raleigh—'In that Faery Queene I meane glory', a statement which prompts the writer to a detailed examination of the Renaissance ideal of glory, both private and politic, as developed from mediaeval and classical sources to serve as a basic motive to the epic of Humanism. The conclusions of Renaissance writers upon this, as upon other abstract themes, suggest a compromise between Christian and Pagan thought, between the Augustinian view of the world's vanity and the ancient notion of immortal fame. In common with contemporary writers Spenser effects the compromise by representing fame as the reward of virtue, but in so doing he does not ignore the distinction between earthly and heavenly fame nor between the finer and grosser types of glory pursued within the sphere of mortality. According to this interpretation Philotime, who personifies ambition, of heavenly origin but tarnished by worldly lust, is 'an imitation Gloriana', and Guyon, in refusing her hand, rejects the counterfeit glory sought through ambition for the true glory attained only by virtue. The same distinction between true and false fame is enforced by comparing Spenser's House of Pride and other parts of his allegorical scheme with analogues such as Petrarch's *Trionfi*, the twelfth-century *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, Du Bellay's *Antiquitez de Rome* and Chaucer's *House of Fame*. The subject is pursued in the second section of the book, entitled 'Gods and Heroes' and devoted to an analysis of the two chronicles of 'Briton Moniments' and 'Antiquitie of Faerie lond' perused by Arthur and Guyon at the House of Alma. A hint in the Proem to Book II implies that the details and purport of these records are distinct and not identical, the former summarizing the familiar genealogies of English chronicles, the latter tracing the evolution of Cleopolis, an ideal earthly City of Fame analogous with Augustine's *City of God*, from the time of its foundation by Elfin

emperors. The two concluding sections deal with Spenser's fairy mythology generally in relation to its possible sources and with the combination of mythology with politics in the person of Gloriana.

As will be gathered from this summary, the scope of Miss Rathborne's researches is somewhat narrow and specialized; but her labour has not been misspent. In spite of all that has been written upon the sources and analogues to *The Faerie Queene* the subject still appears to be inexhaustible and worthy of consideration in view of Spenser's peculiarly assimilative genius and of his obvious attempt to synthesize the culture of his age. In the plan and conduct of such an allegorical epic modelled on the traditional patterns mythological machinery is manifestly of major importance; and in view of the fact that this subject has only been touched upon incidentally by previous commentators a comprehensive treatise is welcome. Miss Rathborne's method of approach enables her to establish, at least in general outlines, a closer correlation between the philosophical and political allegories of *The Faerie Queene* than is suggested by earlier authorities who have generally tackled one side of the matter to the exclusion of the other. If she is inclined to overstate the case in favour of Spenser's consistency and method in formulating his mythological scheme the fault is on the right side, for too often he has been misrepresented and misinterpreted as the poet of pure fantasy, uncontrolled by logical thought or the capacity for systematizing his poetic inventions.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

LONDON.

The Mediaeval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy. By WILLARD FARNHAM. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1936. xiv+487 pp. \$5.

This is a book of real importance. It has been increasingly realized of late that Elizabethan drama, and above all Shakespeare's plays, rest in part upon a foundation not only of mediaeval material but of a mediaeval culture and outlook. This was for long obscured by the domination of the notion that this literature was the product of the Renaissance, whatever the Renaissance may exactly have been. The principle of continuity has once more been vindicated, with much consequent illumination of great literature. A striking example of this mediaeval interpretation, Professor W. W. Lawrence's *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies*, gave us a more reasonable picture of some of the 'difficult' plays, and was a sound corrective to extreme views which neglected the background of material and thought which lay behind them. Now Professor Farnham takes a wider sweep, and traces the continuity, through variation and development, of the whole body of tragedy, from mediaeval story and miracle-play, to *Hamlet* and *King Lear*.

The main thread of development in tragic thought may perhaps be summarized as presenting four stages, each successive stage offering greater and finer dramatic opportunity. We start from Christian contempt of the world, *De Contemptu Mundi*, wherein the fate of men offers proof of the vanity of this mortal life, and pass on to the more complex view of life

offered by *De Casibus Illustrorum Virorum*, in which Fortune's wheel is shown to work in a sense never contemplated by the *Magnificat*. The workings of Fortune are next moralized into the conception of Poetic Justice, the punishment of evil, of which Shakespeare gives examples in *Richard III* and *Macbeth*. But the final development links together the wheel of fortune and the enquiry into its workings in the deeper concepts of causation which inform *King Lear* or *Hamlet* or *Othello*.

Professor Farnham gives a fuller and truer meaning to the term 'Gothic Tragedy' which he uses as opposed to 'Greek Tragedy', both of which he surveys with authority and understanding. It is a welcome novelty to have More's *Four Last Things* adduced in illustration of the dramatic spirit (pp. 179-81). A number of well-chosen pictorial reproductions add to the interest of this admirable book.

C. J. Sisson.

LONDON.

Shakespeare's Young Lovers. By E. E. STOLL. London: Oxford University Press. 1938. 118 pp. 6s.

To talk about Shakespeare's young lovers, more especially his women in love, is an alluring pastime. But it is at first surprising to find Professor Stoll indulging in it. One has thought him too stern a critic, with his rigid insistence on the dramatic pattern to which, in his view, such matters as psychological probability and plausible motivation are irrelevant. He has taught us (in so far as we have been willing to learn) that Shakespeare's people are not consistent characters whose motives can be analysed and questioned like those of our friends, or those of the characters in prose fiction. What then will he tell us in a lecture on 'The Maidens of Shakespeare's Prime' or 'The Maidens in the Dramatic Romances'? There is a Victorian flavour about these titles which whets the reader's curiosity. Has Professor Stoll been beguiled after all and fallen in love with Rosalind, Imogen, Perdita and Miranda just as so many critics have done before him? At times one almost feels he has. 'The lady of Belmont breathes and moves freely, a thoroughbred. How proud and princely she is. . . . 'Rosalind is the heartiest, the most abundant and exuberant.' 'Viola is the sweetest' and, of Perdita and Miranda, 'The one is more flexible and various, more blooming and irresistibly engaging; the other, more ignorant, innocent, ethereal.'

But this is the 'spontaneous overflow' of the feelings aroused even in the sternest critic if he be, as Professor Stoll is, responsive to Shakespeare's poetry. It does not imply forgetfulness of the nature of dramatic character-drawing, which Professor Stoll has done so much to make clear. And in this book he has in some places succeeded in making it clearer (to me at any rate) than hitherto. The doctrine is no longer a new doctrine to be angrily fought for and, therefore, somewhat exaggerated. It is widely accepted and can be calmly and accurately stated:

What interests Shakespeare, and should interest us, is not so much the motives, but what is moved; that is the action, of which the characters are a part, but not the source.

That, in a nutshell, is what Professor Stoll has been telling us and, though it may not be the whole truth, it is a pointer in the right direction. The value of this book is that it expresses an enthusiastic enjoyment of Shakespeare's young lovers, schooled by a clear understanding of the dramatic and literary conventions in which they were conceived.

JOAN BENNETT.

CAMBRIDGE.

Shakespeare Rediscovered. By CLARA LONGWORTH DE CHAMBRUN. New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. xii + 323 pp. 12s. 6d.

Mme de Chambrun's latest volume bears an ambitious title, and large claims are made on its behalf both by her publishers and by Dr G. B. Harrison in his preface which, if amiable towards the author, is less amiable towards 'professional scholars'. The term is not defined. Some of the scholars of highest and most widely accepted authority in Shakespearean studies are 'amateur scholars', who yet pursue their work with all the vigour of academic ideals. Mme de Chambrun has devoted herself to the study of Shakespeare for many years and is no less, or no more, 'professional' than any of these. She would not wish to be judged by lower standards of scholarship, which is concerned with evidence, logic, and truth, is a painful process, and is bound to move from step to step, with every step tested. Still less do I understand the phrase 'standardized scholars'.

One is likely to follow very warily the path of a guide who is as careless in detail as Mme de Chambrun. She tells us that Shakespeare applied for a licence to print *Venus and Adonis* (p. 112), that Francis Meres was 'professor of rhetoric at Oxford' (p. 113), that Shakespeare saw Southampton 'practise' the Catholic faith at London (p. 132), that Elizabeth was crowned 'by the Archbishop of Carlisle' (p. 32) and that Allen founded a university at Douai (p. 25).

I myself have always held the view set forth by Mme de Chambrun with force and conviction that the recusancy of John Shakespeare was Catholic recusancy. But there is need of greater care in the use of the words 'Catholic' and 'Puritan', if the historical picture is not to be distorted. The leading concept of the whole book is Shakespeare's place in the world of Catholic recusancy, and it affects, for example, the author's theory of the identity of 'Mr W. H.' with William Harvey, as well as her interpretation of Shakespeare's career in general. I cannot touch on all the questions raised. The identification of the copy of Holinshed used by Shakespeare himself is but ill supported by palaeographical argument. Three errors of transcription appear in two short lines of easy script (p. 257).

The reader of the book is unfortunately unable to follow the author to her documents, in the frequent absence of references. Misprints are numerous, and in one place, a 'common form' of words in a Patent is taken as exceptional, and unwarranted inferences drawn (p. 202).

Mme de Chambrun bears welcome testimony to the labours of Mrs C. C. Stopes. It will be of interest to her to remark that a large collection of Mrs Stopes's research-notes is deposited at University College, London, and still awaits the examination of a skilled student.

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight. By ANDREAS LAURENTIUS, translated by RICHARD SURPHLET. 1599. Edited by SANFORD V. LARKEY. (*Shakespeare Association Facsimiles*, No. 15.) London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, for the Shakespeare Association. 1938. xxv+194 pp. 21s.

The provision of facsimile texts for the use of the literary scholar proceeds apace, especially in the Elizabethan field. The great American libraries have furnished some admirable collotype facsimiles of notable rare books. And reproductions on a wider scale are being executed on both sides of the Atlantic, by the use of the cheaper 'Replika' process adopted in England by the Shakespeare Association. Their valuable series of texts, illustrative of the intellectual background of Shakespeare's work, has now reached its seventh year and its fifteenth number in the present considerable volume. The Association and the general editor of the series, Dr G. B. Harrison, may be congratulated on their pioneer work in this field. It is an admirable complement to the work of the Malone Society, in the provision of necessary material for the scholar's daily use.

Laurentius's four *Discourses* on the sight, on melancholy, on rheums, and on old age, are helpful towards an understanding of contemporary medical ideas. The book was apparently much more of a success in its original French than in its English translation, which occurs only in one edition, apparently. Certainly Laurentius's anatomical work seems to be more frequently referred to by English writers.

Mr Larkey's Introduction furnishes a discussion of Laurentius's medical ideas, with a digression of some length upon the theory of humours and melancholy. He has been content with a somewhat perfunctory treatment of the translator Surphlet or Surflet, about whom 'little is known' (p. ix). There are clues, which should have been followed up. And one would have liked to have notes upon the friends who signed laudatory verses prefatory to his translation.

The reproduction seems to vary considerably in tone. If it is to be trusted, there are some odd bibliographical features in the production (e.g. p. 157). But the purpose of the facsimile is to furnish a usable text, with no sophistication. This it achieves, and we are grateful to the Shakespeare Association for this service.

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

The Man in the Moone and *Nuncius Inanimatus*. Edited by GRANT MCCOLLEY. (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, Vol. XIX, no. 1.) Northampton, Mass. : Smith College. October, 1937. xiv + 78 pp. 75c.

THIS is a reprint with Introduction and Notes (textual and explanatory) of Bishop Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moone...by Domingo Gonsales*, described by the present editor as 'the first inter-planetary voyage in English literature' and hitherto available to students only in an incomplete version, with it is the same author's Latin pamphlet *Nuncius Inanimatus* (1629), with Thomas Smith's English translation of 1657. The reprint appropriately appears in the same series as Miss Marjorie Nicolson's recent valuable study *A World in the Moon*. It is welcome from several points of view, and not least as a very engaging narrative. Godwin's notions of life on the moon, of gravitation, and of the possibilities of aviation are of obvious importance for the history of scientific ideas in the seventeenth century; and equally interesting is the position of his work in the history of the celestial journey as a literary theme, and in the development of fictitious narrative in general, especially in relation to Defoe and Swift. Detailed criticism of the work is available in Miss Nicolson's study and in H. M. Lawton's article in *R.E.S.* (VII, 1931); Mr McColley's introduction in the present reprint is concisely informative on its biographical and scientific aspects and provides good evidence for dating its composition in 1627-32. He does not suggest why the work should be published in 1638, some years after Godwin's death; perhaps it might have remained unpublished but for the popularity of Bishop John Wilkins's *Discovery of a World in the Moone*, entered five months earlier.

Where this Introduction is deficient is in bibliography. Mr McColley states simply that his text 'is derived from a British Museum photostat of its unique copy of the first edition of London, 1638' (it is not unique, as appears from Lawton's article, p. 54, where a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale is described). No description is given either of this or the unique Bodleian copy of *Nuncius Inanimatus*. He does not even state that the 1657 translation of *Nuncius Inanimatus* was published in the same volume as the second edition of *The Man in the Moone*, the title-page attributing both to 'F. G. B. of H.'—a useful bit of added evidence for Godwin's authorship. The text also reveals that no use has been made of the second edition. In many instances, consultation of it would have saved the editor from emendations which are in themselves unlikely; for example, on p. 81 (I quote the pagination of the original, reproduced in the reprint) where the editor's emendation involves the recasting of a whole sentence. But even without the 1657 edition, consultation of the *N.E.D.*, both here and elsewhere, might have stayed the emender's hand. 'Acquaintance' is, or was, a collective noun, and does not need to have an -s added in the phrase 'my friends and acquaintance' (p. 37); while 'attendance' (p. 81) commonly signified 'a body of attendants', which makes sense without repunctuation of the sentence. Here the original text, which is given in Mr McColley's notes, should be restored.

The emendation on p. 77 is rather more serious in its implications. The reprint reads: 'And that they make semblance of detecting all Lying and falsehood', and the note says '*Detecting*. Misprinted *deterting*'. 'Detesting' suggests itself at once as better sense and better seventeenth-century English, however, guesswork is unnecessary, as the original text shows a broken *ft*, not an *ut* (cf. 'assuring' on p. 30, where the note makes a similar error); further, the second edition reads 'detesting'. These are the drawbacks of printing from a photostat of a single edition; but in this case, at least, they could have been avoided. Nothing but consultation of the original, however (or, of course, honest doubt), could have prevented several other references to slightly damaged letters as 'misprints', or such comments as 'The "0" in 30 is only partially printed' (p. 59) where the original shows a small hole in the paper! If it is impossible to have a photostat checked, it is better not to sound quite so certain in referring to the 'misprints' which it exhibits. For two further errors the photostat cannot be responsible; in the note on pp. 67-8 'Kindes wilde fowle' is given as the reading of the text instead of 'Kindes of wild fowle', and in the note on p. 126 'Lay a Spaniard' should read 'A Lay a Spaniard'.

There are other unsatisfactory features of this reproduction. The pagination of the original text is indicated by means of wide spaces and heavily printed numbers, disturbing to the reader; catchwords, however, are not reproduced, and more than once their omission falsifies the notes to the text. Of the spelling, the editor says 'I have retained all variant spellings of words not the obvious result of error'. One might, at a pinch, justify the emendation of 'exceeding' to 'exceeding', but hardly those of 'comandeth' to 'commandeth', and 'atained' to 'attained', and some of the emendations of punctuation and capitalization are equally unnecessary. Lastly, there is the treatment of the illustrations and title-page. There are three woodcut illustrations in the original, of which one is photographically reproduced as frontispiece to the present reprint. In the text it is found at p. 15, but should be, the editor says, at p. 44; its correct place, however, is clearly at p. 28. The title-page has fared worst. It is laid out to look like a literal transcript of the original, and it contains six errors in twenty-four words. In all this there is a mixture of carelessness and pretentiousness which one hopes is exceptional in this series as a whole.

KATHLEEN TILLOTSON.

LONDON.

The publishing firm of Cadell and Davies: select correspondence and accounts 1793-1836. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by THEODORE BESTERMAN. (*Oxford Books on Bibliography*.) London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1938. xxxv + 189 pp. 38s.

The papers that Mr Besterman has assembled in this fine book illustrate 'some of the most obscure corners of early nineteenth-century bibliography... the relations between author and publisher, printer and publisher, and between fellow publishers, publishing methods, the cost of

printing and papers, the binding of books', advertising and transport. It is hoped to discuss these subjects at length in future volumes of the series. In the meantime Mr Besterman has provided an interesting introduction to book production a century ago. The financial history of various works is given here. The firm's correspondence deals with authors such as Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt, Coleridge, Jane Austen, Burns (about whose connexion with Cadell and Davies a separate volume is planned), and Bishop Percy. Miscellaneous topics include the time that printing took, the cost of a learned work, map-printing, the supplying of the Library of Congress with its first books. Mr Besterman has edited the volume well, and generally allows the documents to tell their own story where they can.

By 1800 advertising had become a recognized part of book production. An author writes to Cadell and Davies: 'We have been too sparing in advertising this book, it had no chance for sale, having never been made thoroughly public.' But it was not always easy to advertise books. In 1803 Malone told of the difficulties he met.

The Booksellers have set up a Newspaper called the British Press, or Morn^s Literary Advertiser, to contain all their book advertisements, beside the usual Articles of a Morn^s Paper. It has arisen from the extreme ill treatment they rec^d from all the principal conductors of Newspapers; a most detestable crew! and I am heartily glad they are thus punished. You may judge of their manner of proceeding from the following circumstance. In April last, in order to push on the sale of the remaining copies of my Dryden, I carried Advertisem^{ts} to three principal papers: the Times, the Herald, & the Morn^s Chronicle; and they were not inserted in any of them till the latter end of *July*, when the parl^t was risen, & the town emptied. One of these conceited gentlemen told me, 'book advertisements were mere lumber'; and then humm'd an opera air.

Cadell and Davies do not complain but may have suffered from this attitude. When Malone's advertisement did appear, it began: 'This day is published . . .', which indicates that advertisements of a work were no evidence of the date of its publication.

A. TILLOTSON.

CAMBRIDGE.

Keats as Doctor and Patient. By SIR WILLIAM HALE-WHITE. London: Oxford University Press. 1938. 93 pp. 5s.

'What porridge had John Keats?' Without presuming to know the precise answer to Browning's rhetorical question, one may say that he had little. In his short life as a poet he suffered from inadequate recognition and much savage criticism, and he died before he was twenty-six. Born in 1795 he was apprenticed to a doctor in Edmonton in 1811, entered Guy's Hospital in October 1815, and qualified as a doctor at the Society of Apothecaries in July 1816. He never practised medicine, but devoted the remaining years of his life to poetry. He had a haemorrhage from the lungs in February 1820 and died from advanced pulmonary consumption in February 1821.

For a short account of such a life, of medicine, poetry, and ill-health, there could be no better chronicler than Sir William Hale-White, the son

of 'Mark Rutherford' and himself a distinguished physician of Keats's own hospital.

Sir William Hale-White divides his book into two main parts. the first an account of Keats's life up till the time of his qualification as a doctor, the second a discussion as to what was the cause of his death. The first part gives a vivid account of hospital practice at the combined Hospitals of St Thomas's and Guy's in the beginning of the nineteenth century, derived not only from Keats's medical notebooks, but from other contemporary sources. It is clear that at this period of his life Keats was in good health, and an intelligent and industrious student, qualifying in an unusually short time. But immediately after qualification he decided not to practise medicine. He told his guardian Abbey that his mind was made up. He knew that he possessed abilities greater than most men, and that therefore he was determined to gain his living by exercising them. He kept his word and medicine's loss was poetry's gain.

Sir William Hale-White discusses at length and in simple language the cause of Keats's death. He died of phthisis and not of a broken heart caused by unfriendly reviewers. It is clear that his health was good for two years after the brutal reviews in *Blackwood* and the *Quarterly* and that he took their criticism in a philosophic spirit.

Keats himself knew that he had consumption. From his own medical knowledge he recognized on 3 February 1820 that he was doomed. When on that night he had coughed on the sheet he said: 'That is blood from my mouth....Bring me the candle, Brown, and let me see this blood.' 'I know the colour of that blood;—it is arterial blood;—I cannot be deceived in that colour; that drop of blood is my death warrant. I must die.'

Sir William Hale-White's view is that he caught the infection from his brother Tom, who died of consumption in 1818 and with whom Keats had been living in lodgings since 1816, probably, in accordance with existing medical advice, with all windows closed to prevent 'draughts'.

The tragedy of the whole matter is that Keats was killed by the medical treatment of the age. Every time that he had a pulmonary haemorrhage the doctors bled him and so further diminished his resistance. Continued bleeding, calomel and closed windows completed the destruction of his health and only a year after the first haemorrhage he died in Rome, a post-mortem examination revealing advanced disease of both lungs. With modern open air sanatorium treatment and feeding in place of bleeding he would probably have survived.

HERBERT L. EASON.

LONDON.

The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth; The Middle Years.

Edited by ERNEST DE SELINCOURT. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1937.

Volume I (1806–June 1811) xx+458+458a–458f pp.; Volume II (August 1811–1820) xii+459–932 pp. 42s.

Wordsworth not only prosed a little but prosed not a little in many of the letters of his middle years. Of this he was conscious himself. On

18 January 1816 he wrote to Francis Wrangham: 'I am painfully conscious how poor a genius I possess for epistolary communications.' He also made all the apology that can be required—if any be required—for himself as a man in a letter written to R. P. Gillies on 22 December 1814:

But a poet must be subject to a thousand thoughts in common with other men, and many of them must, I suppose, be as unsusceptible of alliance with poetic passion as the thoughts that interest ordinary men.

Yet the reader may be forgiven who having come to the end of the second of these two volumes, in which Wordsworth reveals himself as a hard friend,¹ as a diligent manipulator of votes in the interests of the House of Lowther, and as a hard creditor, finds himself visited by misgiving² and assailed by the question: 'But where is the poet?'

This question, if we attempted to answer it, would lead directly towards the deepest issues of Wordsworth's life and poetry and the mystery of his waxing and waning as man and as poet. Any discussion of the subtle, concealed and slow-moving processes of this disintegration lies beyond the scope of this review, which limits itself to indicating the essential difference between *The Letters of the Middle Years* and *The Early Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*. It was necessary, in considering *The Early Letters*, to remember that this volume, in itself, by no means expressed the full movement of Wordsworth's life or of Dorothy's, that its value was rather that of a supplement to the knowledge given by the poems of the early years, especially *The Prelude*, by Dorothy's *Journals* and by Coleridge's poems and letters. Yet, in conjunction with this accompanying material, the early letters were constructive. It is not too much to say that they built up a world. Of the building of a world by this group of friends and poets we are always conscious, and of its living reality.

With the letters of the middle years it is different. We are conscious of disintegration even in reading the opening letters. At first this sense is slight, and it might seem to arise from the lack of any such body of material to amplify them and interpret them as had accompanied the letters of the early years, for although it is true that they should be read along with the sonnets on Liberty, which Wordsworth regarded as making collectively 'a Poem on the subject of Civil Liberty and national independence', with *On the Convention of Contra* and *A Letter to a Friend of Robert Burns*—these have no primary revelation to give, like *The Prelude* or the *Journals*. But as we read we realize that the sense of disintegration does not proceed from this. Nor does it proceed, in the letters written before 1812, from any deterioration in the letters themselves. Dorothy's, although, as always, carelessly written and discursive, are full of the vivid stuff of life. Wordsworth's are of varying value, but now and again they

¹ He based his refusal to lend money to Haydon in January 1820, on the score of regard: 'It sounds paradoxical, but the fact is strictly true, that I have too great an admiration of your talents and too much regard and respect for you to comply with your request.'

² Some such shade of misgiving may have been felt by Mrs Clarkson in 1821, when she confessed to Crabb Robinson: 'It is curious to me to find them so thoroughly torified. Though I *will* not acknowledge it to my Husband it is a little drawback upon the pleasure of our intercourse, even to me....'

show him in the pride of great and conscious strength. His poetry has never been interpreted with such brilliance and truth as in his letter to Lady Beaumont of 21 May 1807, and this letter is magnificent in its patience, serenity and integrity.

The sense of disintegration comes not from any such reasons as these, but from the gradual undermining of the close union with Coleridge, which had been the condition of the building up of the world in which the Wordsworths had lived between 1797 and 1805. In reading the early letters it was necessary to remember that very few of the letters to Coleridge have been preserved, and to make allowance for their absence. There are very few of the letters to Coleridge included in these two volumes, but nevertheless the shadow of Coleridge lies athwart them from beginning to end. The undermining of the relationship with Coleridge is the true tragic theme of these volumes, and it relegates to the background everything else, except the sorrow that came through the deaths of Thomas and Catharine Wordsworth. It is traced through its various phases—fear, disillusionment, sharp impatience, anger, resentment, until with the cold reconciliation of 1812 the ruin of a great friendship and of a great poetical partnership is completed. Coleridge practically passes out of the lives of the Wordsworths. With his passing, the world of their joint creation has also passed.

Of the remaining letters it might be said that if they are not 'shallows and miseries' they are mainly pre-occupied with shallows and visitings.

Dr de Selincourt has once more earned the gratitude of all students of Wordsworth's life and poetry for the completion of the heavy task of assembling and editing the letters contained in these volumes, which in addition to giving much new material and amplifying much that had been published before are in arrangement and annotation all that the most exacting student could require. The dating of some of the letters is exceptionally difficult as sometimes even the manuscript is not a trustworthy guide, Dorothy not infrequently in her haste dashing down the wrong day of the week or even the wrong month of the year. Dr de Selincourt has been scrupulous in correcting Knight's errors, and in giving such exactitude as it is reasonable to expect, considering the difficulty of the undertaking. A few dates may be subject to further revision in the direction of exactitude. Letter 358, which should undoubtedly precede Letter 357, should be dated Sunday, 26 February 1809, Dorothy's addition to it having been made on Monday, 27 February; Letter 376 should be dated 10 May 1809; Letter 425 should be dated 9 December 1810. The reader has some difficulty in following the later letters of 1813, as these are not arranged in sequence. Letter 490, the first of Dorothy's letters to Mrs Clarkson from Rydal, should be dated earlier than September 1813; Letter 491 which follows it should be dated Friday, 10 September and Saturday, 11 September; then comes Letter 492, of 4 October; this should be followed by Letter 486, which should be dated 10 October 1813.

No matter how careful an edition may be, students will wish to examine the manuscript material, when it is available. It is safe to say that the gleanings from the Wordsworthian letters which will reward such

researches will not be many, amounting, perhaps, to one or two additions to carelessly written letters, which have been missed. One of these which may be noted is the addition to the distressed letter about Coleridge which Dorothy wrote to Mrs Clarkson on 12 April 1810, Letter 403: 'Tell me you have burned this letter.' This makes a triple entreaty, for twice in the course of the letter Dorothy had requested Mrs Clarkson to burn it, and its omission detracts somewhat from our sense of the urgency of the mood in which it was written. Reference to the manuscript in one or two places elucidates passages which seem unintelligible or meaningless. Thus on p. 203, 'she was gadding with rapture' should be 'she was giddy with rapture'; on p. 203 also, in the description of Tom Wordsworth 'in short, he is a coral lad' should be 'in short, he is a comely lad'; on p. 367, 'their B[?]tree guns' should be 'their Burr-tree guns', Dorothy's mis-spelling of 'bourtrees'; on p. 413. 'We have not heard from Coleridge therefore I know nothing of the schemes respecting the Courier, or anything else, but knowing he must get [it] somewhere I am going to write to him on business before I leave Kendal' should be 'We have not heard from Coleridge therefore I know nothing of his schemes respecting the Courier, or anything else, but money he must get somewhere. I am going to write to him on business before I leave Kendal.'

CATHERINE M. MACLEAN.

LONDON.

Studia Otiosa: Some Attempts in Criticism. By R. WARWICK BOND.
London: Constable. 1938. ix+228 pp. 7s. 6d.

Professor Warwick Bond is making full use of the freedom from routine duties gained by his retirement from his Nottingham Chair. After the labour entailed by his edition of the first volume of the *Marlay Letters* published last year he might justifiably have claimed a breathing-space. But with indefatigable ardour he has quickly followed up his notable contribution to Anglo-Irish social history with the present collection of studies, ranging from Pindar and Lucan to Brant, Montaigne and Shakespeare, and in the essay on 'The Art of Narrative Poetry' coming down as late as Tennyson and William Morris. It is with Mr Bond a dominant conviction 'that the literary impulse is at bottom the same in all ages'.

Thus, though the majority of these studies have appeared in periodicals, and may therefore be known to readers of *The Modern Language Review*, they gain in significance by being collected and grouped together in a single volume. A special welcome among the reprints may be given to the essay on Montaigne, the most detailed of the studies, which appeared more than thirty years ago as a separate publication which has long been out of print. It is an admirable analysis, justified by copious references to the *Essays*, of Montaigne's personality and thought, including a suggestive comparison of his attitude and that of Bacon.

Mr Bond has already discussed in this *Review* Shakespeare's possible debt to Boiardo's *Timone*. In a new essay on 'The Framework of *The Comedy of Errors*' he suggests a source for the story of Aegeon and his wife

the Abbess, in a play by another Italian dramatist, *L' Ammalata* of Cecchi (1555). In another new study of 'The Puzzle of *Cymbeline*', he presents the play as 'keystone of the arch' rising from opposite sides in Shakespeare's two series of English and Roman historical plays. And in what is to me the least persuasive of his new Shakespearian contributions, he interprets Falstaff as 'Vox Populi' in *Henry IV*. But here as throughout the volume Mr Bond's studies have the flavour of a mellow scholarship.

F. S. BOAS.

LONDON.

Poetry and Contemplation. A New Preface to Poetics. By G. ROSTREVOR HAMILTON. Cambridge. University Press. 1937. xl+157 pp. 6s.

The author of this interesting little book seems to have been goaded into writing by the antipathy he has apparently been feeling for some time to the work of Dr I. A. Richards, whose theories he thinks have 'had a definitely harmful effect not only on poetic theory, not only on criticism, but also on the writing of poetry itself'. He leans toward the doctrines of A. C. Bradley, Mauron, and especially Bergson. He accepts Bradley's conception of a poetic world, apart from ordinary existence—'a twice removed world, independent, autonomous, where contemplative experience is not a means, but an end in itself', the proper concern of poetry being 'with the experience for its own sake, and not for the sake of anything ulterior'. The poetic and the moral spheres are to him 'quite distinct from each other'. The enjoyment of poetry is an experience of 'the contemplative imagination', abstracted from the world of action or speculation; and the aesthetic attitude 'may be described as the attitude of pure disinterested attention'.

This isolation of the poetic experience—the old art for art's sake heresy revived—as if the aesthetic world can be dissociated from the world of ordinary existence, and as if any single human activity can exist without relation to the total personality—at least once seems to Mr Hamilton himself somewhat too drastic, for he grants incidentally that 'the art of poetry is very often not pure; it has some tincture of the practical or speculative about it'. And surely it is not difficult to discover examples of great poetry which is at the same time great criticism of life. Mr Hamilton's failure to recognize this is probably due to the fact that his illustrations are almost all taken from a single sphere of poetry—lyric poetry, and a decidedly narrow range of lyric poetry.

Mr Hamilton's impatience with 'Dr Richards, the physiologist', to whom 'the difference between the poetic experience and the ordinary experience is purely quantitative', and 'art is the handmaid of morality', and according to whose 'utilitarian ethic, having as its aim... the fullest and freest activity of nervous impulses... the function of the arts is to increase the activity, and promote the health, of the physical, nervous system', is intelligible.

The author's ideas, though they are probably less new than he thinks,

are set forth with conviction and spirit. One may regret the appearance from time to time of a tone somewhat captious and authoritarian.

BARRY CERF.

PORTLAND, OREGON.

Cockney Past and Present. By WILLIAM MATTHEWS. London: Routledge. 1938. xv+245 pp. 10s. 6d.

The dialect of London is no longer tolerated in educated circles; far easier for the camel to negotiate the needle than for a young woman with a Cockney diphthong to become a telephone operator. It stands condemned as the ugliest of all our dialects, and vigorous attempts are being made to bury it so deep beneath veneers of greater respectability that it will never again dare to show itself unvarnished. But as an aspect of social behaviour, as a record of the life, temperament, and character of the largest, perhaps the most vigorous, and certainly the most humorous section of our population, it remains to this day without a peer among the local dialects of these islands. And Dr Matthews has done well to tell us something about it, for here it is at our very front door, waiting to be investigated and described, while our young linguists rush to tell us about things long since dead.

Dr Matthews has searched his sources diligently, and has not drawn from them anything but the bare truth. He is well aware of the dangers of such work, and is to be commended for again warning researchers that much of what passes muster as Cockney in literature has little or no warrant to be there, being but a literary tradition, copied by one writer after another. And he wisely refrains from reading into spellings more than is justifiable concerning pronunciation. What idea future generations will gather from Mr Bernard Shaw's spellings of Cockney is best left for the future to determine. But those who want to know something about the transference of *v* and *w* in Cockney will find the history of this interesting feature carefully set out.

Dr Matthews deserves special credit for his chapter on Cockney in the Music Hall and for his researches into the songs sung by such famous Cockneys as Marie Lloyd, Gus Elen, Albert Chevalier and others. And whatever is to be said on the subject of the B.B.C. and the English language, let it not be forgotten that Mabel Constanduros, Elsie and Doris Waters (not Walters as Dr Matthews has it) are keeping up the tradition of the honest Cockney dialect, the version of the sisters being several degrees higher in the social scale than that used by Miss Constanduros. There is not room in the course of a short review to mention all the excellent features of this book, nor is it within the competence of this reviewer to assess them all. He can only say that having studied this dialect for thirty years in environments ranging from East End schools to the ranks of the British Army, and having acquired a fondness for it second only to that for his native Welsh-English of Glamorgan, he finds it the most aesthetically satisfying, socially fascinating, and linguistically adequate of all the depressed areas in our national speech. And he is

grateful to Dr Matthews for having written a book on the subject that has given so much profit and entertainment.

A. LLOYD JAMES.

LONDON.

An Introduction to Romance Linguistics. By I. IORDAN, revised and translated by J. ORR. London Methuen. 1937. xi+403 pp. 21s.

The Rumanian original of this book was reviewed in this journal in April 1934. On its subject-matter in general it will therefore suffice to mention that in its four chapters (Romance Studies before 1900; The Idealistic or Aesthetic School of K. Vossler; Linguistic Geography; The French School) an account is given of the lives and work of leading scholars grouped round general tendencies discernible in the development of the study of the Romance languages. Even a cursory glance will reveal the vast extent of the field thus covered and the need for such a survey of it. It is safe to say that this book must find a place on the shelves of anyone seriously interested in Romance studies and that it will profoundly enhance the interest in their work of any beginners fortunate enough to make early contact with its pages.

It must have been a somewhat embarrassing matter to decide just what could be included in and excluded from the domain of Romance linguistics. There is no fault to find with the author for including scholars whose main preoccupation was 'linguistics' rather than 'Romance', in that their work was indispensable to Romance specialists, while at the other end of the scale the term Romance often seems to be little more than a generic term covering scholars whose field is or was almost exclusively French. While recognizing this difficulty of defining the subject-matter and the success of the author with the field as he has delimited it (see Author's Preface, p. v), I feel that the phoneticians and the students of Latin have on the whole received insufficient treatment. For instance, E. Sievers makes but two fugitive appearances in footnotes, one of which tells us that he attended a lecture of Schuchardt's in 1870, and the other puts him at the head of a short list of 'etceteras' who stand for 'all the phoneticians'. I cannot remember meeting the name of Henry Sweet at all in the book and reference to the index to see whether I really had passed him over drew a complete blank. This surely is a real omission, since, quite apart from his eminence as a phonetician, Sweet might have justified his inclusion in a book on Romance linguistics by his work on Portuguese alone.

As for the Latinists such as Bonnet, Haag, Mohl and Lindsay, to say nothing of the present eloquent specialists in later Latin in America, at least a paragraph might have been devoted to them together with reference to books containing reproductions of inscriptions and discussions of their Latinity.

In short, Professor Iordan has done his task so well that one perceives that he would have been the ideal guide to other tracts of the field; his book leaves one thirsting for still more.

To Professor Orr we owe a very great debt for his exceedingly good translation; the English reads splendidly and is a worthy vehicle for the absorbingly interesting subject-matter. Moreover, Professor Orr has in part rewritten the book to include a good deal of his own handiwork, as he tells us in his preface. I rather wish that he had done even more. His English edition might well have dealt with writers in English somewhat more fully than the original needed to do. In addition to Sweet and Lindsay mentioned above, one would have welcomed more information about C. Grandgent, Oertel, Whitney, etc., with whom our own students make acquaintance.

Finally, the book is admirably printed and produced. Only a very few printer's errors (e g p. 21, n. 4 *book* for *books*, p. 35, l. 15 *arrest* for *rarest*) have slipped through into the finished work.

If I have strained unduly at what may appear trifles when seen in the light of the general excellence of the book, it is because in the case of a book that earned high praise, even when it was available in Rumanian only, this excellence, to which I would pay full tribute, was already well known.

R. C. JOHNSTON.

OXFORD.

La formation du féminin de l'adjectif et du participe passé dans les dialectes normands, picards et wallons d'après l'Atlas linguistique de la France.

By REGINALD BOWEN. Paris: Droz. 1937. 131 pp. 20 fr.

Malgré l'offensive dirigée contre eux par les courants centralisateurs et unificateurs de la vie moderne, les patois continuent à lutter vaillamment. En lisant cette thèse, on se rendra, une fois de plus, compte de leur vitalité. Pour ce qui a trait à la formation du féminin, ils apparaissent, dans l'aire normande, picarde et wallonne, comme doués d'une force supérieure à celle qui anime le français littéraire. C'est là le fait essentiel que Mr R. Bowen a nettement mis en lumière: il a aussi convenablement exposé et sérié en un certain nombre de groupes les moyens auxquels les patois ont eu recours pour réaliser la tendance à la différenciation du masculin et du féminin.

Nous n'aurions rien perdu à la suppression du chapitre I. Vouloir donner en 16 pages un exposé, même sommaire de l'évolution du féminin dans le français littéraire depuis l'origine jusqu'à nos jours, c'était se lancer, de propos délibéré, dans une entreprise des plus ingrates, et, malgré sa bonne volonté, l'auteur n'est parvenu qu'à un résultat des plus médiocres: cette question si complexe et si étendue n'a été l'objet que d'un traitement vague, inexact et incomplet. Mieux eût valu se consacrer entièrement au côté patois, à l'accroissement de la documentation et au contrôle des exemples fournis par *l'Atlas linguistique de la France*—qu'il ne faut pas accepter comme paroles d'évangile.

La rédaction est souvent incorrecte. Par exemple, p. 13, l. 11 et p. 24, l. 4 'il paraît' est un anglicisme des plus maladroits; p. 13, l. 13 au lieu de 'Au XII^e et XIII^e siècle' lire soit 'Au XII^e et au XIII^e siècle' soit 'Aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles'.

Enfin les fautes d'impression sont nombreuses: cf., entre autres, p. 11, n. 2 et p. 124, l. 9 'Griefswald' au lieu de 'Greifswald'; p. 17, l. 29 'l'Académie s'est occupé' au lieu de 'occupée', inadvertance vraiment malencontreuse dans un ouvrage consacré au féminin de l'adjectif et du *participe passé*!

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

Etude sur 'La mort le Roi Artu', roman du XIIIe siècle, dernière partie du 'Lancelot en prose'. By JEAN FRAPPIER. Paris: E. Droz. 1936. 425 pp. 60 French francs.

'*La mort le Roi Artu*', *roman du XIIIe siècle*. Edited by JEAN FRAPPIER. Paris: E. Droz. 1936. lviii + 255 pp. 40 French francs.

Nous trouvons ici présentées sous un jour tout nouveau (1) les questions relatives aux rapports des quatre parties qui constituent le *Lancelot en prose*; (2) les questions qui concernent l'origine, la composition, l'esprit et la forme de *La Mort le Roi Artu*.

M. Frappier considère le *Lancelot propre*, l'*Agravain*, la *Queste du saint Graal* et *La Mort le Roi Artu* comme la réalisation par plusieurs narrateurs d'une œuvre qui avait été conçue par un seul cerveau. D'après lui, il y a eu unité de plan pour l'ensemble et il y a eu diversité de conceptions et d'art pour les différentes parties de l'édifice. Il fixe la durée de l'évolution du *Lancelot en prose* à une période d'environ vingt ans (1215-1235). Il explique ainsi de façon très acceptable les divergences des courants que trahit cet ouvrage courtoisie, ascétisme, mysticisme, tendances religieuses. Il ne regarde pas comme impossible l'attribution du *Lancelot en prose* et de *La Queste* à un seul écrivain; mais, pour *La Mort le Roi Artu*, il n'admet qu'un auteur, lequel n'a rien de commun avec celui de *La Queste*; enfin dans l'*Estoire del Saint Graal*, dans le *Merlin* et ses suites il voit des rédactions postérieures au *Lancelot en prose* (y compris l'*Agravain*), à *La Queste* et à *La Mort le Roi Artu*.

Ce dernier roman a dû paraître de 1230 à 1235. L'anonyme qui l'a écrit puise à de nombreuses sources, soit, pour ne nommer ici que les plus importantes, l'*Historia Regum Britanniae* de Geoffroi de Monmouth, le *Brut* de Wace, la *Vita Merlini*, le *Merlin* de Robert de Boron, le *Brut* utilisé par Layamon, le *Perceval en prose*, le *Roman de Tristan* (plutôt la version de Bérout que celle de Thomas), mais il impose à ces sources des modifications multiples et d'importance variable, que M. Frappier suit avec une inlassable patience et dépiste avec une rare habileté. Le conteur fait preuve d'indépendance d'esprit et d'originalité; il se plaît aux développements que lui dicte sa propre imagination. Il déploie un singulier talent d'analyse et de psychologie. Son utilisation des passions comme ressorts de l'action rappelle la manière des classiques et plus particulièrement celle de Racine. Tout en exaltant l'influence de l'inexorable Destin, qu'il personifie sous le nom de Fortune, il réserve leur part aux fatalités intérieures et il nous dévoile le rôle qu'elles jouent dans l'extinction des héros arthuriens. Il dessine avec finesse les traits carac-

téristiques de ses personnages, qu'ils soient de premier ordre ou d'ordre inférieur, qu'ils s'appellent Lancelot, Bohort, Artu, Gauvain, Guenièvre ou Gaheriet, Agravain, Guerrehet, Mordret. Il obtient enfin des effets profondément tragiques par son judicieux emploi de thèmes majeurs, comme ceux de la *Mort*, de la *Gloire céleste*, de la *Fortune*, ou de thèmes secondaires, comme ceux de la *Vengeance fraternelle*, de la *Conspiration du silence*. Autant de signes qui révèlent une inspiration de grande envergure. Malheureusement l'exécution n'est pas aussi puissante. Comme le dit M. Frappier, 'on souhaiterait pour ce Crépuscule des Héros le jeu des grandes orgues ou toutes les ressources d'un orchestre. On doit se contenter d'entendre un chalumeau. Cependant notre romancier a su tirer d'un instrument encore primitif les modulations justes et émouvantes' (p. 397).

M. Frappier n'a pas visé à épuiser son sujet. Il l'a surtout traité du point de vue esthétique. Il n'a qu'effleuré les questions linguistiques. Nous espérons que, plus tard, il reprendra ces dernières, en leur donnant toute l'ampleur qu'elles méritent.

La thèse principale, qui a valu à l'éminent érudit le grade de docteur ès lettres de l'Université de Paris *with full honours*, est une des plus brillantes et des plus solides études dont le cycle arthurien ait été l'objet. Elle a déjà provoqué et elle provoquera assurément encore des objections. Dommage qu'il en eût été autrement, car n'est-ce pas justement le signe où l'on reconnaît une hypothèse neuve et féconde?

Quant à la thèse secondaire, elle ne peut manquer de susciter un vif intérêt. Elle remplace définitivement les tentatives de J. Douglas Bruce, *La Mort le Roi Artus*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1910, et de H. O. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, T. VI, Washington, 1913. C'est la seule édition critique que nous ayons du présent roman; et elle est en tous points excellente.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

Opuscles Critiques. By JEAN CHAPELAIN. (*Société des Textes français modernes.*) Edited by ALFRED C. HUNTER. Paris: Droz. 1936. 533 pp. 50 fr.

Dès l'abord, Mr A. C. Hunter nous prévient qu'il n'a pas eu la prétention de réhabiliter Chapelain ni de le poser comme un méconnu, innocente victime de Boileau. Il a certainement eu raison de ne pas tenter l'aventure; il ne viendrait à la pensée d'aucun critique sérieux de proposer *La Pucelle* à l'admiration des lecteurs modernes. Et cependant c'est bien de réhabilitation qu'il s'agit ici, de la meilleure réhabilitation qui soit, celle qu'impose la considération des textes eux-mêmes. Pour de nombreux étudiants de la littérature classique française, Chapelain théoricien et critique sortira singulièrement grandi de la lecture des opuscles que Mr Hunter a eu l'heureuse idée d'assembler et de publier.

Ces opuscles font clairement voir la place éminente qui revient à leur auteur dans l'histoire des théories esthétiques. Chapelain, bien plus que Boileau, a été le 'législateur du Parnasse'; avant lui, et peut-être mieux que lui, il a fixé les traits essentiels de la littérature classique: naturalisme,

rationalisme, règles, imitation des anciens, vraisemblance, bienséances, enseignement; il a, plus que Boileau, contribué à donner à la France une 'constitution littéraire' et a été ainsi l'un des grands artisans de cette primauté intellectuelle que la France va exercer sur le reste de l'Europe et en particulier sur l'Angleterre. Pour être juste, il est bon de rappeler que d'autres écrivains français du XVII^e siècle, le père Rapin en particulier, doivent en partager le mérite avec Chapelain.

Du point de vue de la critique littéraire, ces opuscules révèlent des aspects sinon inconnus du moins trop généralement ignorés de leur auteur. Moins agressif que Boileau, plus porté à approuver qu'à blâmer, Chapelain a aussi l'esprit plus largement ouvert. Son respect et son admiration pour les anciens ne sont pas une superstition: à l'occasion, il ne se prive pas d' 'étriller' Homère; il ne croit pas à l'irrémissible infériorité des modernes, il se plaît à les montrer supérieurs, sur des points essentiels, aux anciens. Il ne condamne pas en bloc et de parti-pris toute la littérature du moyen-âge; il porte un intérêt sincère, quoique un peu honteux, aux romans médiévaux comme le *Lancelot*; tout en reconnaissant qu'ils ont été écrits par des 'barbares' pour des barbares, il leur découvre certaines qualités: c'est de cette façon que, par l'intermédiaire de W. Hurd, il prépare l'éveil du médiévalisme romantique. Il apprécie avec infiniment plus de pénétration et d'impartialité que Boileau n'en a montré l'œuvre de Ronsard, il s'incline devant la 'grandeur' de celle-ci et le 'génie' de leur auteur. Il assigne à Malherbe la place exacte qui lui revient dans l'histoire de la poésie française, celle d'un poète oratoire qui a souvent rimé de la prose, celle d'un 'borgne dans le royaume des aveugles'.

Tout cela n'est pas exactement nouveau; R. Bray, dans *La Formation de la Doctrine Classique en France*, est revenu à plusieurs reprises sur certains des points que nous venons de signaler. Cependant on ne saurait être trop reconnaissant envers Mr A. C. Hunter de nous avoir mis entre les mains les éléments qui nous permettent de juger en connaissance de cause les idées de ce grand ouvrier du classicisme.

F. J. TANQUEREY.

LONDON.

The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750. By IRA O. WADE. Princeton: University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1938 329 pp. 18s.

In this very important work Professor Wade has followed up the investigations into the clandestine circulation of MSS. in France between 1700 and 1750 which were inaugurated nearly thirty years ago by Lan-son. An introduction on the methods of distribution of these MSS. is followed by a detailed discussion of their authors, of the date of their composition, circulation in MS. form and subsequent publication, and by an analysis of their ideas. In an excellent bibliography we find a list of some 390 copies of 102 works to be found in the public libraries of France and in various European and American libraries. This impressive total is

by no means exhaustive. Several MSS. mentioned by contemporaries are no longer extant, and there exist MSS. in private collections. It is clear that the criticisms of religion, both from a deistic and a materialist standpoint, which appeared in print in increasing numbers after 1750, were current in a small circle long before that date, and that an effort (perhaps in the case of Boulainvilliers and his group even an *organized* effort) was made to spread these ideas among a wider circle of readers. Professor Wade has at last provided a guide through this maze of literature by assembling information scattered in various works and by adding to it the results of his own study of the MSS.

There are inevitably gaps and some errors in so vast an undertaking. The MSS. treated are concerned almost exclusively with the criticism of religion and religious ethics; political and social ideas receive scant treatment. The *Studien zur französischen Aufklärungsliteratur im Anschluss an J. A. Naigeon* (Breslau, 1932) of Herr Brummer has apparently been overlooked. One might quarrel with the author's conclusion that 'some 392 copies of 102 different essays were pervading the public consciousness during the first fifty years of the century' (p. 22). The number of essays seems a little exaggerated, as in several cases the same work in different forms is counted as two or more works: e.g. Meslier's 'Testament' and extracts from it count as two works. Moreover, the very useful division of the eighteenth century into two periods must not be made too watertight; the number of MSS. actually in circulation before 1750 is impressive enough not to require exaggeration. How many of these 102 works were actually written before 1750? Quite a number of them are admitted by the author himself to be post 1750. How many of the 392 copies were actually made before 1750? It is quite impossible to give a definite answer, but many of the copies are actually dated later than 1750; moreover, many of those without dates may well belong to the second half of the century, because many of the essays were never published at all, and because most of those published did not appear till the 1760's, and even then we have copies which were almost certainly made from the printed work. Criticisms of points of detail do not, however, take away from the value of this important work which will long be essential to any student of eighteenth-century French thought.

J. LOUGH.

ABERDEEN.

Le Jocelyn de Lamartine; Étude historique et critique avec des documents inédits. By HENRI GUILLEMIN. Paris: Boivin. 1936. 858 pp. 75 francs.

This comprehensive and important study of *Jocelyn* unfortunately presents the fruits of academic research in a singularly indigestible form. The plan followed is that successfully adopted in shorter studies of single works: M. Guillemin relates the poem to its author and his milieu and examines its sources in life and in literature, its fortune, its influence, its message. This method, however, does not lend itself well to a work on so large a scale. Unless presented in conjunction with the text to which it

refers, a mass of material such as M. Guillemin has accumulated becomes unwieldy and defies classification. Repetition is inevitable; the same material reappears in different chapters (e.g. under 'themes' and 'sources'). M. Guillemin seems to be unwilling, too, to sacrifice any of his notes, even when their relevancy is doubtful and their importance trifling; the book gains in value as an exhaustive work of reference, but the main issues are apt to be obscured and the eight hundredth page of small print finds even the most persistent reader weary.

The chapters on the social, political and religious background are interesting, but might well have formed a separate publication. Those dealing with the genesis, the elaboration, the artistic value and the significance of *Jocelyn* are among the best. M. Guillemin has made admirable use of the MSS. and of documents consulted at Saint-Point and elsewhere. In his analysis of the non-literary sources of inspiration he has been particularly successful, throwing new light on the whole Dumont affair and showing how much of Lamartine himself there is in *Jocelyn*. In his study of literary sources M. Guillemin is less happy; his findings are often arbitrary and inconsistent, particularly in his examination of English influence. His arguments against Lamartine's knowledge of English are inconclusive and do not justify the rejection, as possible sources of influence, of works which had not at that time appeared in translation. The suggestion (p. 563) that Mary Ann Eliza Birch had discarded her native language is disproved (p. 734) by her translation of part of her husband's work into English verse. M. Guillemin's own knowledge of English literature does not seem to be intimate: Wordsworth and Coleridge he dismisses as 'après tout, secondaires'; he refers to Cowper's *Task* as 'un petit poème', to *The Cottar's Saturday Night* as a 'ballade anglaise' and to Sir Roger de Coverley and Uncle Toby as 'personnages ecclésiastiques'; how prosaic, too, 'l'*Old Manner* de Coleridge' sounds! Curious claims are advanced for the influence of *Jocelyn* on Hugo's and Vigny's verse. Lamartine's 'lune qui courait' surely never inspired Vigny's incomparable

Les nuages couraient sur la lune enflammée. . . .

The most certain debt, that of the *Tristesse d'Olympio*, had already been established by M. Levaillant. Stranger still is it to find it claimed that Mérimée, Hugo, Zola and Maupassant borrowed their ecclesiastics from *Jocelyn*. An admitted 'sourcier' like M. Guillemin should not be disconcerted by Lamartine's attempt to bargain with his Maker (p. 172); there is a source for it in Jacob's pact at Beth-el (Gen. xxviii. 20-2).

The Alpine setting of *Jocelyn* had already been shown by Mlle Engel and others to be a fantastic and composite thing; M. Guillemin's special contribution is the ingenious suggestion of Mount Lebanon as an important ingredient. It was here that Lamartine had his real experience of the rigours of winter in the high and desolate places of the earth. M. Guillemin believes, however, that Lamartine was a sincere and ardent lover of the mountains. Mlle Engel discounts this (in *La Montagne*, April

1937), shrewdly suggesting that what he most loved was the memories and associations they stirred in him.

The author of *Jocelyn* lends himself particularly to the 'debunking' process (as defined in the *N.E.D.*). Relentlessly, document in hand, M. Guillemin follows Lamartine's equivocal course, showing up at every turn his prudent reticences, his exposure of others' secrets, his skill in running with the hare and hunting with the hounds, his amazing gift for self-deception. The complete unreliability of his *Commentaires* and *Confidences* is proved again and again. Some of the time-honoured legends will have to go at last, notably that of the spontaneous singer who would brook no emendation of his first fine careless rapture, as well as that, so dear to the English examinee, of the Christian poet who knew no doubt.

In its present form M. Guillemin's thesis is not easily accessible to the humbler student. Dare we hope that he will sum up his most important findings in a brief and inexpensive monograph?

M. E. I. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

Alphonse Daudet et la Provence. By ALEXANDER KRUGLIKOFF. Paris: Jouve. 1936. 320 pp

Provence, whether Latin, mediaeval or modern, is a subject of such inexhaustible interest and charm that lovers of the South of France will not complain of yet another work devoted to the words and ways of its inhabitants and to the landscapes and edifices, as seen by Alphonse Daudet. Not that Daudet, though a true *Méridional* and always *déraciné* in the North, is concerned with the whole of the Midi. What he knew best was the 'Midi de la Provence', the Rhône valley from Avignon to the Mediterranean, the part of the South included in the departments of Vaucluse, Bouches-du-Rhône, Basses Alpes, Var and Alpes Maritimes. Dr Kruglikoff's object is to show how all Daudet's work, from the 'Moulin' sketches to *Numa Roumestan*, portrays this particular Provence. It is idealized often. Zola said: 'La Provence de Daudet est une Provence trop aimable. . . il y fait passer toute la poésie romanesque des troubadours.' Not only does the sun intoxicate, but even the mistral is 'la saine et vivifiante bourrasque'. Idealization and exaggeration and even caricature are the outcome of Daudet's innate understanding of the exuberance, the craving for laughter, the need for self-expression by word and gesture of the *Méridional*. He makes the intensely sociable Numa say, 'Quand je ne parle pas, je ne pense pas'. Perhaps the secondary characters are nearer to life, yet all are living, though each may be a patchwork of several models, 'un fagotage de diverses pièces', as Montaigne called the process.

The linguistic side of Daudet's Provence is less slightly treated than in Dr Katharine Bale's recent thesis. Dr Kruglikoff notes how Daudet adds local colour and artistic beauty by introducing forms of the *langue d'oc* in its various survivals, 'la langue du cru, ce patois admirable de couleur et de sonorité qui vibre comme un écho latin', the language of his friend Mistral's verse, revived by the *Félibres*, 'cette belle langue provençale,

plus qu'aux trois quarts latine, que les reines ont parlée autrefois et que maintenant nos pâtres seuls comprennent'. Words and phrases of Provençal and Old French, now used with a special sense in the South, such as *ladre*, *ainé*, *grand boire*, are noted in this connexion.

In the personality of Daudet Dr Kruglikoff traces the mixture of exuberance and indolence to be found in his characters, but the tendency to exaggeration is corrected by a Latin sense of proportion and fitness, the disciplining of imagination by reason, in short the classical spirit of 'nothing too much'. Whether Daudet's compatriots of the South recognized sweet reasonableness in the satire implicit in *Numa* and *Tartarin* may be doubted, though they appreciated *Valmajour* and *l'Arlésienne*, but as Daudet himself said: 'Il y a deux Midis, le Midi bourgeois et le Midi paysan, l'un est comique, l'autre est splendide.'

Certainly something of the special aroma of this unique region which pervades all Daudet's work has passed into the book under review. The bibliography testifies to the completeness of the researches undertaken. The author must surely have been as devoted to the use of *fiches* as Daudet himself. There is a good index.

F. C. JOHNSON.

EDINBURGH.

Lettres à La Duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna. By PROSPER MÉRIMÉE.

Edited by PIERRE TRAHARD. Paris: Boivin. 1938. 127 pp. 25 fr.

The recipient of these fifty-six letters (1864-70) was a Swiss lady of noble birth, who, being left a widow at the age of twenty, devoted the rest of her life to sculpture and won considerable fame under the pseudonym of 'Marcello', while her talents and her beauty brought her many friends and admirers. There is a singular charm in the exquisite flirtation revealed by these letters, full of the familiar liveliness and wit, though tinged with the melancholy that marks Mérimée's declining years: nor is there anything quite like it in all the many volumes of his correspondence—for he is writing in the evening of his life to one who is in her prime, and he discloses a new facet of his character. M. Trahard is to be congratulated both on his discovery of these delightful letters and on his admirable Introduction and Notes. In the latter he fails to detect a misquotation of Shakespeare, 'Macbeth has *killed* sleep, *sweet* sleep' (where *murdered* and *the innocent* are required), and has apparently failed to recognize that 'ditto' is an *English* corruption of the Italian 'detto'. But these are negligible blemishes. As frontispiece he has prefixed a sketch by 'Marcello' of a delightful person, who must assuredly be Mérimée despite the unbuttoned waistcoat and the deplorable trousers. And the collection closes with a touching letter (in English) from Fanny Lagden announcing the death of the friend of her youth 'who loved me so much, always telling me he had but me in the world'.

H. E. BUTLER.

LONDON.

An Approach to M. Valéry's Jeune Parque. By A. R. CHISHOLM. Melbourne: University Press, London: Oxford University Press. 1938. 66 pp. 3s.

This commentary is so suggestive, so sympathetic, so penetrating, that it would be ungracious to express anything but gratitude to Mr Chisholm. Otherwise one might have been tempted to regret that, as an introduction, he did not sum up the conclusions of his book *Towards Hérodiade*; since Mallarmé's *Hérodiade* is the first state, although incomplete, of Valéry's *Jeune Parque*. *Hérodiade* ends on the note where the girl, preoccupied with her own virginity, rebels against the pale light of the night, and demands a new and ardent life. That is Valéry's starting point. He himself speaks of 'une suite de substitutions psychologiques', although, as Mr Chisholm's commentary shows, for *psychologiques* we must often read *physiologiques*. Valéry's great gift consists in treating the secrets of a human soul scientifically yet poetically, abstractly yet concretely. No poem furnishes better proof than the *Jeune Parque* that pure poetry as the Abbé Brémond desired it is an impossibility. Mr Chisholm deserves our thanks perhaps above all for tackling the famous passage on Death, the most profound in the whole poem. The realization of self, especially in love, leads necessarily to the consideration of death, to the thought of nothingness. That explains, too, M. Valéry's irritation with the unhelpfulness of so many philosophers. Young students finding themselves plunged in a Philosophy Class, where they meet with nothing of the tenderness with which they have been wont to surround spiritual things, are seized with a violent dislike of all metaphysical discussions where, as it seems to them, philosophers speak from hearsay and not from experience. Mr Chisholm is somewhat brief in his consideration of this aspect of Valéry's thought: perhaps deliberately. In any case he has written an extremely valuable little book, marking the undercurrents of the poem and the transposition of the world of intelligence into the world of sensation, Epicurus proving stronger than Zeno or Epictetus. M. Valéry loves to hide what he loves; one wonders what he will say to so complete a revelation?

GLADYS TURQUET MILNES.

LONDON.

Denker der italienischen Renaissance, Gestalten u. Probleme. By RICHARD HÖNIGSWALD. Basel: Haus zum Falken. 1938. 248 pp. 10 fr.

Giovanni Pontano fra l'uomo e la natura—in appendice il dialogo Aegridius tradotto da Vincenzo Grillo. By GIUSEPPE TOFFANIN. Bologna: Zanichelli. 1938. 180 pp. 15 lire.

Perhaps because men are aware of being on the threshold of a new age they have become more insistent and searching in their endeavours to understand the deeper causes underlying the Renaissance. It would probably help to avoid straying from the essential issue if one added, of the 'Italian' Renaissance, for that intellectual upheaval originated and acquired its early recognizable features in Italy and produced itself in

other countries later and nowhere as completely. Thought, manners, literature and art were all profoundly transformed, as everyone realizes who will consider the facts without prejudice, but why and how? Although the fallacy of some recent lucubrations is already becoming evident, there are widely conflicting theories in the field and every honest attempt at clearing up a problem that is still a problem must be welcome. Dr Honigswald, whose activity in this field began over a quarter of a century ago, is mainly interested in the philosophical aspect and implication of the Renaissance, and it would be difficult to give excessive praise to the lucidity with which he posits the problem in his introduction:

Italien ist nicht nur die *Wiege* der philosophischen Renaissance; diese entfaltet sich auf seinem Boden im uppigstem Reichtum und zu höchster Vollendung. Gewiss, auch in anderen Bereichen der Europäischen Kultur begegnen uns zu gleicher Zeit typische, ja grossartige Äusserungen und Ergebnisse philosophischer Gestaltung. In *Italien* aber gewinnen sie die Züge eines nach allen Seiten hin fest umrissenen Bildes, eines klar überschaubaren, dabei organisch gewachsenen Ganzen. (p 13)

And he deals with a series of personalities of the Renaissance with equal lucidity, thanks to his complete mastery of his subject. Well known facts acquire a new significance in his telling; obscure theories as Ficino's and Pico's are summed up in a way that makes them clear also to the layman and are further illustrated by unexpected parallels with modern thinkers. Much of what Dr Honigswald writes is apparently alien to the scope of this *Review*, but I would urge, 'only apparently', for a greater familiarity with the philosophical issues would spare many approximate, and thus inaccurate, statements on the part of historians of literature and art, as will be realized by considering how simple the position of Valla and of Leonardo becomes when envisaged from the angle Dr Honigswald has chosen. More striking still is the almost irresistible conclusion that much of the recent polemics concerning the Renaissance is groundless; for it is as certain, in Dr Honigswald's view, that the philosophical Renaissance has a oneness of its own and easily recognizable features, as that its origins must be sought in the philosophy of the Middle Ages, which does not of course mean that the Renaissance began in the Middle Ages. Professor Toffanin, would, I presume, agree with such a conclusion, perhaps with some qualification. He has long fought against the antagonism that had been assumed to exist between the Renaissance and Christianity; his latest work almost takes the form of a reply to his critics, and he has had many, and of an appendix to his *Storia dell' Umanesimo*. Of all the Italian humanistic scholars Pontano, with Beccadelli perhaps, has been indicted as the uncompromising exponent of a heathen outlook and of lax morals, while preserving a middle attitude between the opposed tendencies of some humanists and the scientific philosophers: this was of course the superficial view of amateurs for, apart from any other consideration, Pontano was not only one of the most gifted masters of Latin poetry, but a political theorist not undeserving of comparison with Machiavelli and a political man who could hold his own among the wildest practitioners of his craft.

He lived at Naples where the contrast between dialecticians and physicists on one side and rhetoricians on the other, did not reach an easy compromise as in Florence, but coincided with a contrast between clerics and laymen. The Neapolitan churchmen kept to their mediaeval training and did not go out to meet the promoters of the new learning whether pious or indifferent. Pontano took a personal line owing to his own insatiable intellectual curiosity and to his amazing versatility; he was a humanist, a politician, a man of practical ability, and he preserved some interest in physics despite the humanistic abhorrence for such a branch of study. Professor Toffanin shows the development of this interest through Pontano's meeting with friar Aegidius of Viterbo (who being awed by the daring of the Paduan Aristotelians turned to neo-Platonism), through his attraction to astrology, which may be conceded to have been the most philosophical aspect of mediaeval physics, through his meditations on Fortuna and through his attempt at a compromise between the absolute of morality and the relativity of practical life, a point in which he found assistance in the philosophy of Aquinas. Pontano became thus that rare product, a humanist imbued with Aristotelian philosophy; and his philosophical views strongly influenced Pontano's conception of the Latin language and of Latin scholarship. Toffanin confesses that he was prompted to this piece of critical research because his knowledge of Pontano's writings had previously been superficial; and his book glows with the joy of discovery quite as much as it lapses into acrid polemical thrusts at former critics; and he maintains once again that the essence of the Renaissance is to be traced to the clash between humanism and physics or dialectics, so that Pontano, in whom this clash is summarized, becomes an 'exemplary' character, as if he were the individual synthesis of an age. It would be hazardous to maintain that Toffanin has thus vanquished his opponents and answered all their objections, but his book, which, as he promises, will be followed by a similar work on Valla, is a serious contribution to the study of a fundamental problem that recent investigation has not always helped to clarify.

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

Castilian Literature. By A. F. G. BELL. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1938. xiv + 261 pp. 15s.

Mr Bell speaks of *Don Quixote* as 'the wastepaper-basket of a man of genius'. With no less respect one may see in the present book the wastepaper-basket of a critic of exceeding sensibility who has read everything in and about Spanish literature and forgotten nothing. To the *vulgo* it will be as Basque. The initiate will find it all delight and provocation. Viewing literature as the linguistic expression of a nation's qualities and ideals, Mr Bell brings to the pursuit of these all the authority of forty years' study of 'the cryptic and elusive genius of Spain'. The limitation to Castile is an attempt to get at the root of that genius. Nearly all the masterpieces of Spanish literature are Castilian.

The author's method consists in isolating a given quality—Originality, Comprehensiveness, Verticalism—and pursuing its literary expression up and down the centuries. Some are exemplified at length in a specific work, as the *Libro de Buen Amor* for Universalism or *Don Quixote* for Subtlety. Mr Bell is not here interested in the literary art as such, and excludes any sense of development or any separation of the great from the less great. Works are admitted for what they yield of Castilian characteristics, not for their inner significance as literary creations. The procedure may arouse misgivings in some readers as being compounded at once of over-subtlety and too large assumptions. Thus Castilian literature is constantly equated to life, in its fulness, its inconsequence, its fragmentariness, while the vital question of how literature handles experience goes a-begging. 'With Lope de Vega life and literature were indivisibly one.' Yet the endless conventions of the *comedia* are excused on the ground that 'the drama represents not life but a concentration of life, the eternal moments', an argument here of very doubtful pertinence. This uncertainty as to the author's criteria ('The greatest Spanish novelist of modern times, Pereda, was not great as a novelist'), persists throughout the book.

Mr Bell's enthusiasm all but convinces the reader that Castilian literature is naught save pure gold, although one less sensitive than himself may not always find it easy to give an exact content to his refinements of appreciation. Thus the distinctive note of Castilian literature (that on p. xiv) lies in 'the blending of the material and the spiritual, ruggedness [Mr Bell's favourite term] and rhythm', has become simply 'breadth' on p. 41; by p. 142 it is 'subtlety rather than suppleness', and two pages later 'the mingling of exuberance and formality, complicated invention on a familiar ground'. These are perhaps minor inconsequences, but Mr Bell falls equally into open contradiction: 'In their combination of massiveness and harmony, ruggedness and a sense of rhythm, the Castilians are the heirs of ancient Rome' (p. 130); 'The *Poema del Cid* is un-Latin in its ruggedness and in its broad unmechanical rhythm and harmony' (p. 131). Having chosen the *Corbacho* to exemplify Democratic Character, Mr Bell proceeds to disqualify it and advises the reader instead to go back to the *Mío Cid* or on to the *Quixote*. Energy is held the supreme common denominator of Castile, yet an Andalusian, Góngora, is summoned to prove it. From Chapter xiv we sense a change in the work, as though the idea that inspired it had broken in the author's hands; instead of appraisal of dominant notes we now have discursive essays on the fringes of literary history. It was perhaps inevitable that the idea should break down. Even with Castile as theme it is difficult to write a book all superlatives, as it is impossible not to deal chiefly in abstractions when the thesis is the unchanging character of its literature over eight centuries.

At bottom the merits of this are held to hinge on an all-pervading Catholicism and a no less persistent mediaevalism, and Mr Bell is happy in being able to approve without reserve. The position may be argued, as it may be contested. Here it is assumed, and the assumption colours to some extent the choice of evidence and the values sought for. The

Renaissance may serve as touchstone. Mr Bell gives it a chapter, the shortest in the book, but is mainly concerned with the extent to which Spain got over it. 'The individual, superficially enriched, was in truth fundamentally and methodically impoverished. . . . The Spanish, with their concentrated energy, fought against this impoverishment.' The perfunctory treatment of Garcilaso follows, since he refuses to fit into the pattern: it is Mr Bell's most notable injustice.

Such criticisms notwithstanding, this is a very valuable 'ensayo en simpatía', informed with a wealth of suggestion and fine appreciation. Only Mr Bell could have written it.

WILLIAM C. ATKINSON.

GLASGOW.

Spruchdichtung des Volkes. Vor- und Frühformen der Volksdichtung. By ROBERT PETSCH. Halle: Niemeyer. 1938. ix+202 pp. 6 M.

Professor Petsch, the author of many special studies of folk literature and its forms, now presents a survey in one volume of quips, toasts, greetings, occasional verse among guildsmen, charms, didactic and oracular verses, proverbs, riddles and folk and children's rhymes. The author is conscious that this plenitude of forms and themes does not make a homogeneous whole, but justly claims that it may be taken as a unit in the wider study of folk-poetry. Such a theme demands a warm sympathy as well as erudition. The author possesses these qualities in abundance, though in this work he has not achieved a perfect synthesis of them. He aptly hits off the roysterer's mood with: 'Nur das Schweigen kennt der Zecher nicht; er muss irgendwie die Zunge rühren, solange er nicht den Mund am Glase hat', or describes the motives of people who tell (or write about?) children's rhymes: 'um sich mit dem Kinde zugleich in eine Art Märchenreich zurückzuträumen, aus dem man sich selbst vertrieben fühlt.' But now and again, especially in the introduction, the scholar drowns the uproar of the inn or the gossip of the quiet countryside with utterances taken from a source, which, as well as anything in this book, deserves to be studied as German folk-lore—the work-a-day myths of the intellectual. A striking instance of this is found on p. 15:

Als Urform aller 'Sprüche' und aller Reimereien, die darauf später aufgebaut wurden, ist der *Ruf* (als Ausruf und Stimmungsausbruch des Rufers, zugleich als Anruf des Hörers) anzusehen. Der sehnsüchtige oder Hilferuf entfaltet sich dann im *Zauberspruch* wie beim Gebete, der erstaunte Ruf im *Weisheitssprüche*, etc.

This is what respectable ethnologists call a Just-So Story; not one of them deals in such reconstructions or characterizations to-day. The suggestion that the charm might just as well have developed from 'the mumble' or 'the hiss' is not so out-of-place as it seems, since on p. 24 we are told that 'the call' goes back to 'the shout'. On p. 23 we are invited not only to believe in 'Satzwörter urtümlichen Gepräges' like Hauptmann's 'Jumalai' in *Pippa*, but also that they refer to the present theme. There is no link between this bookish mythology and the study of folklore, which can be adequately practised with its own rules. Did space permit,

examples could be given of language purporting to explain charms, which is every bit as magical as the charms themselves.

But the general treatment of charms is illuminating. It is neatly shown that the mythological events narrated in the introduction of some old charms are likely to be apocryphal, because the events in the Christian charms based on them are demonstrably so (Christ and horse cures). It is stated that the argument implicit in some charms of this kind is: 'as it happened then (when a god did it), so it must happen now (when I do it).' This is so, but it should be emphasized that it was because the god had the correct formula, and for no other reason, that he was successful: not because he was a god—he was partly a god *because* of that. In recalling this successful application of the virtuous formula the latter-day exponent is staking a claim to the verbal identity of his formula with the successful one. And so the author might well have stressed the mnemonic, as well as the expressive function of alliteration, parallel structure and rhythm in charms. If one syllable had suffered change, the charm would have been futile. Amongst some tribesmen, charms can be so jealously owned as to follow the property inheritance laws. Hence it is not surprising that the West Germanic charms recorded by priests appear complete with formula, while the more popular Icelandic old tradition withholds it.

In the section on 'Der Weisheitsspruch' the German is portrayed as conscious of his pleasure in food and drink, of his gullibility, of the foibles of the other Provinces but not of other nations, of the vices of the feudal aristocracy, in these last two points in marked contrast with the Romans. In the section on Children's Rhymes old favourites are quoted in interesting variants. For example (p. 191):

Ringel Ringelrose,
Schöne Aprikose,
Veilchen und Vergissmeinnicht,
Alle Kinder setzen sich.

which is nearer to *Ring-a-ring-a-roses* than the version sung by the children of Mardorf in the Anglo-German broadcast of 15 September:

Ringel Ringelrose,
Butter in die Dose,
Schmalz in den Kasten,
Morgen wollen wir fasten,
Übermorgen Lammlein schlachten,
Das soll schreien: Mah! (*They fall down*)

a version which is very strong throughout the Rhineland, too. There are some shrewd quips on p. 33, a splendid and vigorous 'Arbeitsruf' on pp. 43-4 and some pleasantly macabre tombstone inscriptions on pp. 130-1. But whoever loves this kind of literature must take his fill in the richly illustrated and annotated pages of Professor Petsch's fascinating study.

A. T. HATTO.

LONDON.

Der Bauer in der Dichtung des Strickers. Eine Literar-historische Untersuchung. By CLAIR BAIER. Tübingen. Albert Becht. No date (1938?). xii + 126 pp.

The purpose of this book—a Tübingen dissertation—is to define the attitude of Der Stricker to the peasant class, to compare his attitude with that of earlier and of contemporary writers, and to ascertain the extent of his influence on his immediate successors, especially on Seifrid Helblinc and Wernher der Gartenaere.

Dr Baier legitimately dismisses the Old High German period in a few lines, although he might perhaps have included certain passages in the *Heland* (ehuscalcos 388, durð 2545, breda buland 2585) and Otfrid's proud description of the Franks' agricultural skill and the fertility of their soil (I, 1, 65-8). The *Ruodlieb*, *Wiener Genesis*, *Reinhart Fuchs*, and other poems of the 'vorhofische Literatur' are explored for references to peasants, and signs of contact with farming (pp. 4-25). The chapter on 'Die hofische Zeit' (pp. 25-55) deals rapidly with the epic, the lyric and the didactic literature. In the epics of Hartman, Wolfram and Gotfrid the peasant is merely a foil to the knight, but in the religious poem, *Der arme Heinrich*, Hartman describes an idealized peasant, and it is significant that the pious child calls Jesus Christ 'ein frier buman', not 'ein edel ritter'. The Minnesang has no place for the peasant, in spite of Walther's 'niedere Minne', and Neidhart's 'höfische Dorfpoesie' holds the peasant up to ridicule. The courtly didactic writers rebuke the arrogance and injustice of the nobles, but are concerned with the peasant only to keep him in his place.

Der Stricker's work, especially the shorter poems, is examined in detail (pp. 46-109); only the religious poems of the Vienna and Nikolsburg MSS., which are not yet printed, have been ignored as having no bearing on the subject of the book. In his epics *Daniel* and *Karl* and in his didactic poem *Die Frauenehre* Der Stricker cultivates the courtly manner. The *Daniel*, however, contains a curious description of King Arthur 'ploughing' through the enemy, and in *Die Frauenehre* there is a parallel to the modern practice of burning surplus stocks in a misguided attempt to raise prices (p. 53). The shorter poems reveal Der Stricker's attitude clearly: far from being a poet of peasant life, he was concerned with the peasants only as material for his general satiric and didactic purposes. One poem, *Die Gauhühner*, which Dr Baier discusses with great care, is of special interest as a political and economic document of the time. Der Stricker warns and rebukes the nobles as well as the peasants.

The future lay not with Der Stricker, but with the Neidhart school. Only Wernher der Gartenaere combined the destructive criticism of the latter with the constructive didactic of the former.

J. KNIGHT BOSTOCK.

Lichtenberg's Visits to England. As Described in his Letters and Diaries.
Translated and annotated by MARGARET L. MARE and W. H. QUARRELL. (*Oxford Studies in Modern Languages and Literature*.)
Oxford: Clarendon Press, London: H. Milford. 1938. xxiv + 130 pp.
7s. 6d.

In this work a London and an Oxford graduate have joined forces to produce another volume in Professor Fiedler's already well-known series. The volume contains three so-called 'Letters' to Boie for the Deutsches Museum, twenty-three letters to various persons, and eight pages from his Diary, followed by a brief Appendix on 'The "Deutsches Museum" and its Place among German Literary Periodicals in the Eighteenth Century'.

In a brief and well-written Introduction Miss Mare gives a succinct account of Lichtenberg's 'Life and Character', 'England and Hanover' and 'Lichtenberg and German Literature'. The three 'Briefe aus England' take up forty-one of the 122 pages of text, and the longest, the third, occupies twenty pages. They are letters only in name, in keeping with a convention of the time, and, in spite of a certain effort to present them as *impromptus*, are obviously carefully prepared articles. Their main theme is the English theatre, and they deal with the actors rather than the plays. There is much enthusiastic appreciation of Garrick, of his physical perfections and of his matured art, cultivated by contact with the great world and the courts. Other actors, particularly Weston, are also discussed, and a number of the leading actresses of the day. Lichtenberg was obviously almost hypnotized by Garrick's fame and by the thought of all the great men, Fielding, Sterne and Goldsmith, with whom he had been familiar, and to meet him in person was a great event in his life. There are many interesting reflexions, such as that on 'modern dress in a play' (p. 22), while on p. 16 there is a remarkable account of the familiarity with Shakespeare which he found in the England of the day:

In this island Shakespeare is not only famous, but holy; his moral maxims are heard everywhere; I myself heard them quoted in Parliament on 7 January, a day of importance. In this way his name is entwined with most solemn thoughts; people sing of him and from his works, and thus a large number of English children know him before they have learnt their A B C and Creed.

On pp. 42-113 we find letters to Heyne, Kästner and others, but the great majority are addressed to his friend Dietrich, the Göttingen bookseller and publisher. They deal with his two visits to England in 1770 and 1774-5, and the most various experiences are recorded. We are told of his crossings, of his stay at Lord Boston's seat at Hedsor, of the time he spends at Kew in the most intimate and informal relations with the King and Queen, for whom and for whose family life he has the greatest admiration. He paints for us truly Hogarthian pictures of London street life. He saw most things worth seeing, and met most men of note of the day, attended debates in Parliament and a meeting of the Royal Society, and spent a whole day in Greenwich Observatory.

The translation reads well throughout, and the notes are careful and to

the point. The volume is a welcome addition to the growing library of books calculated to give us the power to see ourselves 'As the Foreigners saw Us'.

H. G. ATKINS.

LONDON.

Letters of Ludwig Tieck, Hitherto Unpublished, 1792-1853. Collected and edited by EDWIN H. ZEYDEL, PERCY MATENKO, ROBERT HERNDON FIFE, with the co-operation of the Department of Germanic Languages, Columbia University. New York: Modern Language Association of America; London: Humphrey Milford. 1937. xxxi + 604 pp. 23s.

Three American scholars of well-established reputation have united to produce this volume. Tieck's correspondence with Goethe, Wackenroder, Brockhaus, the Schlegels, Raumer and Solger had already been published by earlier editors, among whom Messrs Zeydel and Matenko had earned much distinction; previously there had been only the skeleton contemporary collections. With the present edition, the poet's letters can be said to have been published *in toto* (with the usual reservation, 'as far as they are available'), except for some to A. W. Schlegel which Korner has discovered at Coppet and smaller collections containing the correspondence with Ida von Luttichau,¹ with Sophie Tieck, and letters from Dorothea Tieck, which are to appear shortly. The Germanic Seminar at Columbia University has begun work upon 150 letters to Tieck.

The cream of the poet's correspondence was therefore known before the present work appeared. No one will claim that very many of the letters it contains are of first-class interest. Quite a considerable number are purely trivial. For one thing, more than two-thirds belong to the years after 1819 and therefore have little bearing on any literary movement outside the author. What the editors say of the letters to Winkler (p. 223), that some are 'mere notes which in our own day would lend themselves better to telephonic communication', applies to many others as well. Revelations of the writer's personality are comparatively rare. The deep note of patriotism voiced in a letter to Count Yorck von Wartenburg, the diatribe against the revolt of 1848, the interest in spiritualism—such flashes are few and far between. On the personal side the letters to Friedrich Tieck are as interesting as any, for in them he is perhaps at his frankest. There is a remarkable characterization of his sister's dealings with Friedrich in a letter to Count Yorck.

By far the greater part of the correspondence deals with the business side of Tieck's life. In his dealings with publishers, from Nicolai to Max and Reimer, we learn much, mainly of a chronological nature, about the progress of his works and their publication and about his plans; we note his care for details of presswork (pp. 29f., 51, 152); his concern for the publication of the works of Kleist, Maler Müller and Lenz emerges; and from beginning to end, financial considerations are well to the fore. Secondly, in regard to the theatre, Tieck's anxiety for the highest stan-

¹ Hrsg. von O. Fiebiger, Dresden, 1937.

dards is amply emphasized; his ideas on elocution in a letter to Devrient, and his remarks on criticism and reviewing to Winkler are noteworthy; two letters to and one from Gustav Freytag refreshingly illustrate his shrewdness as a critic. The third major theme is Tieck's interest in books, and with it the infinite trouble he took to assemble his own incomparable collection. He cast his net widely, turning to all his friends and acquaintances for help in regard to his pet studies and requirements, and is more than once seen to be capable of driving a hard bargain. If one thing can be said to dominate the letters as a whole, it is the scholarly side of Tieck. At every point it is the expert upon books, book production, book collecting and, we may add, book reviewing who speaks, the research worker in his own and foreign literatures, and the student of the theatre, full of the highest ideals of dramatic performance.

The 487 letters are arranged chronologically and grouped according to the person addressed. They have been assembled mainly from Dresden and Berlin, though in all about fifty public and private collections have been drawn upon. The editors' task in this matter alone was no small one. Textual difficulties must have been great; but in the matter of the actual determination of the text and in that of dating they have been well overcome, though here and there defeat has had to be acknowledged. Idiosyncracies of spelling, abbreviations, etc., have been reproduced. Explanatory notes at the head of each letter save the reader an immense amount of trouble and few points have been overlooked. The proof-reading has left little room for criticism. A first-rate table of contents and index (though here and there a reference has been overlooked) complete the volume.

The work is a monument to the diligence and patience of the scholars who have produced it. Tieck has indeed been fortunate to have found such editors.

A. GILLIES.

HULL.

Otto Brahm, the Man and the Critic. By MAXIM NEWMARK. New York: G. E. Stechert 1938. xi+213 pp.

In this interesting study the author has for the first time gathered and classified 'the scattered materials which reflect Otto Brahm's total achievement as a critic of the drama and stage'. The value of this achievement will not be underestimated even by those who cannot relish some of the developments in German literature at the end of the nineteenth century, which Brahm actively furthered. As the protagonist in Germany of Ibsen and of Hauptmann he influenced the trend of the German drama, and as the director of three important theatres of independent character (Deutsches Theater, Freie Bühne, Lessingtheater) he evolved a style of production which broke with the antiquated Weimar tradition and yet was comparatively free from the faults attributable to the theatre of the Meininger. Although Brahm cannot be called entirely original in his work nor can be said to have advanced very far towards creative stage production, it was he who established a new conception of the director's art and

at any rate prepared the way for Reinhardt and Stanislawski. It was largely due to his efforts that the breach between drama and the stage was healed and that the dramatist once more derived considerable benefit from the production of his work and that of others. The producer was reinstated as an interpreter of drama.

Dr Newmark has written a detailed and well-documented account of Brahm's career as a critic and a director. It is not a biography in the accepted sense, but, as he himself says, a descriptive classification of the known material under several headings. The book contains three main sections with many subdivisions. The first part, entitled 'A Literary Biography', describes Brahm's schooling under Scherer, his friendship with Schlenther, Fontane and others, his relation to Keller and Ibsen, and his biographies of Kleist and Schiller. In the second part, entitled 'The Materials', an account is given of the influence of Naturalism on the German drama. The third section, 'The Principles', explains at length Brahm's attitude to Naturalism (by no means a simple acceptance of the creed as formulated by Holz), to the process and function of criticism, the organization of the theatre, dramaturgy and the technique of production, and to the actor's art.

The views expressed by Brahm on these various subjects are fully quoted and explained by the author. He is not blind to the deficiencies of Brahm as a critic and to the limitations of the movement to which he belonged. He advances some stringent criticisms of the Naturalist point of view, showing it to be self-contradictory and impracticable. It is to be regretted, however, that in the interests of completeness the author has chosen a method of presentation which makes continuous reading almost impossible. The book abounds in repetitions of text and quotation which have been necessitated by the arrangement of the material. (Even the bibliography contains items listed twice.) The author has also made unduly frequent use of infelicitous words like conceptualize, ecstasize, simplistic, and perhaps he is too prone to accept terms which become meaningless if they are not carefully explained:

The creative as well as the critical spirit manifested in this tradition is rationalistic and materialistic in its philosophy, sceptical and humanistic in its religion, relativistic in its ethics, and individualistic in its social outlook. (p. 53.)

There are some unfortunate misprints in the German texts. On the whole, however, the book bears evidence of much careful work. That it will be found useful for many purposes cannot be doubted.

E. L. STAHL.

OXFORD.

Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung in Österreich-Ungarn... Herausgegeben von EDUARD CASTLE. Dritter und vierter Band, 1848-1918, 13. und 14. Abteilung (Schluss des Textes), 15. (letzte) Abteilung (Register und Titel). Vienna: Carl Fromme. 1937.

This, the final section of the *Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte*, completes a work which has been in progress for forty years. It contains,

in addition to the conclusion of the article on Karl Kraus, the following chapters: 8, 'Iduna', freie deutsche Gesellschaft für Literatur (F. Christel, E. Castle, and Ch. Gunthersberger); 9, Die Eroberung des Theaters (E. Castle, F. Hadamowsky, L. Schulz, and others); 10, Der Expressionismus in Österreich (Margarete Beigel-Ujbely and A. Zohner); 11, Der Weg zur neuen Sachlichkeit (E. Castle, E. Nack, F. Sacher, K. Wache, and others); 12, Rückblick und Ausblick (E. Castle).

The fortunes of 'Iduna' (1891-3) are an episode in comparison with the three vast chapters which follow. The history of the new Burgtheater under a succession of directors of the most diverse temperaments and qualifications is told clearly and yet with great wealth of detail. It does not make cheerful reading nor encourage blind faith in state control. The privately owned theatres, with one or two exceptions, have an equally melancholy story to tell. Artistic ambitions were too often betrayed by bad finance or administrative incompetence; owners, managers, actors, authors, critics and theatre-goers pulled every way except together. As elsewhere, the young writers of the late 'eighties and early 'nineties earned only the mockery of the press until Ibsen's triumph in Vienna in 1891. By 1899 the battle was won, and Naturalism had conquered the theatre. Vienna, like Berlin, gave Hauptmann and Sudermann their place on the stage and they eased the way for Strindberg, Wedekind, Wilde, and Shaw. A place is found in this chapter for the growth of the film as a medium for drama.

On the heels of Naturalism followed Expressionism, here best represented among a multitude of names by Theodor Däubler, Franz Werfel, Hans Koltneker and Franz Csokor. Chapter 11 is so packed with information as to be almost unreviewable. Some 250 authors are concisely discussed and five times as many titles are mentioned, but the method of classification is clear. There are a number of subheads: Vorkriegslyrik, Kriegslyrik, Nachkriegslyrik, Der Roman, the last being again subdivided under five 'Dichtergeschlechter', represented roughly by the following (the reviewer's) selection: (1) Adolf Wilbrandt, Guido List, Fritz Mauthner; (2) Hermann Bahr, Arthur Schnitzler, Jakob Wassermann; (3) Kolbenheyer, Molo, Strobl; (4) Viktor Fleischer, Vicki Baum, Hermann Graedener; (5) Robert Neumann, Friedrich Schreyvogel, Helena Haluschka, Wilhelm Pleyer, Ernst August Mayer.

Several sections of Volumes III and IV have been reviewed in this journal in the past ten years. What now of the work as a whole? Its four volumes, published respectively in 1899, 1914, 1930 and 1937 contain together 5000 pages of text and many hundreds of illustrations. In their Preface of December 1898 the editors, Nagl and Zeidler, laid down the general principles of the plan. German literature is the product of all the tribes and states of which the German race is composed; every German region has contributed its own peculiar local colour to the general picture; the special history of the old 'Ostarrichi' has set a special stamp on the character of the people and this special stamp distinguishes its literature. To give local colour its due place in the general picture contributors must be enlisted from the regions about which they are invited to write. At the

same time a definite uniformity of treatment is required. Such, in brief, were the views of the first editors, and they have been faithfully upheld. After Zeidler's death in 1911 the work was taken over by Professor Eduard Castle, whose 'Ruckblick und Ausblick' forms the epilogue. Let us consider his summary of what has been accomplished.

The material falls into four periods: I, Von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Reformation, II, Von der Reformation bis Maria Theresia; III, Von Maria Theresia bis zur Märzrevolution; IV, Von der Märzrevolution bis zur Novemberrevolution (1848-1918).

The first period comprises the growth of the eastern 'Reich' by conquest and colonization until its consolidation under Charles V, the second the Habsburg empire until the death of Charles VI, the third the decline of the old Habsburg empire and the uneasy existence of the new, and the fourth the new separation from Germany and the retreat of German culture in the face of Hungarian and Slavonic opposition. Professor Castle speaks of a coming fifth period, beginning with the Treaty of Saint-Germain in 1918. When he penned his farewell lines a year ago that fifth period was too young for review; since then it has ended, and Austria with it.

The publishers have made the experiment of issuing Volumes III and IV together as a semi-independent work under the special title *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in Österreich-Ungarn im Zeitalter Franz Josephs I* (each volume S. 64, R.M. 32) as offering a compact account of the cultivation of German literature in Austria, the Sudeten countries, Tyrol, Transylvania, the Banat, and in the smaller German colonies in Hungary and the Balkans. We cannot now recapitulate what previous reviewers have said of the various parts as they appeared, but we can certainly say that the two volumes do what is claimed for them.

In spite of the obvious difficulties in the way of an undertaking of this magnitude, Professor Castle, his collaborators, and his publishers have between them accomplished a task of which they can well be proud. All the marks of resolute editorship are here: diversity of material overcome by uniformity of plan. Some may find the page a little too wide for comfortable reading, the changes of type a little irritating where the general gives place to the particular, the small portraits of authors a little too necrological. Some may find the text more consultable for edification than readable for pleasure, but when every criticism has been made these four weighty volumes will take their place next to Goedeke's *Grundriss* on all reference shelves.

'Der Österreicher', says Professor Castle, 'hat durch Jahrhunderte die Geistigkeit vieler Völker in sich aufgenommen und mit seinen Naturhaftigkeiten und allen Inhalten seiner Seele zu einer besonderen österreichischen Kultur verarbeitet. Niemand vermag die Mischungsverhältnisse zu analysieren und zu berechnen, niemand leugnet aber auch, dass die Hauptbestandteile dem deutschen Raum entstammen.

Diese seine Kultur, die er über die anderen Völker Europas ausstrahlt, sichert ihm seinen Platz in der Welt, und er wird ihn trotz allen Wechseln—und wie viele hat er schon überdauert!—behaupten, solange er sie

unverfälscht zu erhalten vermag.' This epilogue was written some months before the 'Anschluss'. Platz in der Welt! Wechselfälle! Unverfälscht! What tremendous themes for the historian!

G. WATERHOUSE.

BELFAST.

Quellenstudien zur Völsungasaga. By PER WIESELGREN. (*Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis*, B. XXXIV, 3.) Tartu. 1935. 432 pp.

It is a matter for rejoicing that the elements of the main Germanic epic, the *Nibelungenlied*, can be reconstructed, and that the gradual growth of the epic material can be conclusively demonstrated. In this respect the *Nibelungenlied* differs from most other national epics, more particularly from the classic European epics of Homer. So, at least, runs the general opinion of scholars.

When we turn, however, from this general optimistic proposition to the consideration of even the simplest matters of detail, we find that there is no unanimity at all. The only point of agreement is really that the epic has grown from simpler beginnings and some of these more simple beginnings we possess. W. P. Ker argued with conviction that an epic is produced by extension of given content rather than by mere addition of many contents, and we have not progressed very far beyond this statement which was enunciated more than forty years ago. And this statement too needs qualifying. Ker was arguing against the mechanical intellectualism of the Lachmann school, a band of brilliant restorers and emendators sadly lacking in feeling for literature. Now it is by no means certain that a coherent epic could not be composed of separate added stories. It is the welding together that matters rather than the method.

The *Völsungasaga* offers a good example of mere adding technique. The author was a sober recorder with no flight of imagination who pieced together the various contents as well as he was able. He had no central idea apart from a vaguely biographical one, no large scheme of coherent composition. An aesthetic comparison of *Nibelungenlied* and *Völsungasaga* would yield valuable results; these would also help in the interminable discussion of 'sources', that bane of all true literary criticism. The everlasting discussion of 'sources' is a poisonous nuisance, inherited from the pragmatic nineteenth century, and it is pointless unless it leads up to the positive achievement of the last link in the chain. Unfortunately, the poet usually has to be content when we have proved that most of his ideas were borrowed.

Andreas Heusler's work forms a refreshing contrast. He has published countless studies in the sources and origins of *Nibelungenlied* and *Völsungasaga*, but never did he lose sight of the ultimate object, the elucidation of the genius of the Austrian who produced the final version of the *Nibelungenlied*, and in Heusler's work the literary historian is continuously held in check by the literary critic.

Wieselgren, who on many occasions has good reasons for disagreeing with Heusler, sets about his chosen task in workmanlike fashion. He

takes the sources of the *Völsungasaga*, where they are known, and subjects them to a thorough linguistic analysis. In this way he is able to show the exact percentage of words and phrases that the *Völsungasaga* has preserved (pp. 16–153). A table is given on p. 152. It shows that the compiler utilizes *Fafnismál* and *Brot* far more than other Eddic lays. After the comparison of each lay with the corresponding portions of *Völsungasaga* the omissions and additions are listed and discussed shortly. Frequently, the differences are caused by discrepancies in the poetic texts themselves since the redactor is obviously attempting to present a coherent account. He is also averse to some brutalities and to mere bragging. Often, he leaves out magnificent poetic images when they do not advance the story. What he wants is factual coherence, and this he usually manages to achieve. Wieselgren has made this investigation of vocabulary with immense thoroughness, and the results justify the care bestowed upon the work. Thanks to Wieselgren we now know a good deal about the methods followed by the compiler of the saga.

The second chapter (pp. 155–238) deals with the post-classical elements of the language of the sagas, and the importance of these elements in the determination of sources. Here we are on more debatable ground. Largely following the datings of Finnur Jónsson, the language of certain sagas is dubbed classical; others are looked upon as post-classical. Since the manuscripts of many post-classical sagas are frequently earlier than those of some of the classical sagas, there are initial difficulties of which Wieselgren is well aware. The laborious investigation leads up to a table on p. 219 in which the post-classical and non-Eddic diction of the various parts of the *Völsungasaga* are statistically arranged. There are two main results. First, chapters 22–5 of the *Völsungasaga* show far more post-classical influence and are probably a later addition. Secondly, the early history of the Völsungs and the youth of Sigurd are so classical, and yet they show so little Eddic vocabulary, that Wieselgren is led to the conclusion that we are here dealing with a lost *Sigurðar saga*. This conclusion accords well with the findings of other scholars investigating along different lines, and there can be no doubt that there must have been an early saga dealing with Sigurd.

In the third chapter (pp. 341–52) Wieselgren attempts to reconstruct the lost source. In the main, he agrees with the findings of earlier scholars though there are some important differences. Thus, Wieselgren doubts whether the 'Falkenlied' reconstructed by Heusler ever existed. And if he is right in assigning the Heimr-episode to the post-classical strata of the *Völsungasaga*, the 'Falkenlied' will have to go. Much of the reconstruction is concerned with the lost *Sigurðar-saga*. Whilst Heusler and Finnur Jónsson restrict the borrowings from the *Sigurðar-saga* to the first eight chapters of the *Völsungasaga*, Wieselgren would go much further. He will also have none of the reconstructed 'Sigurd-Liederheft' said to lie behind part of the extant *Codex Regius* and prefers to operate with a longer and fuller *Sigurðar-saga*. The revaluation of the *Sigurðar-saga* necessarily brings with it a re-examination of the so-called *Forna*, *Skamma* and *Meiri*. Wieselgren also attempts to reconstruct the *Senna* in

rather more detail than has been done by earlier scholars. To prove the feasibility of some of his views, the author gives a poetical reconstruction in Swedish of what he considers were the earlier portions of the *Mewr*, on pp. 318-29.

The fourth chapter discusses the relationship of 'fairy-tale' and 'Heldensage'. It is in the nature of an appendix. Whereas in the first three chapters there is sometimes perhaps too much detailed argument, this chapter consists largely of generalizations leading up to an attempt to reconstruct the main outline of the earliest Sigfrid-stories. The method followed is 'sich durch Stoffvergleichung der alteren Quellen ein Bild von dem notwendigen Primarmaterial zu schaffen', and then to reconstruct the 'Urmarchen'. Those scholars who have familiarized themselves with fairy-tales will be sceptical.

The book concludes with an attempt to give chapter 1 of the *Volsunga-saga* in 'Sagverse' and with an excellent bibliography arranged chronologically. A necessarily short summary of the work cannot do justice to the care and scholarship with which all the relevant problems have been investigated. Whilst the author himself would be the first to admit that absolute certainty can never be obtained in work of this kind, he has, by the patient spade-work presented in the first two chapters, laid down the only possible method on which investigations of this type can proceed. It is to be hoped that other scholars working in the heroic field will in future be willing to make similar detailed linguistic and stylistic investigation before they 'compare' reconstructed stories, in order to take us back to still earlier stories.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

The Old Norwegian General Law of the Gulathing. Edited by G. T. FLOM. (*Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1937. 204 pp. \$2.50.

Altnorwegens Urfehdebann und der Geleitschwur. By W. H. VOGT. (*Forschungen zum Deutschen Recht*, II, i.) Weimar: H. Böhlau Nachfolger. 1936. ix+215 pp. RM. 11.20.

Students of Old Norse can scarcely avoid developing sooner or later a curiosity with regard to the legal codes underlying so much of Scandinavian life and literature. The two books now under review, although primarily for experts as their full bibliographies imply, are, like L. M. Larson's *Earliest Norwegian Laws* of 1935, of a nature to quicken and deepen this general interest both by the material which they present and by their indication of its points of contact with a variety of other and less specialized lines of study.

Dr Vogt is concerned with a small but vital section of the Laws. By detailed analysis and clearly-set-out exposition of the traces of the Old Norse *tryggðamál* and *gríðamál* extant in poem, saga and legal code, he attempts, by disentangling pagan, Christian and mediaeval elements in content and phrasing, to reconstruct the original procedure and to indicate the variations wrought upon it during its transmission to mediaeval

times. Interesting but subsidiary questions are rigorously left aside; the main inquiry necessitates consideration of certain psychological and social conditions, of the possibility of foreign influence and of the importance of metre and alliteration with regard to early legal formulae. One recognizes afresh, though not with surprise in view of the long-accustomed memorizing of the laws, the incorporation of legal and ceremonial phraseology into sagas and heroic poems.

Professor Flom's work is concerned not with the origin and development of any section of the laws but with a hitherto unpublished complete version of them. He has provided a handsome edition of a handsome manuscript, a diplomatic text of the Codex Hardenbergianus (Gl. k. S 1154 Folio), 'an unusually fine example of fourteenth-century script in the North'. The elegant printed page conveys a lively impression of the original, strongly reinforced by the beauty and clearness, in spite of reduction in size, of four facsimile pages. The introductory study of the hand and mannerisms of the scribes must considerably augment palaeographers' existing debt to Professor Flom and throw light on certain sound changes of interest not to Scandinavian philologists alone. The number of misprints does not appear to be large in so exacting a work; it is difficult in such a text to distinguish between printers' errors and scribal vagaries to which, however, attention does not always seem to be drawn in the notes. Our final response is one of gratitude to Professor Flom for making so accessible such fascinating and important material, and in a form which repays tenfold the trouble it may present to readers accustomed chiefly to edited texts.

H. A. C. GREEN.

ENGLEFIELD GREEN, SURREY.

SHORT NOTICES

The Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature (Vol. xvii. 1936. Cambridge: University Press, for the Modern Humanities Research Association. 1938. xii+279 pp. 8s. 6d.) has now reached its seventeenth year. It contains over four thousand items. We owe this, as before, to Dr Mary Serjeantson, assisted by Professor Leslie Broughton of Cornell who ensures the adequacy of the *Bibliography* on the American side. It is an impressive record of work. One can only repeat that scholarship in English is vastly indebted to such an instrument, so admirably executed, and to the Research Association which is responsible for its production.

This year the Association has made a second claim upon our gratitude. It has published, as an extra Bulletin, a considerable brochure entitled *Work in Progress 1938 in the Modern Humanities* (Modern Humanities Research Association. Bulletin No. 16A. May 1938). The Association has been enabled to publish this valuable list of projects of research under way throughout the field, for the information of scholars, by the generosity and the skill of its editor, Mr James M. Osborn. It may be hoped that

something like a clearing-house for projects and information may arise out of such activities on the part of the Association and its energetic Honorary Secretary, Mr W. G. Moore.

C. J. Sisson.

The twenty-third volume of *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, collected by Mr S. C. Roberts (Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1938. 92 pp. 7s 6d.), is shorter than any of the earlier volumes: it is also one of the best. Mr H. S. Bennett discusses 'The Author and his Public in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', showing the effects of patronage on such writers as Froissart and Chrétien de Troyes, its 'elephantine success' in the case of Lydgate—an interesting prelude which whets our appetite for the fuller study of which Mr Bennett speaks. Dr Mary Serjeantson gives us, from a cookery book of about 1430, 'The Vocabulary of Cooking in the Fifteenth Century'; one would like to experiment on some at least of the recipes she quotes. In 'A Colony of Jews in Shakespeare's London' Professor Sisson shows that the Jews, though obliged to conform and to become Christian in name and outward seeming, were nevertheless able to live a community life and to maintain their Jewish ceremonial in private; in the very suit in which evidence of these practices is brought against them, they obtain from the Court of Chancery not only justice, but mercy. Professor Sisson has not space to follow up the repercussions of this discovery, but he makes the important point that Shylock was a Jew of Venice, not of London. Mr Leonard Whibley contributes interesting 'Notes on Two Manuscripts of Thomas Gray'—his Chronological Tables of Greek History, of which two pages are now in the Harvard College Library, and his own copy, probably the earliest version, of *A Long Story*. Mr L. F. Powell compares 'Boswell's Original Journal of his Tour to the Hebrides and the Printed Version', showing how justifiable were the changes which, with Malone's help, he made in it. In 'The Technique of Criticism: Classical', Mr G. M. Young argues that 'classical criticism is a form of public service... while romantic criticism is rather a private indulgence'; the true aim of criticism should be to understand and to make others understand, not merely to make them feel, and he puts in a forcible and much-needed plea for the use of the 'Courtly and Illustrious Vernacular' as opposed to 'Jargon on one side, and deliberate phrase-making on the other'. A discriminating study by Mr Frank Swinnerton of 'Variations of Form in the Novel' completes a vintage volume. But why, when such a team had been collected, was it necessary to limit so strictly the length of the essays?

WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

Forschungen und Charakteristiken (Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter. 1936. 228 pp. RM. 12), presented to Professor Alois Brandl on the occasion of his eightieth birthday in 1935, consists of a collection of reviews and articles by him, dating from 1901, with the *Furnivall Festschrift*, to 1929. They vary as much in subject-matter as in date: for, beginning with Germanic studies, they pass on to *Beowulf-Quellen* and

studies of other O.E. literature (e.g. *The Dream of the Rood*) and include several articles on Shakespeare and on Goethe. Incidentally, the *Dream of the Rood* article, which here appears in its original German, has been published already in English in the *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. ix.

All of these works are marked by the same features—width of knowledge and incisiveness of writing. In some cases, certainly, later material could be added to that given by Professor Brandl—as for instance the article dealing with heroic names like Sigemund and Brunhild in the north of England place-names—and one may at times feel that his insistence upon Classical influence is overdrawn. Again, the tolerance which he postulates on the part of missionaries in England towards native literature probably merits more modification than he gives: how much may we not have lost through the attitude of Alcuin, 'Quid Hinieldus cum Christo?' Yet Professor Brandl's work, even the earliest in date, can be read with great profit, and that surely is a mark of his high position as a scholar.

ANGUS MACDONALD.

An elaborate critical study of the kenning in Old English poetry has been made by Dr Hertha Marquardt in her Habilitationsschrift, *Die altenglischen Kenningar: ein Beitrag zur Stilkunde altgermanischer Dichtung* (Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1938. xvi+238 pp. RM. 22). In this elegantly printed treatise, the entire corpus of Old English poetry has been surveyed afresh, including even the unpublished *Poem on Fasting*. Modelling her work on R. Meissner's similar study in skaldic verse, Miss Marquardt supplements the recent dissertations by Merwe Scholtz and Wolfgang Mohr but she gives far more than a mere classification of kennings according to structure and imagery. Her book is an original contribution to the exegesis of our earliest poetry in the manner of L. L. Schücking's *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutungslehre der angelsächsischen Dichtersprache*, to which frequent reference is made. Miss Marquardt's interpretations will not all win acceptance: there are, one suspects, occasional lapses from her own self-imposed discipline, but her discussions of selected contexts are always welcome and refreshing and her comments on simple words are often illuminating. To take one of these at random, *fæsten* (p. 167) is defined in one of its senses as 'unzugänglicher Ort, der eben durch seine Unzugänglichkeit vor Verfolgung schützt und damit Sicherheit gewährt', etc. Immediately one realizes that this word and its compounds, like *lagu-*, *mor-*, *wæter-*, *wudu-fæsten*, and others, have indeed been inadequately accounted for hitherto in dictionaries and commentaries. To future lexicographers, therefore, this treatise will be of very great practical use and to all lovers of the older poetry it will be stimulating reading. The concluding observations on the differences between Old English and Old Norse kennings show a masterly discernment.

SIMEON POTTER.

The story of the Indian maid Yarico, betrayed and sold into slavery by the Englishman whom she had rescued from death at the hands of her countrymen, was first told by Ligon in his *History of the Island of Barbadoes*, 1657, it was retold by Steele, with additions, in the eleventh number of the *Spectator*, and became a popular theme throughout the eighteenth century, both in itself and as a telling example of the superiority of the Noble Savage. In his *Inkle and Yarico Album* (Berkeley: University of California Press; London: Cambridge University Press. 1937. vi+171 pp. 11s. 6d.) Mr Lawrence Marsden Price traces the story through no less than forty-five original works in English, French and German—poems, prose tales, epistles, tragedy, operetta, ballet—besides numerous translations and adaptations. Some, short and not easily accessible, he reprints in full; of others he gives an account with characteristic extracts and critical commentary. None equals in literary merit the version in the *Spectator*, but Mr Price gives an interesting record of the different treatments that may be accorded to one theme, and so throws valuable light on the variations of eighteenth century taste. The book is attractively produced, and is embellished with facsimiles and reproductions of original illustrations.

WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

The late Miss Dorothy Scarborough, of Columbia University, spent vacations in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia and North Carolina pursuing ballads and folk-songs. Her enthusiasm and charm must have proved unusually effective, for she 'caught' some 600 songs, both of the traditional ballad and folk-song type and of the more modern American and Negro sort. In *A Song Catcher in Southern Mountains* (Columbia and Oxford University Presses. 1937. xvi+476 pp. 22s. 6d.) she has dealt with the traditional half of her haul, printing some 208 texts and 132 tunes (of which 66 correspond to ballads in Child's collection). The tunes were recorded by dictaphone and later transcribed by an expert musician; the texts were sometimes sung, sometimes reproduced from old 'ballet' books. Beyond proof of ballad persistence, the texts do not add much to our knowledge gained through Child, but the tunes would serve, with other work of the same sort, as basis for the scholarly investigation of English ballad tunes which is so much to be desired: the sort of work Meier is now doing for German ballads. In the first 78 pages Miss Scarborough has described her rambles. The description is of real value in portraying a living ballad community: the shyness of these folk before 'foreigners'; their attachment to, and curious shamefacedness about, the 'love songs'; their vagueness as to origin (the oldest ones are called 'way back yonder songs'); their racy idioms, and their sense of veraciousness. Scott has told us with what precision the details of *The Douglas Tragedy* were fitted to the Yarrow at Douglas Craig; but Miss Scarborough is able to cite a ninety-year-old gentleman in Virginia who claimed to have been a witness. 'The *Seven Sleepers* [he told her] was a true song. It happened away back yonder in Mutton Hollow. I was there myself.

Somebody got killed over the girl. I was there soon after it happened. Another man was after the girl and one man shot him.'

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

At last the complete material is available in one volume for the study of the development of Rossetti's *The Blessed Damsel*, in Mr Paull Franklin Baum's edition (Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press, London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1937. lvi + 30 pp. 9s.). An important part of the material is the manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library, which is here reproduced in a collotype facsimile as a frontispiece, and printed for the first time. The manuscript, which is autograph, is of late date, and is evidently a transcript or fair copy. But Mr Baum, in his excellent and exhaustive introduction, establishes his view that it represents the earliest version of the poem as it was first written by Rossetti about 1847. The texts of the successive versions are accompanied by complete collations of all variants. The book is delightfully produced and, for a book of such quality, at a most reasonable price. The University of North Carolina Press, as well as Mr Baum, are to be congratulated.

C. J. Sisson.

The need for a new English-German dictionary has been felt for a long time by scholars in both countries. The first four parts of a dictionary, planned and largely collected by the late Professor M. M. A. Schroer of Cologne and, after his death, edited by his colleague Dr P. L. Jaeger, have now been published (*Englisches Handwörterbuch*. Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1937-8. 304 pp. 2 M. 25 each part), and the complete work is likely to fill that need.

The word-material has been chosen in accordance with the *N.E.D.*, but a valuable selection of Americanisms and proper names has been added. The claims of etymology are met by short and competent explanations, based again mainly on *N.E.D.* authority. The gradation of meanings from the original sense to metaphorical usage is amply illustrated by concise translations while subtle differentiations recognizable only from the context are wisely omitted. Idiomatic expressions are translated by their German equivalents, although such an undertaking must needs present difficult problems. A study of the prepositions (e.g. 'at', 'about', 'by') will show the complex logical and lexical tasks to be faced. (Cp. also the excellent treatment of the many idiomatic uses of 'come'.)

Pronunciation is clearly shown and both the phonetic symbols and certain signs, frequently used as abbreviations, appear on the top and bottom of every page. This and the two-column arrangement in place of the usual three make the dictionary easy to consult, and we can only hope that the whole work will soon be at the disposal of scholars.

HANS E. HOFFMANN.

Ce vade-mecum (Marius Valkhoff: *Philologie et littérature wallonnes. Vade-mecum*. Allard Pierson Stichting. Afdeling voor Moderne Literatuurwetenschap, Universiteit van Amsterdam. Groningen: J. B. Wolters.

161 pp. fl. 2.90) rendra des services aux spécialistes en dialectologie aussi bien qu'à l'apprenti philologue, et, en général, à tout lecteur cultivé désireux de s'initier à la connaissance du plus septentrional des dialectes français qui, à l'inverse de ses pareils sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule, est toujours débordant de vie et a donné naissance à une riche littérature. Le wallon est le plus ancien idiome de la Belgique et demeure, dans le Sud du pays, le langage usuel d'au moins 85 p.c. de la population.

Le précieux ouvrage de M. Valkhoff étudie la genèse du wallon, puis son évolution dans la 'période ancienne' et la 'période nouvelle', au point de vue de la phonétique, de la morphologie, de la syntaxe et de l'usage littéraire. Le chapitre iv fournit des spécimens caractéristiques du wallon d'aujourd'hui.

J. DECHAMPS.

In *Proverbs en Rimes* (Baltimore. Johns Hopkins Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1937. ix+117 pp.; 186 plates. 12s. 6d.) Mrs Grace Frank and Miss Dorothy Miner reproduce in collotype, transcribe and edit a fifteenth-century French manuscript in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 'a comparatively rare survivor of a kind of book designed for the lesser folk of the middle ages'. The book is of much wider interest than the title indicates, for each of the hundred and eighty-two versified proverbs is illustrated by an informal pen and ink drawing, and both verses and drawings reflect the everyday life of those for whom it was intended—merchants, butchers, bakers, armourers, husbandmen, and the like. The transcription is accurate, and the introduction and notes give what is wanted in the way of comment and critical apparatus. Miss Miner, who has been responsible for that side of the editing, distinguishes the work of three artists, differing in skill and artistic feeling but using the same unusual technique, a technique which is found also in two related manuscripts, of which some drawings are reproduced for comparison. It has been found impossible to establish exactly the provenance of the manuscript, but the evidence points to 'the territory around Burgundy and the Lyonnais', and to a date 'perhaps between 1485 and 1490'. All who are interested in the life of fifteenth-century France, as well as those interested in its language and its proverbial lore, should be grateful for this scholarly and most attractive volume.

WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

In *Malesherbes, Defender and Reformer of the French Monarchy* (1721–1794) (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 177 pp. 11s. 6d.) Mr John M. S. Allison attempts to satisfy a long-felt want, but the result is disappointing. The introductory background is poor and full of inaccuracies; for instance, *Lettres Persanes* is mentioned as coming 'a little later' than Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*, and Condorcet (b 1743) is put among the array of famous contributors to the *Encyclopédie* who gave immediate alarm to the Court and the clergy. The chapters dealing with Malesherbes as censor and as protector of Rousseau not only tell us nothing new, but omit much that

was already known. However the book livens up when it comes to the struggle between the Crown and the Parlements, though the author fails to show clearly enough how the demagogic demands of the latter merely served as a cloak both for their political ambitions and for their determination to maintain their feudal privileges as landowners. With the help of unpublished letters and *mémoires* he gives a lively account of Malesherbes's participation in Turgot's ministry, of his warnings to the King on the eve of the Revolution, and of his Quixotic attempt to defend Louis before the Convention, which led to his own execution for counter-revolutionary activities.

J. LOUGH.

The MS. of *Les Contemplations* is a particularly interesting one and well repays research. It has already inspired the two Doctorate theses of M. Glotz besides the critical study devoted to it in M. Vianey's standard edition in the 'Grands Ecrivains' series. Herr Arthur Franz (*Aus Victor Hugos Werkstatt: Auswertung der Manuskripte der Sammlung 'Les Contemplations', II. Teil: Die Werkstatt. Giessener Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie*, IX. Zusatzheft. Giessen: Romanisches Seminar. 1934. 99-483 pp. R.M. 13.50) disagrees with earlier research in method and in conclusions. Accepting neither the dates ascribed to the poems in the published work nor, without further investigation, those of the MS., he endeavours, by a series of ingenious arguments, to deduce the true dates from internal evidence. On the assumption that Hugo was obsessed by one thought-pattern and one form-pattern at a time, he arranges the poems in 'genetic groups', usually consisting of one main poem with offshoots which developed into independent units and were carefully separated from the parent poem in the final arrangement for publication. It is a tempting theory, but a dangerous one in the case of Hugo, who was capable of having on the stocks at the same time poems of very different inspiration, sometimes contradictory in their philosophy. Words and word-patterns haunted his memory, reappearing at long intervals; it is therefore unsafe to assume that the presence of similar or identical patterns in two poems proves anything as to the time of their composition.

M. E. I. ROBERTSON.

The author of this stupendous piece of research (Louis Sorieri, *Boccaccio's Story of Tito and Gisippo in European literature*, New York: Institute of French Studies. 1937. xv+268 pp. \$3.50) keeps sternly to facts and steadily refuses to be tempted into the field of criticism. The story is dissected into its component parts; any change, however slight and however fruitful, is recorded with a scientific frigidity that challenges comparison with a post-mortem described by Dr Thorndyke. Scholars are provided with all the data on which to build their theories. The larger issue of parallel stories concerning friendship which is stronger than the love for life is of course not touched. For equally obvious reasons the section dealing with the development of this theme previous to Boccaccio's treatment of it is the least interesting, for this subject

has been thrashed out many a time and no more cogent theory is suggested than those that were already held. The real object Mr Sorieri has had in view is to establish that diffusion of Boccaccio's tale by a complete survey of the documentary evidence; translations, imitation, re-elaborations and echoes in Italian, French, German, English and Spanish are faithfully recorded and diligently dissected. As Mr Sorieri avers in his conclusion, the influence that Boccaccio has exercised upon Western literature has never before been so carefully determined for any of his tales: ninety-nine more works of this kind with perhaps a general index would be required to complete this task, but this volume will do as an example, perhaps as a deterrent. It is as if the constituent elements of literature were singled out, catalogued and stored in an immense depository. Among the English imitations Elyot's is the first and is indirect; so also are those of William Walter and of Lewicke, who followed Elyot's *Gouvernour*, of Ralph Radcliff and others. Perhaps Oliver Goldsmith (*Story of Alexander and Septimius*) is the first author of whom it may be said that he availed himself of Boccaccio's original, though Greene also may have done so (*Gualfrido and Barnardo*), and therefore the 'popularity' of Boccaccio in England, as Mr Sorieri calls it, seems to be reducible to the fashion enjoyed in this country by some early adaptation of this tale. A careful scholar, as Mr Sorieri is, might have been expected to be more accurate in referring to Anglo-Italian relations during the later Middle Ages. At any rate Thomas Chandler was not 'Warden of Oxford University' (p. 152, n. 2); only of New College.

C. FOLIGNO.

The study of a living author is always a difficult task, and it is particularly so, perhaps, in the case of a writer like Baroja whose attitude towards life is frequently undergoing modification. Nevertheless, Dr Helmut Demuth in *Pío Baroja: Das Weltbild in seinen Werken* (Hagen. 1937. 121 pp) has succeeded in giving us a stimulating short study of this prolific writer. There is an excellent introductory chapter outlining Baroja's life and the various influences which have contributed to shape his outlook. In the subsequent chapters the man who is 'seven-eighths Basque and one-eighth Lombard' is seen passing successively under the negative influence of Schopenhauer and the positive of Nietzsche, finding contentment, if not in a life of action, in the contemplation of it. Dr Demuth carefully sifts Baroja's seventy volumes of published work in an effort to ascertain the author's attitude towards woman, society, politics, religion, the Generation of 1898 and the various problems of modern Spain. There is an abundance of quotations which makes the study real and a very full bibliography.

J. MANSON.

Professor Ernest Tonnelat's *A History of the German Language* (London: Harrap. 1937. 225 pp. + 1 map. 5s.) has been translated from the French by Professor D. P. Inskip of the University of Cape Town, with the object of making the study of the language attractive and interesting to the

beginner and non-specialist. The greater part of the book is devoted to the rise of the modern literary language, and here the author has succeeded in bringing out the main lines of historical development. He is not so clear, however, in the brief sections covering phonology; the attempt to avoid technical terms and the lack of a clear distinction between phonetic symbols and normal orthography occasionally lead to obscurity. Thus the beginner will probably be puzzled at the statement that in some regions 'r' has almost the sound of 'x'. The insertion of an example would have made this clearer. In places the terminology used shows traces of the French original. It is unfortunate that *Umlaut* should be translated as 'modification', that 'theme' should be used for 'stem', and that analogy and levelling should be treated as synonymous. Spellings such as 'Alemanic' and 'Wurtzburg' have nothing to recommend them to the English student. Two points of fact require correction. 'Simon Dach's famous *Anke van Tharaw*' (p. 195) is now known to be by H. Albert; and the dialect map at the end of the book shows the Wendish-speaking district of Upper and Lower Lusatia as Swabian. Making allowance for these drawbacks the book remains a readable and useful introduction to historical German grammar for beginners.

R. J. McCLEAN.

E. Strömberg dealt with gradational levelling in Upper German, O. S. Granmark has investigated the problem in Rhine-Franconian texts, and now Erik Alm (*Der Ausgleich des Ablauts im starken Präteritum der ostmitteldeutschen Schriftidialekte*. Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeriaktiebolag. 1936. xxix + 442 pp.) presents the East Middle German evidence. The work under review is the most important of the three studies, since, naturally, Luther's forms receive detailed attention. All relevant texts, from about 1350 until well into the eighteenth century, have been considered, and there are thus frequent references to the usage in Gellert, Klopstock, Lessing and Herder.

The author has collected so much material that he has been obliged to publish only the evidence for classes I to III, together with a special chapter on the preterites of 'tun'. The rest of the material will be printed at a later date. The classes are dealt with separately under (a) main dialects before Luther, (b) early printed sources, (c) Luther, (d) the main dialects after Luther, together with the 'Sprachtheoretiker'. At the end of each section there is a summary.

The main outlines of levelling from Middle High German to Modern German have, of course, always been well known, and Alm's laborious statistics add nothing to our knowledge in that respect. The book is, however, a mine of information regarding both late survivals and early levellings in individual authors, and since the material is excellently arranged, the usage and possibly the deviation of an author can be quickly established. An excellent book of reference.

F. NORMAN.

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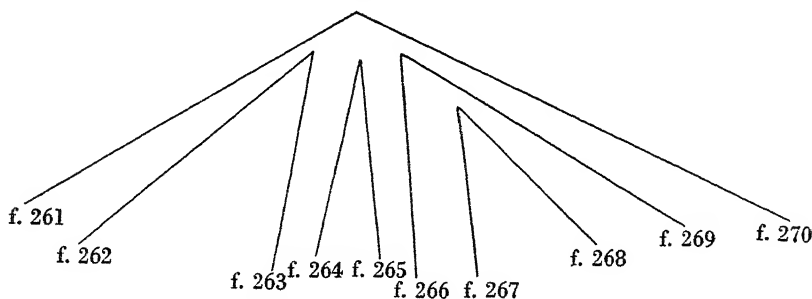
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THE EARLY FRISIAN STUDIES OF JAN VAN VLIET¹

INTRODUCTION

THE present work is an edition of a diary and an itinerary of a tour partly in Friesland, and of various material relating to the Frisian language which accompanies them. As has been pointed out in the *Frysk Jierboek* (1937, pp. 31 ff.), the MS. of the *Diary* and the accompanying matter forms part (ff. 261-70) of a large collection of philological material, which belonged to Jan van Vliet, and which is preserved as MS. Lambeth 783. This material was bought in 1667 at Breda by Wilham Griffith,² and so found its way to England. The *Diary* and the other matter now under consideration form a small MS. entirely in the hand of Van Vliet, and obviously originally separate from the material with which it is now bound. It consists of 10 leaves ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in.), and is formed from 5 sheets ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in.), the gathering being as follows:



The *Diary* occupies ff. 261^r-266^r. The itinerary is on f. 266^v, the name of each town being accompanied by that of the inn stayed at. Usually, the innkeeper is also mentioned. On f. 267^r there are two Frisian poems of 16 and 11 lines respectively, and on f. 267^v another of 24 lines. These

¹ This article has been printed with the aid of subsidies generously granted by the Trustees of the Jowett Copyright Fund and by the Frisian Academy.

² This is stated in notes on ff. 1 and 133. The contents of the MS., which extend to 387 leaves of various sizes, mostly written on both sides, are almost entirely in the hands of Van Vliet and Junius. Exceptions are: f. 255, which is a letter from J. F. Gronovius to H. Bornius (both friends of Van Vliet), f. 256 in an unknown hand, on which are written versions of the Lord's Prayer in languages described as Slavonic or Illyrian, Sardinian (two versions), Armenian, and Armoric, ff. 281-2, a letter from Doecke van Hemmema to Junius. The letter of Hemmema is printed in the *Frysk Jierboek*, 1938, and that of Gronovius will shortly appear in *Mnemosyne*.

three poems are not known from any other source. Ff. 268 and 269^r have notes and glosses on Frisian words, while on f. 269^v there are some notes on Frisian orthography. F. 270^r is blank, but on f. 270^v there are a few theological jottings followed by the words *Zwollæ D. Meus, Costerszoon*. *D.* is, presumably, an abbreviation of *Dominus*, and the meaning of the note apparently is that the jottings were made at Zwolle, where the writer was entertained by one Costerszoon.

It is evident that the writer first folded a sheet (ff. 261 and 270) to form a container for other sheets. He wrote on f. 261 and then, leaving f. 270 blank, he proceeded to insert other folded sheets, so as to form a small book. When the *Diary* and the itinerary were finished, he used up some of the blank leaves by copying into them Frisian material, which he had, no doubt, collected on his tour. The note on f. 270^v, with its mention of Zwolle, makes it probable that the *Diary* was written from day to day on the tour, and the insertion above the line on f. 263^r (*ut idem post prope Meppelam*) makes it practically certain that this was the case. It is not possible to decide from the MS. whether the Frisian material which follows the *Diary* is Van Vliet's original copy, or was copied into the leaves left blank after the completion of the *Diary*. It seems likely, however, that the notes on f. 269 (recto and verso) were made after the completion of the *Diary* and the accompanying itinerary, which end on f. 266, the other half of the same sheet as f. 269. The sheet which forms ff. 267 and 268 may have been written at any time: it would, obviously, be placed in its present position after the *Diary* was completed.

Van Vliet does not state the year of his tour, but he gives the day of the week and of the month for each day, and the only years in his lifetime (1620–66) which yield the required correspondence of these are 1620, 1626, 1637, 1643, 1648, 1654, 1665. Two facts enable a decision in favour of 1643 to be made. On f. 268^r a number of words are quoted from Baardt's *Boere-Practica*, with page references to the edition of 1640. On f. 265^r a famous battering-ram, preserved at Kampen, is carefully described, and the writer states that he actually saw it. Now, it is known to have been destroyed in 1647. The only possible year between 1640 and 1647 is 1643, and in that year floods occurred at Hasselt, which are no doubt identical with those mentioned on f. 264^r.¹

¹ See notes to these three places. Other facts bearing on the date are: (1) the collections of Paludanus were still at Enkhuizen, and therefore the date was before 1651; (2) the church of Assen stood in ruin, therefore the date was before 1662, (3) the year 1635 is mentioned, therefore the date was subsequent to it (see ff. 261^v and 264^r with notes; f. 264^v). The statement on f. 263^r that the battle of Noordhorn (1581) took place *ante LXXX annos* must be dismissed as an error (see note).

The writer of the *Diary*, Jan van Vliet, is one of the most remarkable figures in the early history of philological scholarship. This is no place for a detailed account of his life and work, and a brief sketch must suffice.¹ He was born at Middelburg on 11 April 1620, and was entered as a literary student at Leyden on 30 Sept. 1637, and as a legal student on 15 Sept.² 1639. In 1641³ he went to England, where his uncle, the poet Cats, had an estate, and, while there, took an eager interest in all matters concerning the chase. This interest bore fruit in his *Venatio Novantiqua*, which was published in 1645. He applied himself to both theological and legal studies. In 1643 he took the oath as advocate, and a little later we find him deep in the study of the Church Fathers and engaged in theological controversy with Adriaan van der Walle. Some of his theological views displeased the exiled English cleric, George Morley, who, accordingly, published a small work entitled *Ad Cl. Virum Janum Utlum epistolæ duæ* (London, 1683).⁴ In 1650 he became a *schepen* of Breda, and in 1653 *griffier* of the same city. He accompanied diplomatic missions to England in 1651–2 and 1660–1. He died on 18 March 1666.

The scholarship of Van Vliet, though perhaps distinguished by breadth rather than depth, was remarkable. He was in regular correspondence with many of the great scholars of the age (e.g. Heinsius, Gronovius), and his edition of Grattius shows him to have been no mean Latinist.⁵ He was also an efficient writer of Latin verse. At one time he planned an edition of Phaedrus, and much material concerning Latin fables is preserved in the Lambeth MS. The history and antiquities of Breda greatly attracted him and he devoted to them his work *'t Recht van successie volgens de costumen der stadt en lande van Breda* (Breda, 1663) and some minor writings.

To-day, however, Van Vliet attracts attention mainly as a pioneer of comparative linguistic study. Although his classical friends did not approve of his diverting his attention from the ancients (Heinsius even frowned upon his attempts to improve his style in his native tongue), he found in Franciscus Junius a friend to share and assist his philological

¹ For further details see J. C. G. Boot in *Versl. en Med. der Kon. Akad.*, second series, iv (1874), pp. 278 ff., and viii (1878), pp. 28 ff.; *Nieuw Ned. Biog. Wb.*, iii, 1321–2, Wumkes, *Bodders*, pp. 286 ff.; and other works quoted in the last-named study, p. 292, to which now add Groneman, *Taxandria* 1928–9, and De Vreese, *T.N.T.L.*, li, pp. 161 ff.

² Not Aug., as previous writers state.

³ Boot (*loc. cit.*, iv, pp. 284–5) wishes, on insufficient grounds, to place this journey in 1643.

⁴ An English translation, with a preface by George Hickes, appeared in 1707.

⁵ This edition is part of the *Venatio*: see the very favourable criticism of it in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Grattius* (2), cp. also *Grattii Cynegeticon*, ed. P. J. Enk (Zutphen and London, 1918), i, p. 36, and ii, *passim*.

enquiries. The two scholars were evidently in constant touch after Junius's return to Holland in 1650, and many papers in Junius's hand are to be found in the Lambeth MS., and, hence, must have been in Van Vliet's possession when he died, while the Junius collection in Oxford includes a copy of the Frisian laws which has been used and annotated by Van Vliet.¹ A note, written by Van Vliet in the Codex Aysma, shows that that MS. was also placed for a time by Junius at his disposal. The *Diary*, however, proves that Van Vliet's linguistic interests developed early in his life, and were not due to his friendship with Junius.

The following languages are used in the *Diary*: Latin, French, Dutch, Italian, Frisian and English. The Latin and Dutch require no comment, and the Frisian will be considered below. In English, French and Italian, Van Vliet can make himself understood, but he is inaccurate in his use of them all.² His French is a particularly curious mixture of errors and archaisms. An Italian poem by him survives,³ and he also attempted verse in French and English.⁴ He also speaks of a poem in seven tongues,⁵ so the *Diary* was evidently not his only polyglot composition.

In addition to the languages used in the *Diary*, Van Vliet had some knowledge of Greek, German, Spanish and Portuguese.⁶ His linguistic interests seem to have widened later in his life. In 1661 he was planning to refute Menage's *Origines de la langue françoise*, and in 1663 to learn Breton.⁷ Above all, he applied himself eagerly, with the help of Junius, to the older Germanic tongues, and the Lambeth MS. provides ample evidence of his labours on Old and Middle English and Old High German, while his Gothic and Scandinavian studies, although fewer of his extant papers are devoted to them, are often referred to in the last group of his letters to Heinsius.⁸ The fruit of these Germanic studies was 't *Vader*

¹ MS. Junius 109.

² We have to thank Mr L. A. Bisson and Mr J. H. Whitfield for advice concerning respectively the French and the Italian entries.

³ See P. Burmann, *Sylloge Epistolarum*, III, p. 748.

⁴ See Boot, *loc. cit.*, IV, p. 300.

⁵ *Poema septilingue*. See the letter to Heinsius prefixed to Van Vliet's *Autores Rei Venaticæ Antiquæ*, a re-issue of the *Venatio Novantiqua* published in 1653, also Boot, *loc. cit.*, VIII, p. 31.

⁶ Some notes on Portuguese by Van Vliet survive in the Lambeth MS (ff 363^v-6ⁱ). His linguistic attainments are described by Constantijn Huygens as follows (*De briefwisseling van C. H.*, ed. J. A. Worp, IV, 's-Gravenhage, 1915, no. 4167, p. 236) in a letter dated Oct. 23, 1646: 'Janus Vlitius is hier weer geweest om dezelfde reden. Van Juffr Zuernus hoor ik, dat de secretaris der gezanten vele talen moet kennen. Die kent hij, nl. Fransch, Engelsch en Latijn. Ook Grieksch, maar dit is niet noodig. Ook Dutsch Spaansch en Italiaansch schrijft hij, maar spreekt het niet.'

⁷ See Boot, *loc. cit.*, IV, p. 307.

⁸ See Burmann, *loc. cit.*, III, pp 768 ff. Heinsius, of course, regarded his friend's new studies without enthusiasm.

ons in *XX oude Duijse en Noordse taelen*, 1664.¹ But, amid all these linguistic activities, he did not neglect his mother tongue, and the Lambeth MS (ff. 360^v–362^v) preserves his observations upon the language of Hooft's *Het Leven van Hendrik de Grote*.

The *Diary* proves that Van Vliet's interest in Frisian began as early as 1643. Later, it became one of his favourite subjects. He was assisted in his study of it by Junius, who gave him many of his own notes on Frisian subjects, which are preserved in the Lambeth MS.² Van Vliet quotes freely from the Frisian laws in 't *Recht van successie*, and his annotated copy of them, now in the Bodleian library,³ and a partial glossary to them in his hand⁴ show that he studied them most carefully, and that he used, not only the printed text, but also the Codices Unia and Aysma.⁵ A letter of Junius dated 23 Sept. 1661 shows that he thought it possible that Van Vliet might edit these laws (see *Vrije Fries*, xx, p. 475). He planned to edit the Frisian proverbs with the aid of Junius, taking as his foundation the printed edition (1641),⁶ and innumerable notes on them by himself, and a few by Junius, survive in the Lambeth MS.⁷ The plan, however, came to nothing, probably because Junius withdrew his support,⁸ and Van Vliet merely printed a few of the proverbs without comment in his *Bredaesche Almanac en Chronijck*, 1664. Van Vliet quotes many Frisian forms in the notes to the collection of translations of the Lord's Prayer mentioned above, and he naturally gives a Frisian version.⁹ He also attempted to write a Frisian verse preface for his *Bredaesche Almanac*,¹⁰ and succeeded moderately well.¹¹

¹ See also his Latin verse preface, with copious notes, to Junius's *Gothicum Glossarium* (Dordrecht, 1665): it shows that Van Vliet had carefully searched the ancient authorities for light on the history of the Germanic peoples.

² See *Frysk Jierboek*, loc. cit.

³ MS. Marshall 60

⁴ Preserved in the Lambeth MS., ff. 91^r–126^r.

⁵ See Siebs, *Westfriesische Studien*, p. 13.

⁶ See his letter to Huygens (25 Jan. 1662), printed by Boot, loc. cit., iv, p. 322.

⁷ See *Frysk Jierboek*, loc. cit.

⁸ At least that seems to be the purport of a note in Junius's hand, stuck on the back of a leaf of notes by Van Vliet and Junius on the proverbs (Lambeth MS., f. 246). This note is as follows:

'Hactenus indulsī claritatis vestrae desiderio, tantumque abfuit ut molestiam ullam per-sentiscerem, ut contra blandum fuerit de communibus studiis tecum agere hoc tantum doleo me opellam hanc eousque protraxisse, ut jam nihil temporis quo te porro de nonnullis rebus compellere sit reliquum. Vale vir summe, ac nihil esse crede, quod non tibi se debere putet tuus Ff Junius.'

⁹ This differs from the version in B. Vulcanius's *De literis et lingua Getaiarum* (Leyden, 1597), p. 98, only in orthography. It reads as follows in Van Vliet's book:

'Ws haita du derstu biste iyne himel Dijn name wirde heijlgt Dijn rike to komme. Dijn wille moot schæn upt yrtryck, as iyne himel. Ws deijhck bræ jouw us joed In forjouw us ous skjilden, as wij forjaen ous skjildeneis. In læd us næt iyn fersiecking, din frij us fen it quæ. Den dijn is it rijck, de maght, in die herheickhæd, iyn yewikhæd. Soo moot it wesse.'

¹⁰ Partially quoted by Wumkes, *Bodders*, p. 287.

¹¹ But see Boot, loc. cit., iv, p. 312.

The course of the tour described in the *Diary* is clear. Van Vliet arrived at Leyden on Monday, 4 May, and the following morning he proceeded to Amsterdam. There he crossed the IJ, and, having taken a meal at Buiksloot, reached Purmerend the same day, travelling by water. Next day (6 May) he passed through the Beemster, and so on to Hoorn and Enkhuizen. In Enkhuizen he was delayed a day by stormy weather, but, early on 8 May, he crossed the sea to Stavoren, and proceeded thence, through Molkwerum and Workum, to Bolsward. On 9 May he went on, by water, to Franeker. So far the events of each day are entered in the *Diary*, but now there is a break. The next entry is 13 May, and it describes a journey to Sneek, evidently from Franeker.¹ This was evidently a mere expedition, for, at the beginning of the next entry (16 May), Van Vliet is still at Franeker. The itinerary shows that an expedition to Harlingen, not mentioned in the *Diary*, was also made at this time. Van Vliet evidently made Franeker his headquarters from the evening of Saturday, 9 May, to the morning of Saturday, 16 May. On 16 May he went on to Leeuwarden, and next day to Groningen, by way of Noorderhorn and Aduard. There is no entry for 18 May, which was evidently passed in Groningen. On the 19th he left Groningen, and thenceforth made rapid progress each day. On the 19th he reached Meppel, through Assen² and Ruinen;³ on the 20th, Zwolle, through Zwartsluis and Hasselt; on the 21st, Kampen; on the 22nd, Deventer, through Hattem and Heerde; on the 23rd, Arnhem, through Loenen. Here both the *Diary* and the itinerary end.

The bulk of the *Diary* consists of descriptions of things which attracted the traveller's attention. Most of his statements are very accurate: the confirmations of these in the notes from old maps and local histories might have been considerably increased, but for the desire to save space. The whole work is an interesting picture of travelling in the seventeenth century. Van Vliet seems to have travelled alone: his occasional 'we' seems to refer merely to his chance companions in public conveyances.

It is not possible to decide whether Van Vliet had begun the study of Frisian before his journey or not. The fact that he travelled onwards nearly every day, except that he spent a week in Franeker, suggests that the object of the journey was a sojourn in that city to study Frisian. On the other hand, if he came to Friesland eager to continue the study of a

¹ After describing his arrival at Sneek, Van Vliet notes its distance from Franeker and the indirectness of the road. He also notes that he came through Tzum.

² Inexplicably named *Assel* (see note to f. 264r).

³ Also through another place between Assen and Ruinen, of which the name is not given: probably Beilen.

language already begun, he might be expected to begin to write in it at least as soon as he reached Stavoren: instead he saw fit to describe Stavoren, Molkwerum, Workum and Bolsward in Italian. It is possible that he had heard of the existence of a language in Friesland, and went there to begin the study of it. It is evident that he had not yet heard of Japicx, or he would certainly have mentioned him in his description of Bolsward.

By the time Van Vliet left Friesland, he had evidently acquired the elements of Frisian grammar, and had noted some of the phonological distinctions between Frisian and Dutch.¹ Hence he managed to write two entries in his *Diary* in Frisian. He had picked up a small vocabulary, probably by word of mouth, in addition to the words learned from his study of the three poems he has written out and of Baardt's *Boere-Practica*.² A very large number of words and phrases used in the *Diary* appear to be derived from the poems and Baardt, the poems being especially drawn upon in the first Frisian entry, Baardt in the second. The correspondences are as follows³

(1) Between the *Diary* and the poems: Poem I: *gæn* (used in *Diary* for *gien*, past part., see below), *fen*, *dær*, *de*, *nær* (i.e. *nei*), *famke*, *wy*, *so*, *met* (i.e. *mei*), *meij*, *int*, *te*, *cæm* (*Diary cæmen*), *wær* (i.e. *wier*), *as*, *en*, *in*, *allen* (*Diary alle*), *sljuwcht* (*Diary sliucht*); Poem II: *morns*, *ick*, *ien*, *waij* (*Diary wei*), *swiete* (*Diary swiet*), *crom*(*bochtich*), *tjen*, *soo* tatter (*Diary tsoo tat*, *tso tat*); Poem III: *inne*, *holle*, *næt*, *folle*, *sin* (used in *Diary* for 1st pers. sg.), *wol*, *ous*, *oppe*, *het*.⁴

(2) Between the *Diary* and Baardt (references are to pages of Baardt's edition of 1640; words which occur in the above list from the poems are not included). *saan* 4 (*Diary saen*), *kaad* 14, *goed* passim (*Diary goet*), *waar* 3, *aad* 11, *mar* 4, *præm* 12, *fjouwer* 11 (*Diary fjouwer*), *græt* 6 (*Diary græt* and *greet*), *is* passim, *den* passim, *æck* 5 (*Diary æeck*), *heeg* 8 (*Diary heege*), *ynnet* 5 (*Diary innet*), *off* passim (*Diary of*), *trije* 9 (*Diary tryj*), *rijden meye weyn to sted* 15 (*Diary reijen wij meye weijn to sted*), *tooyen* 6 (*Diary optoyet*), *foetten* 5 (*Diary footen*), *fisken* 12 (*Diary fiske*), *hornen* 6, *sonders* 15 (*Diary soender*), *lyoe* 6 (*Diary lioen*), *mecke* 10 (*Diary mecket*), *jouns* 5, *wijn* 3 (*Diary wijndt*), *lijts* 6 (*Diary lits*), *moy* 7 (*Diary moij*), *tzercke* 7, *huws* 13 (*Diary hous*), *t' huws* 9 (*Diary tous*), *wonder* 6 (*Diary*

¹ See the notes on Frisian orthography on f. 269^v.

² It is certain that Van Vliet studied this work, for he quotes from it on f. 268^r, giving page references.

³ In this list apparently erroneous Frisian forms from the poems are printed in Roman type. They are discussed below.

⁴ In this list words are quoted once only: e.g. *wær* (i.e. *wier*) is quoted from the first poem, so its occurrence in the second is not noted.

wonderluck), *bluwttet* 5 (Diary *bluwwen*), *ijn 't boun* 8 (Diary *in t boun*).

Completeness has not been aimed at in these lists, but they are sufficient to show that there are not many words in the *Diary* which Van Vliet might not have learned from the three poems and Baardt, and that it is, accordingly, improbable that his studies in Frisian had at that time gone any farther than those two sources, and some verbal enquiries. The notes which follow the poems lead to the same conclusion. Those on f. 268^r are from Baardt. Those on f. 268^v are the results of enquiries concerning the names of the days of the week and current coins, which a beginner would be most likely to make. This page also has a list of synonymous words. Van Vliet had obviously found *pongen* and *boxen* in Baardt (11), and asked for further terms of similar meaning. A considerable number of the words on f. 269^r and f. 269^v may also have been taken from the poems and Baardt.¹ e.g. *sissen* (Poem III), *lissen* (Baardt 16), *goeisen* (Baardt 5 *gousje*), *beternjen* (Poem III, see note), *tsjinnen* (Baardt 13 *tjinst*), *rucht* (Poem I), *tiucht* (Poem II), *tjæn* (Baardt 10), *sjeen* (Baardt 10 *sjæn*), *sjoen* (Baardt 7), *dwaen* (Baardt 15), *d'oore* (Poem III), *haân* (Baardt 15), *weenen* (Poem III *wennen*), *heeren* (Baardt 7 *heerd*), *jieer* (Poem II), *stæn* (Poem I), *jild* (Baardt 16). It is, however, evident that Van Vliet gave careful attention to the pronunciation of the words, and, hence, he gives alternative spellings for some, and produces one purely phonetic spelling, *hut* (i.e. *hurd*): Baardt (14) has the normal spelling *hird*.

As is pointed out in the notes, a number of pseudo-Frisian forms also occur in these word-lists of Van Vliet, and the *Diary* contains a number of errors, hyper-Frisianisms and Hollandisms, probably due to the writer's attempts to form Frisian words himself. Such appear to be: *njeugenden*, see note *ad loc.*; *sin* (1st pers. sg.) inferred erroneously from pl. *sin(ne)*, see note on Poem III; *mit* and *met* (for *mei*, but see below); *femke* (probably hyper-Frisian for *famke*, but see below); *wjndt* (mixture of Frisian *wijn* and Dutch *wind*); *tjeugen* (probably an attempt to Frisianize Dutch *tegen* on the assumption that Dutch *negen* was in Frisian *njeugen*, see above); *te* (for *to*) is due to Dutch influence, but is frequent in other Frisian texts of the time; *nær* (for *nei*), Hollandism, *ynne* (i.e. *yn de*) erroneously used for *yn in* ('in a'), but see note; *tjænde* (for *teach*, pret. sg.); *stjoende* (pres. part. for *steande*, 'standing'); *merckt* (for Frisian

¹ In this list apparently erroneous forms are again printed in Roman type. Words which occur in the lists of words from the poems and Baardt given above are not repeated in this list.

merk or *merke*), influenced by Dutch *markt*; *asse* (i.e. *as de*) used for *as*. *trijtjenste* erroneously formed from *trijs*: Japicx *trettiende*, Mod. *trettjinde*. *birden* is incorrect, and influenced by Dutch *derden*: Frisian (Japicx and Mod.) *tredde*; *reijen* (for *rieden*, pret. pl.) is an attempt to Frisianize Dutch *reden*; *was* (for *wier*, pret. sg.) is perhaps a Hollandism, though Bogerman has *was* and *waas* and Starter *was* (ed. Van Vloten, p. 448), *mecket* (for *makke* or *mekke*, past part.), an attempt to form a part. from *mecke*, used as imper. by Baardt (10); *sæn* (for *seagen*, pret. pl.), an error. *fiske*: the final vowel is unnecessary, and due to the analogy of forms like *tzercke*, Dutch *kerk*. *si* (for *side*, Japicx *sijde*), an error due to the analogy of Frisian forms without a medial *d*, which appears in the equivalent Dutch ones; *hat* (for *hæ*, pret. sg.), a Hollandism, *as . . as*: this construction appears to be an Anglism; *footen* (for *foetten*), *trijtjig* (Japicx *trytjig*, Mod. *tritich*): the termination is an Anglism; *stours* (for *stouwen*, Japicx, I, p. 50, *stoeren*), *tso tat*, *tsoo tat*: see notes to *Diary* and Poem II.

This is an impressive list of errors, but one must be cautious in condemning Van Vliet for them all. Some (i.e. the forms printed in Roman type in the list of correspondences between the *Diary* and the poems) were probably taken by Van Vliet from the very corrupt poems which had come under his eye, and others may turn out to have authority when Middle Frisian is more fully explored. One must, in view of the small quantity of seventeenth-century Frisian extant, hesitate to condemn forms, especially if the only reason for so doing is that they appear to be Hollandisms. Caution is, furthermore, enforced by the fact that three of Van Vliet's apparently incorrect forms (*met*, *femke*, *tioegen* [Van Vliet *tjeugen*, cp. his form *njeugenden*, Japicx *njueggende*]) are found also in a Frisian poem printed in 1643,¹ though this text is admittedly extremely corrupt.

A number of forms in the *Diary*, which show a graphic interchange of *ie* and *e/ee/æ*, may be mentioned together. they are *gæn* (for *gien*, past part.), *wær* (for *wier*, pret. sg.), *een* (for *ien*, art. and indef. pron.), *aeten* (for *ieten*, pret. pl.), *mæl* (for *miel*), *iest* (i.e. *ierst* for *earst*), *bliuwen* (for *bleauwen*, pret. pl.). Of these, *wær* occurs also in Poems I and II; *een* is found in other Frisian texts of the time (e.g. *Woutur en Tjalle*, 1609 ed., 83), being, no doubt, supported by Dutch influence; *ierst* may be compared with *ierste* in *Ansk en Houck*, 63, and *ierstu* in the Proverbs of the

¹ *Mijn Laaf is een soo sweten dier*. This poem has been reprinted from an old song-book (*Eerste Deel van d'Amsteldamsche minnezuchjens, op verscheidene nieuwe wijsjes*, Amsterdam, 1643) by W. Zuidema in *De Vrije Fries*, xx, pp. 320 ff. It is, of course, possible that Van Vliet knew this poem, which was printed in the year he wrote his *Diary*, and may have been printed previously elsewhere.

Bredaesche Almanac. On *bluuen* see note *ad loc.* The same uncertainty in spelling underlies the variant spellings *jæer*/*jær*, *stieen*/*stæn* and *sjiæn*/*sjiæn* given by Van Vliet (f. 269); cp. also Junius's variants *tjæn*/*tsien* (MS. Junius 115*a*, f. 527). A good many similar forms are to be observed in other Frisian texts of the time: e.g. Van Vliet, in the verses in the *Bredaesche Almanac* has *mier* (for *mear*) and rhymes *heer* : *jær* (i.e. *jier*), *Ansk en Houck* has *lierre* (67) beside *hære* (178) for *ljeaver*. Variant forms like *djier*/*djear*, *bjier*/*bjear* may also be compared.

Most of the characteristics of the spelling system adopted by Van Vliet in the *Diary* are common in the seventeenth century. Among these may be noted: *aa*, not *al*, is written in words of the type *aad*, *caad*; *æ* and *ae* are used, both as equivalent to *ā* (*saen*, *cæmen*, *mær*, *twæe*), and, in interchange with *ee*, in words with Mod. *ea* and *e* (*næt*, *græt*/*greet*, *heege*, *æeck*, *dær*, *tjænde*); *o* and *oo* appear in words with Mod. *oa* (*Bolsert*, *morns*, *hornen*, *poorten*, *oorelf*, *moyj*); *ou* often appears in words with Mod. *û* and *í* (*ous*, *hous*, *stours*, *ouren*) as well as those with Mod. *ou* (*jouns*, *houne*, *boun*); *tj* and *tz* both occur initially (*tjercke*, *tzercke*). In general, the three poems have a similar spelling system.

The three poems are in a very corrupt condition: whether this is due to Van Vliet's careless copying, or to the state of the MS. which he used, cannot now be determined. The corruptions in them will be discussed in the notes. It is not likely that Van Vliet took them down from dictation, for they would then probably be even more corrupt than they are, and they follow the spelling system of the time more closely than Van Vliet would have been capable of doing.¹

Finally, a word may be said on the literary value of the three poems. Outstanding merit cannot be claimed for them: they are insignificant compared with the work of Japicx (even in his lighter compositions) and are inferior to *Tjomme in Wemel* and *Ik hab dij hæf*, and even to Starter's two Frisian poems (*Myn leave Bauckje* and the *Fresch Pastorel*). Nevertheless, they have a light and gay movement, and show a better mastery of verse than *Mijn Liâf is een soo swieten dier*. They increase the conviction that there must have been far more Frisian verse in circulation in the seventeenth century than the small quantity preserved would lead us to suppose, for Van Vliet evidently lighted on them in the course of a very brief visit to Friesland. It is very likely that he came upon them among the students at Franeker. They have many words, phrases and rhymes,

¹ Since the poems are on f. 267, it is not possible to decide if the surviving copy was made in Friesland, or later, after the completion of the *Diary* (see the discussion of the gathering of the leaves above, and diagram).

which are found in other Frisian poems of the time: some of these are pointed out in the notes.

In presenting the text of the *Diary* and the accompanying matter the following principles have been observed:

(1) The MS. is rigidly followed, the correction of errors being reserved for the notes. The lines of the MS. are reproduced in the case of ff. 266^v–269^v, but not in the text of the *Diary* itself (ff. 261^r–266^r). The capitalization and punctuation of the MS. are reproduced.

(2) Words and parts of words contracted or abbreviated are expanded in *italics*. Sometimes doubt as to the best spelling to adopt for the expanded syllable is unavoidable (e.g. *op'* = *op de* or *oppe*?). Ampersands are expanded into the normal copulae of the languages used.

(3) Undotted *y* is always reproduced, even when normal spelling demands *ij*, dotted *y* is represented by *ij*.

(4) Words and letters added above or below the line are inserted in their proper place in the line, but are enclosed in ` `.

(5) Words underlined in the MS. are printed in SMALL CAPITALS.¹

(6) Letters illegible in the MS., but to be supplied with certainty, are enclosed in square brackets, and are discussed in the notes.

(7) *Except in the Frisian parts*, Van Vliet's own corrections are not discussed when the form on which he finally decided is clear, for his corrections of his own obvious slips are of no interest.

TEXT

Die lunæ 4 Maij

f. 261^r

Sub meridiem Leidam profectus, eo^l ad horam IV appuli, *et cæterum tempus pomeridianum pomeria deambulando una cum amicis trans egi*. Vespera ad intersigne Leonis Aurei, apud *Domnum* Haens Frieszen *diversus*, cum jentaculo posteriori diei, *et potatiunculâ cum sodalibus habita*, dependi .IX Florina X HS cum naulo, *et aliquibus commercys simul ut supra-scriptum est*.

Die Martis, 5 Maji

Je me suis embarqué sur les neufs heures, pour Amsterdam, *et ij* arrivé a ung heure, *et tout incontinent je passaij l'Ye vers Bucsloote*; ou aijant collationé je me mettois en une fort petite chaloupe, *et passants plus de CXXX petits ponts*, (qui servent a la commodité de tants de maisons, qui sont tout du long la Gouwe, une fort estroite fossée) arrivaij a Purmerent villette fort nette, *et munie par un Chasteau, a costé du ponant*. Mon hoste fut le Baillive de la ditte ville, au cheval Blancq, sur la marchée, qui alors estoit pleine de boutiques, a cause de la foire bestiale, qu'on y tient a ce temps-la.

¹ The only exception is the Greek word on f. 263^v, which is printed in ordinary Greek type, though underlined in the MS.

Die Mercury, 6. Mai

's Uchtens ten 8 uijren ben gereeden door de Beemster en daer naer de zeedyck-langhs, naer Hoorn, alwaer mij gedroocht hebbende van *den* reghen, ende de stat wat besien, ben weder gereeden meest den dijck langhs naer Enckhuysen, en ten 4 uijren aengecomen. Myn Herberge genomen hebbende in't Oost Indische-Toorentje, (een hujs seer lustich en aengenaem van syn uijtsicht op *de* Zee, en vesten) gingh tot den avont de stat door en om bewandelen, Gelyck oock den volgenden dach dede, om dat door stormigh weder niet overvaren conde. Ondertusschen gingh naer Paludani erff

f. 261^v Die Jovis

-genaemen, om *de* rariteyten te sien van *den* overledenen ouden doctor Paludanus. Den achtermiddagh quamp oock met wandelen over. Den derden uijre vont *gelegentheit* om te *vertrecken*, als volcht

Die Veneris

Essendo imbarcati manzi al' Aube, non anco l' hora sonnata Quarta, passavamo il mare per due luege nello spatio di tre hore, e vengevamo a STAVERA, territorio picciolo, ma di antichezza notabile. Furono ivi manzi VII Rei, ed altri prencipi, chi tengono lor corta quivi Stava anco di mercantie, e commodità por navire molto lodata, e ricca sopra fede. Donde anch' hoggi gli Staverensi hanno molte priveleggi, come nella Sunda de' Dani che passano e pagano premieri, ed oltre a Zwo[[a]] e Daventria. Se vedano a costa destra un tumulo, chiamato, Roo-clijft, ove fue la corto regale, e un breve di mare, t'vrouwe-sant dove una ricca moglie non contenta che sua nave portava niente, o niuna altra cosa che bledi, mandava che jettano nell' acqua, e si offeseva iddio, chi fece nacquer là questa incommodità por i naviganti.

Di quà partivamo all' ottava, e venivamo a MOLCERN, città picciola, ed densa, ma incomposta, e senza alcuna strada, poiche le case stanno senza ordine, ed a poca distanza afin che é impossibile cercare, e ritrovare la camina una volta mostrata. Le moglie sono molto odace, e maestre sopra i mariti, || e portano una piezza assai grande de panno in loro testa, relegata met een self kant, che pendilla in lor dorso. *gelyck* een carpauts se mostra questa ornatura. La villa e partita in settem isole, sotto nome di, *polen* o, *poalen*. Di qua caminavamo a WORCUM villetta molto longa, più d'una luega. Quivi veggi un vecchio di centi e dodeci anni anco ferma, e spazante senza soste, ma parlante dolcemente, bevante, e manducante bene. Worcum è in mezza camina di Stavera, verso BOOLSWEERDA, v. Bolsert ove arrivavamo a quarta hora. E villa o più citta ben munita, e vagha, e di case e strade netta al maraviglia. Io intorno spazzava per - - - in spatio di media hora, oblettato per lo guardo di prati circovicini. Allogeava in *de doelen*, in *de martstraet*, d'ove si vendono le bestie. La casa della città e nova e vaga. E non lontana di la e una capella bastita insù un ponte, dove e la schola publica. Era quivi una compagnia di milti infanti. Ha due Chiese, oltre la ditta capella, assai grande e large, una con torre insieme di sopra contesto, come le case, l'altra senza alcuno.

Smoun, den njeugenden Maai

f 262^r

Sim ick gæn fen Bolsert morns te tjiën ouden ynne praem, mit goet celsip fen saen hoen, en ien aad femke fen Sexbirum Mar it waar wær caad, in de wijndt wær tjeugen ous, tso tat we iest te fiouwer ouden nær jouns te FRANTJER cæmen, en ick tjænde inne fergulde falck tous, inne greet, treftich hous stjoende oppe merckt Frantjer is ien lits, mar swiet in moij steeken, næt folle greeter asse Bolsert, en het mar ien tjercke, Den preeckter æeck innen Academj alle -- Sneijn so wol inteltijn as innet Friesk. Dær sinne maer trij poorten.

Waansdeij, den trijtjenste May, of tirden, nær den aaden en Friesken stijl

reijen wij meye weijn to sted to SNIETS oppe mercke, der was ful fen allerhaan Lioen, 'en famkes' som met stijfde cappen, som met trecken van crælen en si mecket, som meij Molckeerns capers optojet Wy sæn ien houne meij twæ footen, en een die fyf otters had hat, en ien lam soender holle, op derpe weeningh beeren. en ien fiske met 10 hornen Sniets is een lits, moij stedken, as græt as Frantjer, het ien heege tzercke, mær sluucht stedhous. Wij aeten in de Wytten ernt heck oppe brulleft, sex en trijtij stours de mæl Sniets is mær try milen fen Frantjer, mær de weij is wonderlick crom 't' soo tat wi Tzum wol oorelf our æcken neij bliuwen in t boun.

Saterdag, the $\frac{6}{16}$ off Maye

f. 263^r

Went I from Franeker in a frosty morninge and came in three ouwres at Leeuwart. is à ferij plaisant towne, and rond about with Good, stronge, broad walles, and daykes well defended. Is somwat bigger, as Fraeneker, but tweyes as peoplefull: and brave in buildinges and streetes Hath a verij bigge towre, but without a Church. The Gates are with steepels wel provided. I had my lodging, at the goulden head, upon the Marketplace, who is betweene two bridges, next to a runle, it townehowse is ferij onseene.

Die Solis, $\frac{7}{17}$ Maii

Leoardia Groningam XVI abinde M P. abij, quorum priora 3 per palustria. altera II per campestria (heyen) cætera per rura, et agros et pascua transierunt. Via omnis æque ac Franekerâ Snecam valde tortuosa magno cum dispendio tempus exegit XI et amplius horarum. In transitu ciconiæ nidum in ulmi cacumine observavi 'ut idem post prope Meppelam.' et II M.P. antequam Groningam intraremus, circumferebar monasterium. quod urbis instar fuit, cum IV portis, et mænijis, quorum vestigia clare vidimus, olim munitissimum: nunc pagi magnitudinem æquant rudera. Non longe antea transiveramus campum clade et strage V Millium militum non ignobilem quam comes Wilhelmus ante LXXX anno's

GROENINGA major est Leoardia, ovo similis XVII bolovarcis et mænys latis-
simis munita, portis VII. Fossam latam pedes C. tuetur falsa breia. Turris
valde alta et insignis ob latitudinem XVIII passuum et altitudinem CCCV
Graduum. Habet campanam XVIII millia librarum et DLXV. quam molendi-
narij quia equis suis eo egerunt, immunem habent ut sonet in eorum Funeri-
bus; nam alijs vehere nequibant. Academia sive ἀμνηστορηριον BONÆ MENTIS ET

f 263^v

PIETATIS duo tantum habet auditoria humilia, *et sine fornice aut superiore concameratione*. Forum in angulo habet prædictam turrin cum amplo cæmiterio; in medio curiam, *et a tergo et a lateribus curiæ porticus, et nescio quæ loca publico destinata* Viæ omnes sunt latissimæ, *et recto ordine correspondentes*. Est *et navale*, ubi navis bellica vehens aut vectura XX tormenta ædificabatur. Marina enim eousque subvenit ducta fossa, *et brachio in lævam flexo int'eriorem urbem fere circuit*. Retro templum aula principis est cum horto amænissimo Hæc omnia lustravi, *et aliquoties obivi*

Die Lunæ $\frac{8}{18}$ Meiij

f 264^r Dinsdagh, den $\frac{9}{19}$ Maije

Ben ick van Groeninghen nær Meppel maer seer ongemackelyck *en verdrietichlijck* gereden. De meeste wech is *over* heijden, wyt en woest, altemets door, en nevens bosschen henen. Weijnigh dorpen en menschen siende. Wij aten te ASSEL, de hoofstat van Drente, *qualijck* soo groot of fraij als Scheveninge; de kerck afgebroocke, de huysen sonder reeck Daer naer te . . . *twelck* beter is als Assel Dan door de duynen naer RUNEN, en van *daer* langhs een smalle, moorachtige onevene en gevaerlycke wegh naer MEPPEL, en aldaer opt avont-eten by geluck geraeckt; Is een net fraij dorp, grooter als Voorburgh, heeft een dicken hoogen toorn, *en oock* sijn bruggens; en daer mede sich beschermt om dat rontsom moeren liggen.

Wednesdaij the $\frac{10}{20}$ th of Manje

I toke a boath at Meppel, and 'i' throw manij Drey places came at SWART-SLUYS a little fortres *and* thence to HASSELT, whear wee did showe what losse the watter-tempest hadde done to the strenge bolwarcks, *and* so to SWOLL, in all noe more then 6 hours spending. Swoll is most as stronge *and* bigge as Groeninge, but better habitated, *and* bilded fuller. Some inhabitants are gentlemen, but few, moste traesmen, *and* manij Kamoners. Is a plaisant place, soe with threes, as a cause to good prospect ||Wee found a great manij turfships betweene Meppel *and* Swart-sluijs; then passing the sluijs came wee upon it Swart-Wetter, verij undeepe *and* meeted before Hasselt a companij of Gentlemen *and* -wemen, hamson, *and* briske *and* neare Swol 3 ships with Souldiers, *and* before the head 2 others *with the* Same, soe that but 1 companij was lefte in the towne

Jeudij le $\frac{11}{21}$ du Mé

Allasmes a Campen en charriot, *et* passames en traversant les prairies de Mastenbrouck, fort herbeuses, *et* pleines de bœufs, qu'on ij nourrist. Apres 2 *et* $\frac{1}{2}$ heures venismes en ville, *et* payasmes chacun estranger $\frac{1}{2}$ solz pour passer le Pont sur l'Isel, qui l'an 1635 en reparation a cousté 50 mill l. Il est long environ 150 pas, 7 vel 8 tantum sublicibus unâ ab alterâ XXX passus distante, sed 1 tantum. XXIII. 2. XXXII. 3 XXXII. 4. XXXIII ita ut in medio duo mali concurrant, *et* se invicem sustinent, ut a cornuto angulo in summo pendeat totius moles interjecti pontis, ferreisque manibus undique colligetur Sed vel homine tantum transeunte tremiscit. in ulteriore ripa aquæ altitudo est 44 pedes ad minimum, ibi duobus malis 100 pedes longis tota moles sustinetur,

quia tantæ publicæ inveniri non poterant Mali isti a 2 hominibus infigi potuere, omdat het heij-block || (van een Norenburger Smit geinventee[rt]) f 265^r met raderen *gelijck* een uyrwerck opging alhoewel 2000 ll swaer was. In ponte sunt V arcus, in quibus pontis pensilis titulus transeunti prostat. Campen est estendue selon l'Isel, bien long comme on voit en allant tout de long la vieille Rue, qui traverse la longueur et un bourgwall qui est au dos de la dite Rue, comme a l'autre coste le rivage Est comme un pois de mer presque Vidi in templo ambulatorio arietem qui a capite usque. medium foramen ubi pende-batur habebat pedes XL. in latitudine prope foramen V Pedes et tribus trabibus conligatus erat 4 vel 5 ferreis vinctulis. Puttenstein, olim arx inter Hardervicum et Daventriam in portis præfigebat, Harderwijk en ken niet, Deventer heeft geen goet, Campen geen moet, Gods vrient, allemans vyant Quam eapropter, Episcopus Arnoldus jussit demoliri hoc ariete anno 1300 et ultra. Campen undique se potest mundare, ita ut satisfaciant muri quos habet equales cum Delfensibus, aut interioribus Swollæ. tamen aliquos vallos terrestres[s]

Jorno di Venere, $\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{2}$ di Majo

f 265^v

Andava vedere Campa, ed apresso hora nona partiva con caruccia de quattre cavalle, e primo allungo il aggere sino Hattem, poi per tomoli sterili di Velavia entraviama al Eerda, media della camina fra Campa, e Daventria. Appoi per una camina strettissima, che era levata di verge per la campania depressa, e nel verno piena d'acqua. ed appresso ancho per la velavia, si che tutta la via passaviama por Gelria, si non che uno villaggio, che e di Overisalanian. Entra-viamo al Daventria hora terza, e piu, città ben fortificata, di duplice muri, uno di sasso, altro di terrestre bolverque, ed entra ciascuna un semilunio, ed oltra la contrascerpa. La villa e ben bastita, grande e nitida come Zwolla: ma il foro più grande ed appresso la Porta occidentale. Ha un torre molto spisso e grasso, sai alto, dove la polvere si serva La torre di chiesà e alta come questa di Leovardia, e si assomiglia. Ha un rota per far sonare gli campani come si vide a Zwoll La schola academica e una capella picciola

Saterdagh, den $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{8}$ Mij

f 266^r

Ben gereden met een wagen (anders int gemeen gebruijcktmē karren) ten 11 uijzen naer Arnhem, en quamen aldaer ten 6. Int beginsel syn wij den dijck lanx nevens gesajt lant, tot $1\frac{1}{2}$ mijl. De rest over de Veluwe. heuvelachtig dorre, sandige, en bossachtige heije Pleysterden te Loenen, een heeren huijs heeft syn bosch, vol gedierte. Ten lesten en $\frac{1}{4}$ uys van Arnhem begon men de stat eerst te sien op den Galgenbergh, alwaer het hoft, en de stat elc syn besonder gerecht heeft. Aldaer 1629 den viant syn geschut planten en van boven 3 schooten in de stat schoot Men sach oock perfect Nieumegen, de Moocquerheije, Huijszen, Griethuysen, een $\frac{1}{4}$ uys van Schenckschans. Arnhem lecht seer plaisant, int geboomte, en veele lust-hooven, soo dat de hoorwercken vol betuynt sijn; De cingel is ronts-om met fraije ypen beydssyden beset van binnen en veel oock van buijten; de vesten sijn aen een sijde drooch en hooch. Buijten de steene muijr, en sijn sloot, comt een eerde wal; soo dat het water van binnen wel ses voeten hooger staet als buijten.

- f. 266^v S Leijden, Hans Friessch, *Vergulde* Leeuw
 S Purmerent, tot de Schout, Wit Peert, op *de* mert
 Hoorn - - - - Roode molen
 S Enckhuijsen - - - int Toorentje
 Staveren - - - - Witte Swan
 Molcweren, Aages, Witte Swan
 S Boolsweert, - - - op *de* doelen - op *de* mert - 'straet'
 Snets, Sneek, Lutske-moj, Witten Aernt.
 S Frantjer, Kempo Takes, *Vergulde* Falck op *de* mert
 Harlingen, pauw, vel recht *over* - - -
 S Leeuwaerden Gerritje Fridjes, Gulden hooft op *de* 'mert'
 S Groeningen, Jean Tatarr, Toelast, merct
 S Meppel, - - - - in *den* wilde Man
 S Swoll - - - - Witte Wan, merct
 S. Campen, by *den* Majoor, Ceulschen dom, oldestra[et]
 S. Deventer, - - - - Wapen van overyssel '(Kerckhof.
 S Arnhem - - - - Gulden arent.

Mingel

Kroes is, 2 pint

tott

f. 267^r

1

Lolcke soewe uyt tsichtjen gæn
 Vnd ein fen boermans achten
 Dær fon hi mes de fjoester stæn
 Jo nær her frier wachten
 Famke wod thou pæ and pæ
 Wy benne ier allinne
 So com met 'mi' allenn' int hæ
 Te schjoeljen for de Sinne

2

Da Nies in t hæ by Lolcke cæm
 Het storjen he nin ljcken
 Hy wær bedrioen as tJommer raem
 Fen paijen en Fen Strycken
 Tousent paetjen in payen rjuwcht,
 en allen nocht op ierden,
 Hie Lolcke mej sm Famken sliuwcht,
 Eer dat het hem beswierden
 Transeat Cempo
 Morns ier for daij
 Fon ick ien famken sliepen] tiucht oon de way
 Jo hi haer boose miepen,
 Mej taten 2^m. roem, fraij los en ongeboun
 Dat swiete djear, wær fen de daw so fochtich
 Ick nãm her hier, goutferwech en crombochtich
 Ick droeger mej, ick droegh, en ick droegh
 Haer taeten foor en neij

Soo tatter mej acht moonen en tjeen dægen
 Gingh nder weij, dat famken noos en aegen
 Dat jeeer '2^m ' mt lest, mijn Famken lyct het 'best'

Jonge Friester ick schiuw di oon
 Ick hadde hette sin to dij persoon
 en ick soe di wol bejerjen
 Sit hette bij
 en herke ney mij
 Het ick di sal petterjen

f 267^v

2

Jonge frier tis maal petteer
 Heste mi laef der binner wol meer
 en hoe comt dat di mine holle
 By di te sitten
 Wol icker næt litte
 en flouw dou my næst te folle

3

De jonge friers sin jong en dom
 y sissen wol ien wird en tinsser næt om
 Ja speelje ous oppe mouwe
 Die iene fooren weij
 en d'oor achter neij
 So verquackel ij ous trouwe

4

Die ous dit næuw liet het eticht
 Dat wier ien frier fen herten licht
 By Wirden wær hi fen denne
 By het Coe-weent
 Of dær omtrent
 Dær hebben sin aaders leng wennen.

	Leep	A.	Leape	B	Kivit
	Swan	A	idem.	B	Swæen
p 10	deij	A	daij	B	dagh
p. 12	Weij	A	waij	B	wegh
	Smel	A	Small	B	cleijn
15	Noos	A,	Nose	B	neus
	Fogs	A	Fox	B	vos
16.	Siecken	A.	seeke	B	soecken.

f 268^r

f. 268^v

FRISICA.

Maandaij	Moondaij
Tiesdaij	Tuysdaij
Waensdaij	Wednesdaij
Tongersdaij	Thunderdaij
Fried	Frydaij
Snoun	Satterdaij
Sneijn	Sundaij (or a / Sennit, Sneit { unde Sneijn

Verceerde en riuchte Jacobussen, 13, gulden.

'enkele' Goune, Kaisars goune - 20 stuvers.

Butter-goune - - - - 28 stuvers.

Flæmken - een blanck.

Botjen, trij botjes sin twæ flæmkes

Buijssen, Buissen, Pongen, aassacken, Bossen

f. 269^r *Bedippen, betijgen*

Beteljen, betaelen

Goisen, goijsen, huijlen

Lissen, Sissen, Leggen, Seggen

tsjinnen, dienen.

Beternjen, praten

Pynigh, moijlyck, næt wol te vreen.

Front, frient

Heersch, heerschap.

Hit, to hit steppen, te hart stappen.

lyckefolle, æckefolle, evenveel

æckewol, æck

bop-oppe hicken, riucht oppe hecken.

Bomke boppe ick trinck it uyt en cluck int 'stiert'

Riucht

sliucht

tjucht, tiucht, dicht

tjæn, gaen,

tjonnen, geven, al gunnen

siçen, sjien, sjoen. etc.

hiecken, hecken

dwaen, bedwaen, doen.

f. 269^v

AE mutatur in OO

Woor, door, oor, d'oore, (a'ere pro andere)

Snoor

AË contractum ex AY

Swaên, Draen, vel Swaân, draân, swaijen
Haân, hangden.

EE vel ȳ pro OO

Weenen, heeren

EE vel Æ pro AE

tjæn, gæn, færen, geeren, jieer, jær, stieen,
stæn,

.I. pro E.

Gien, Jild,

NOTES¹

f. 261^r. *eo* · here and below (f. 263^v) this adverb has a small vertical stroke above it to the right.

HS: *sestertu* (i.e. *stuvers*).

la Gouwe. according to old maps, the journey by water from Buiksloot to Purmerend would be by the Landsmeer and the Gouwe, which coincided with the path of the modern Noord-Hollandsche Kanaal.

ponant. 'west' (obsolete). The western position of the castle is confirmed by the map of Purmerend in J. Blaeu's *Novum ac magnum theatrum urbium Belgicarum liberarum ac foederatarum* (Amsterdam, 1649).

la marchée. the weekly market at Purmerend took place on Tuesday · see *Reys-boek door de vereenigde Nederlanden en derselver aen grensende landschappen en koninkrijcken* (Amsterdam, 1689), p. 163.

Beemster the Beemster is a district in North Holland

Paludani concerning Paludanus, see *Nieuw Ned. Biog. Wb.*, ix, 752. He died at Enkhuizen in 1633, and his great collection of curios and natural objects remained in the hands of his heirs, till they were bought by Duke Frederick III of Schleswig-Holstein in 1651.

f. 261^v. *due luege* see note on f. 262^v, where all Van Vliet's statements of distance are considered.

Stavera according to the *Reys-boek* (1689), the ferry went, normally, from Enkhuizen to Workum and Harlingen, but, in bad weather, to Stavoren. Its normal hour for departure was, however, 9 a.m.

VII Rei the reference is to seven princes, who, according to the legends incorporated in the Frisian chronicles, and in the early historians who use them, ruled Friesland from 313 B.C. to A.D. 130. These princes were succeeded by seven dukes and nine kings (*altri prencipi*). For a convenient list of all these rulers with their alleged regnal years, see W. Eekhoff, *Beknopte Geschiedenis van Friesland* (Leeuwarden, 1851), pp. 487 ff.

molte priveleggi · the people of Stavoren, owing to the great commercial importance of their town, had many privileges in the Middle Ages. They had the right to pay their dues first and pass before all other comers at the Danish Sound (see Van der Aa, *Aardrykskundig Woordenboek*, s.v. *Stavoren*; K. Heeringa, *Het oude Stavoren*, Groningen, 1893, pp. 96 and 117). Although stone was brought from Deventer to Stavoren (see P. A. Meilink, *De Ned. Hanzesteden* etc., 's-Gravenhage, 1912, p. 43), the editors

¹ The following abbreviations are used: *N.E.D.* = *New English Dictionary*, Sipma = P. Sipma, *Phonology and Grammar of Modern West Frisian* (Oxford, 1913), W.D. = Waling Dijkstra, *Friesch Woordenboek*, 3 vols. (Leeuwarden, 1900-11); G.J. = *Gysbert Japicx: Wirken*, 2 vols., ed. by J. H. Brouwer, J. Haantjes and P. Sipma (Bolsward, 1936-); *Oorkonden* = *Oudfriesche Oorkonden*, 2 vols., ed. by P. Sipma ('s-Gravenhage, 1927-33).

are unable to trace the special privileges here stated to have been enjoyed by the people of Stavoren at Deventer and Zwolle.

Zwoll[a] the last letter has been obliterated, the binder having passed a needle through it, when the MS. was rebound in 1937. The form *Zwolla* occurs in the Italian entry on f. 265^v.

corto regale. several of the legendary rulers mentioned above are said to have had residences on the Roode Klif

t'vrouwe-sant the legend of the widow of Stavoren and the sandbank is too familiar to require comment

Molkwerum various writers complain of the disorderly manner in which Molkwerum was built: see e.g. *Reys-boek* (1689), p. 261, *Tegenwoordige staat der vereenigde Nederlanden*, vol. xxv (Friesland, vol. III), Amsterdam, 1788, p. 303, Van der Aa, *loc. cit.*, s.v. *Molkwerum* (For the seven 'islands' into which it was divided, and their names, see the same authorities, and also J. H. Halbertsma in *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language*, by J. Bosworth (London, 1838), p. xxxvii, where it is alleged that it was possible to distinguish from which island an inhabitant came by his speech

f. 262^r. *relegata* etc.: 'tied up with a selvage.' Eng 'selvage' could mean 'the selvages of cloth cut off for use as a bandage' (*N.E.D.*, s.v. *selvage* 2 only instance 1599), and here the corresponding Dutch term *zelfkant* seems to be used in a similar sense. For an identical development of meaning from 'selvage' to 'material where-with to tie up', see *W.D.*, s.v. *smet*.

carpauts see *Wb der Ned. taal*, s.v. *kapoets*, for the meanings of this word, which is applied to various sorts of headdress. The form *karpouets* is also frequent, and *karpous* is recorded in 1629.

luega see note on f. 262^v.

senza soste 'without pause' (*sosta*).

nova. the town hall dates from 1614.

capella in the *Tegenwoordige Staat*, *loc. cit.*, p. 202, this is called *de Kapelle der mirakelen van onze Lieve Vrouwe van Zevenwouden*, *anders de Kapelle van den Heiligen Geest*, and is said to be a very ancient building, still standing (1788), and being used for schools.

due Chrese. two churches, one with a tower (the *Olde Hof*), and one without (the *Broere kerck*), are clearly shown on the map of Bolsward in J. Blaeu's *Novum ac magnum theatrum*.

contesto: the sense which Van Vliet intended this word to convey is problematical: he is evidently implying that the tower in some way resembled the houses in the village.

f. 262^v. *Snioun*. Starter also writes *Snioun*. G.J. has *Snjeons* (I, p. 5), *Snjuen* (I, p. 62: Oxford text *Snjeon*), and *Snjoen* (MS. Junius 115a, f. 527^r).

njeugenden: G.J. has *njueggen(de)*; Mod. *njoggen(de)*, *njuggen(de)*. Van Vliet's *eu* is an error for *ue*. See also *Introduction*: Van Vliet seems to have Frisianized Dutch *tegen* to *tjeugen* on the analogy of the assumed equation of Dutch *negen*, Frisian *njeugen*

ynne: i.e. *yn de*. The *Diary* and poems elsewhere have *in* for the preposition, but *ijn*, *yn* is usual in G.J. Starter, Baardt and most other documents of the period have both forms.

mit: cp. *met* below. The latter form is derived from Poem I. For the interchange of *e* and *i*, cp. *nit* (i.e. *net*) in the poem printed in *Vrije Fries*, xx, p. 320; *sel* (Baardt, 11. Starter; *Woutur en Tjalle*, 1609 ed., 51, 106, 111, 139) beside *sil* (Japicx, etc.); *bitter*, 'better', *Ansk en Houck*, 174; and the forms mentioned in the notes below on *omtrent* (Poem III), *benne* and *allinne* (Poem I).

celsip: slip for *celskip* (i.e. *selskip*).

fen (first occurrence): altered from *van*. The form *fen* is usual in the seventeenth century. (Bogerman has *fan* and *van*.) Initial *v* is, however, frequently found in seventeenth-century Frisian texts.

Sexbierum: *e* altered from *a*. Sexbierum, 6 km. north-west of Franeker.

Mar: cp. *mær* (i.e. *mār*) below. Both forms (and also *maar*) are found in the period.

in the pen has slipped, making the dot of the *i* into a curve. Van Vliet usually writes *en* for the copula, and it is the predominant form in the poems (but cp. I, 13)

and Baardt. In most texts, however, *in* is commoner (e.g. Japicx, *Woutir en Tjalle*, 1609) though Starter and the *Spreck-woorden* of 1641 prefer *en*. The poem in *Vrije Fries*, xx, and *Woutir en Tjalle*, 1639, use both. *Ansk en Houck* has *en* twice only (57, 223).

tso tat. see note below.

we generally only as here an enclitic form: cp. *wij*, *wy*, *wi* below. G.J., I, p. 211, uses *se* non-enclitically.

iest i.e. *earst*, 'first'. On the absence of *r*, see note on *hit*, f. 269^r. The *ie* may be regarded as an error (due to *ier*), or as one of the curious forms with a confusion in spelling between *ea* (æ) and *ie*, discussed in the *Introduction*.

nær jouns the phrase evidently means 'towards evening'; *nær* (i.e. *nei*) is an incorrect form derived by Van Vliet from Poem I. The phrase is an attempt to express in Frisian something like Dutch *naar den avond toe*.

Francher cp. *Frantjer* below; the *c* is rather hesitantly formed. Perhaps Van Vliet began to write *Franeke*, but, remembering the Frisian form half-way through, altered *e* to *c*. This is a very early instance of the *tj* spelling of this place-name: see J. J. Loopstra, *De assiblatie in de Oudfriese oorkonden*, p. 109, and cp. the forms in *Woutir en Tjalle*, 29, 32, 36.

tjænde *t* altered from *g*. Van Vliet meant to use *gean*, and decided on *tjæn* only after putting pen to paper (cp. f. 269^v, where the two verbs are mentioned together). On the form *tjænde* (G.J. *teag*; *Ansk en Houck*, 212, *tæg*) see *Introduction*.

inne greet, treflich hous the sense demands that *inne* be translated as 'in a'; in that event the form is incorrect (see *Introduction*). With some violence to the sense *inne* can be translated as 'in the': cp. Mod. *yn'e hús*, and Starter (ed. Van Vloten, p. 457) *yne Gouden Hous*.

ien tjercke the Church of St Martin.

Den preeckter etc. although the sense is clear the sentence has several difficulties. Perhaps *ien* is omitted after *preecker*: 'in addition, somebody preaches...'. The two dashes after *alle* may perhaps indicate an omission occasioned by Van Vliet's having forgotten the exact circumstances: 'every second Sunday' or some such phrase may have been intended. Although a sg. after *alle* is a common construction (e.g. G.J., I, p. 55, *alle man*; p. 66, *alle ding*; p. 55, *alle dyer*), the sg. *Sneijn* seems to be incorrect here if the meaning is 'every Sunday': cp. G.J., I, p. 49, *alle Sneynen*; p. 67, *alle dagen*; p. 56, *alle wure* in *stuwven* (Oxford text, supported by rhyme; B.U. *stuwne*). (G.J.'s frequent phrase *alle dei* means, not 'every day', as Épkema, II, 13, implies, but 'the whole day', as the sense shows in I, p. 14, and the French original in I, p. 280. Cp. *alle moarn*, 'the whole morning', I, p. 58.) On the use of *alle* with the noun in the sg. in Modern Frisian see Sytstra and Hof, *Nieuwe Friesche Spraakkunst*, pp. 103-4. *inteltyjn* is obviously an error for *in(ne)t Latijn* (or *Letyn*, a hyper-Frisian form). *preecker* can be regarded as a Hollandism or as contracted from Frisian *preket* *er* (cp. *Ansk en Houck*, 121, *preect*).

The editors are unable to trace any other reference to preaching in Frisian in the seventeenth century in Franeke or elsewhere. Scholars preached in the University of Franeke in Latin and Dutch: see W. B. S. Boeles, *Frieslands hogeschool en het Rijks Athenaeum te Franeke* (Leeuwarden, 1878-9), II, pp. 133 and 165. The allegation that there was Frisian preaching is almost certainly an error of Van Vliet.

sinne the form occurs occasionally in other documents: G.J., I, p. 300 (1st pers.); *Ansk en Houck*, 193. The poem in *Vrije Fries*, xx, has *sinnen*. More usual are *binne* and *sint(e)*. The form *binnen* occurs in the *Spreck-woorden* of 1641 (p. 4) and Baardt (7). See also note on Poem III.

trij altered from something illegible (*twe?*).

Waansdeij. cp. *Waensday*, f. 268^v. G.J. *Wernsdeij* (MS. Junius 115a, f. 527^r). W.D. gives *Woans-, Wäns-, Wëns-, Wernsdei*. Mod. *Woansdei* is pronounced with *ā* (Sipma, p. 174).

styl: the new style was officially introduced in Friesland in 1701, though the old style lingered in use much later and was sometimes referred to as the *stilus Frisie* (see R. Fruin, *Handboek der chronologie voornamelyk van Nederland*, Alphen a. d. Rijn, 1934, pp. 10 and 107).

rejen. .sted the whole sentence is taken from Baardt, see *Introduction*

Snets: usually *Snits* (Sneek), but cp. *Snyts* (*Oorkonden*, I, p. 204, etc.).

ful perhaps an Anglicism, for the usual form in contemporary texts is *fol*; but Old West Frisian has both *ful* and *fol*

allerhaan an attempt to Frisianize Dutch *allerhande* Wumkes and De Vries (*Ned - Friesch Wb.*, p. 11) record Frisian *allerhânne*. Cp. G.J., I, p. 218, *folle'er hânne*. Mod. *folle'hânne*, equivalent to Dutch *velehande*. Van Vliet's endless form may be due to his believing that *haan* was pl: on f. 269^v he seems to equate it with Dutch *hangden* (i.e. *handen*).

som this uninflected form is found in Mid. Dutch, it also occurs in Bogerman (*Vrije Fries*, XIX, 1/33, II/220). Japicx *som(nu)ge*; *Ansk en Houck*, 185, *somme*, Mod. *sommege* and *somlike*.

stijfde W D gives *stunje* of starching linen. Cp. Hindeloopen *stiefde zondock* (see *Gids voor de bezoekers der hist. tentoonstelling van Friesland*, Leeuwarden, 1877, p. 49).

cappen see W.D., s.v. *kape*.

trecken 'necklaces', not elsewhere recorded in Frisian, see Verdam, *Middelned. Handwb.*, s.v. *trec* (8).

van see note above.

crælen 'coral beads', Mod. *kralen*.

Molckeerns an attempt to form an adj. from *Molcvern* (f. 266^v).

capers 'headdresses', see *Wb. der Ned. taal*, s.v. *kaper* (II)

optoyet 'dressed up' (Mod. *optoayge*). Baardt (6) has the simplex *tooyen*. For the formation of the past part. cp. G.J. *-koyd* (from *koayge*), I, p. 198, beside the more usual *-kôge*, p. 2.

houne Mod. *houn*, G.J. generally *huun*, but once *huune* (I, p. 148), so Van Vliet's form may be correct, though he is probably adding a redundant final vowel, as he does in *fiske* (see *Introduction*).

en...hat. 'and somebody who had five otters' Van Vliet meant to alter *had* to *hat* but forgot to delete *had*. The form is, in any case, a Hollandism (Frisian *he*)

soender altered from *sonder* so that the *e* practically obliterates *n* Mod. *sonder* and *sinder*.

op...beeren very uncertain Since Van Vliet (f. 269^v) formulates a law that Frisian \bar{e} =Dutch \bar{o} , this phrase may be an attempt to Frisianize *in een dorpswooning geboren* (with reference to the headless lamb). For the final *e* of *derpe*, cp. *houne*, *fiske*.

stedken cp. *steeken* above; Japicx has both *sted* and *stee*.

het. 'has'; Mod. *hat* and *het*, Japicx (*passum*), Starter (*passum*), *Ansk en Houck* (12, 116, 154, etc.) and Baardt (13, 16) *het*. *Het* occurs above in the first entry also.

heege tzercke the Church of St Martin.

stuucht 'plain', 'simple' The town hall appears to have been in rather a neglected condition in the seventeenth century: see E. Napjus, *Historisch Chronyk, of beschrypinge van oud en nieuw Sneek* (1st ed., Sneek, 1772, p. 137; 2nd ed., Sneek, 1826, p. 130).

lick oppe brulleft. i.e. copiously; cp. *in brulloftsmiel*, a copious feast.

sex. Japicx *segs*; Mod. *seis*, but *sechstjyn*, *sechstich*.

try milen: it may be convenient to consider Van Vliet's statements of distances together. They are: Enkhuizen-Stavoren, 2 leagues; Workum, more than a league long; Sneek-Franeker, 3 miles; Leeuwarden-Groningen, XVI M P.; Aduard-Groningen, II M P. While it is true that Aduard is about one-eighth of the way from Groningen to Leeuwarden, it seems that Van Vliet did not equate *milia passuum* and miles, for he cannot have regarded the distance from Leeuwarden to Groningen (about 52 km.) as more than five times that from Sneek to Franeker (about 20 km.), since he expressly states (f. 263^r) that the road was equally crooked in each case. To assume that he calculated distances from the time his journeys took does not simplify matters. He took three hours from Franeker to Leeuwarden, but more than eleven from Groningen to Leeuwarden: hence, he might have considered the latter journey about four times as long as the former. But the distance from Franeker to Leeuwarden is even less than that from Sneek to Franeker, and in the seventeenth century was thought to be much less. A. Goos and R. Telle (*Nieuw Ned. Caertboek*, Amsterdam, 1616, p. 279) estimate

the former at two, the latter at three miles. They (*loc. cit.*, p. 304) estimate the distance Leeuwarden–Groningen at six miles. But although Van Vliet's *milia passuum* and miles are not identical, he evidently gives the mile the value usual in his time, when he estimates Sneek–Franeker at three miles.

The term 'league' was applied to so many distances in different countries and at different times, that it would be idle to speculate exactly what Van Vliet meant by the Italian word *luega* (i.e. *lega*), but since the distance from Enkhuizen to Stavoren is about 20 km. (Goos and Telle, *loc. cit.*, p. 280, three miles), he apparently would imply that the village of Workum was 10 km. long. This is surely an exaggeration, unless some distinction of land and sea leagues underlies his statements: modern Amsterdam is barely 10 km. from side to side. Nevertheless, *sa lang us Warkom* is a Frisian proverb.

't soo tat the *'t* is a later insertion, and *tat* is altered from *dat*. Above, however, Van Vliet seems to have written *iso tat* from the first. *tat* is derived from Poem II, *iso* seems to be an invention of Van Vliet (due to analogy of form *tsichtjen* in Poem I, on which see note⁹).

wi Tzum etc.: a very obscure sentence *oorelf* is probably an attempt to Frisianize Dutch *anderhalf*: cp. f. 269^v, where *oor* is equated with *andere*. *æcken neij* may be presumed to mean 'equally near', in view of the forms *ækefolle*, *-wol* on f. 269^r. *bluuen* must obviously be taken as a pret (i.e. *bleauwen*). verbs of this type have only *ea*-preterites in Japicx, but *kleu* (i.e. *kleau*) occurs in some Frisian verses dated 1618 (Hetteema, *Bloemlezing*, II, p. 3) and *bhouw* (i.e. *bleauwen*) in *Ansk en Houck* (184); cp. also *bedroen* (for *bedreawn*), Poem I, *hou*, *Ansk en Houck*, 187, *houf*, id., 66, *hou*, *Woutr en Tyalle* (1639), 130 (for *leau*, pres. sg.), and *houwe*, *Spreech-woorden* of 1641, p. 5 (for *leauwe*, inf.). *in t boun*, 'in company', 'all together' is a phrase taken from Baardt (*ijn 't boun* 8; cp. *ijn 't boon*, *Ansk en Houck* 197, explained by Junius as *in den hoop ofte in 't honderd*). So we may perhaps translate 'so that we all remained the same distance from Tzum for perhaps an hour and a half'.

f. 263^r. *tweyes* 'twice'.

tourre the big tower without a church is, of course, the Olde Hove, with a picture of which Van Vliet adorned the title-page of his *Bredaesche Almanac*.

runkle. 'runnel', 'brook'.

onseene evidently 'handsome' presumably a wild attempt to Anglicize Dutch *aanzienlijk*. From 1618 to 1715 the Auckamahus was used as the town hall; see W. Eekhoff, *Geschiedkundige Beschrijving van Leeuwarden*, Leeuwarden, 1846, II, pp. 17 and 342–5. A drawing of it is mentioned in the *Gids voor de bezoekers der hist. tentoonstelling van Friesland* (Leeuwarden, 1877), p. 70.

monasterium the ruins of the monastery of Aduard are referred to. For the history of this great foundation, see Van der Aa, *loc. cit.*, s.v. *Aduard*.

Wilhelmus on the battle of Noordhorn and the part played in it by Count Willem Lodewijk van Nassau, see: Van der Aa, *loc. cit.*, s.v. *Noordhorn*; L. H. Wagenaar, *Het leven van Graaf Willem Lodewijk* (Amsterdam-Pretoria, 1906), pp. 24 ff. The battle took place on 30 Sept. 1581. According to Wagenaar (*loc. cit.*, p. 30) 1000 men were killed; the *Tegenwoordige Staat*, vol. xx (Amsterdam, 1793), p. 503, says 2000, and claims to have contemporary documentary evidence for the statement. Van Vliet's knowledge of the circumstances was probably derived from hearsay on the spot: hence his inaccuracy concerning both the date and the number of slain.

f. 263^v. *ovo similis*: the justice of comparing the shape of the town to that of an egg may be seen by a glance at the map in H. Hetteema's *Groote Schoolatlas ten gebruike bij Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis* (Zwolle, 11th ed., 1927), no. 3.

falsa breia a rough Latinization of *fausse-braye* (defined by N.E.D., s.v. *braye*, as 'an advanced parapet surrounding the main rampart'). The *fausse-braye* of Groningen was celebrated, and is often alluded to: a sketch of it and of various other features of the defences may be seen in J. S. Theissen's '*Voor vrijheydt ende Vaderlandt*'. *Stad en lande in 1672* (Groningen, Den Haag, 1922), pp. 70–1. This sketch claims to be '*naar een kopie van een gelijktydige teekening*', so it probably depicts a state of affairs similar to that seen by Van Vliet in 1643.

Turris: the Martinitoren.

al[ti]tudinem two letters are lost because the surface has come off the paper near the edge of a hole.

Habet campanam etc.: according to a Groningen legend, the people of Appingedam once stole a bell from the Martinitoren. The people of Groningen recovered the bell by the help of the millers' guild, and, in gratitude, granted to that guild the right to ring the bell free of charge on the occasion of the death of any of its members. See C. P. L. Rutgers, *De Klokken in den Martinitoren te Groningen* (*Gron. Volksalmanak*, 1895, pp. 167 ff.), p. 177, where the possibility of a vague historical foundation for the legend is discussed.

eo see note on f. 261^r

ἀμνηστῆριον: this word (i.e. 'a place for forgetting') is a joking reference to the inscription over the gateway of the University of Groningen (see C. H. van Fenema, *Het academie-gebow te Groningen*, Groningen, 1909, p. 12): *Φροντιστήριον πρετὰς virtutis bonarum literarum studijs dicatum*. (On *φροντιστήριον*, see W. J. M. Starkie's ed. of Aristophanes' *Clouds*, London, 1911, p. 32, note on line 94.) Whether this pleasantry is due to Van Vliet, or if he merely heard it, we are in no position to decide

duo .auditoria Van Fenema (*loc. cit.*) states that there were three lecture-rooms *curium* etc.: the town hall stood in the middle of the market-place. It was provided in 1624 with a new entrance (*curiæ porticus*). The other *loca publico destinata*, no doubt, included the *Wijnhuis* and the *Hoofdmannenkamer* to be seen on an old drawing in the Groningen archives. On the *Wijnhuis*, see C. H. Peters (*Gron. Volksalmanak*, 1906, p. 164) The *Hoofdmannenkamer* was a court of justice

navale it was made possible for large ships to enter the harbour at Groningen in 1633, see J. A. Feith, *Wandelingen door het oude Groningen*, III (*Gron. Volksalmanak*, 1892, pp. 41 ff.), p. 61. As a rule only small vessels were built in the dockyard. On Haubois' map of Groningen, which dates from 1643 (ed. with commentary by C. H. Peters in *Gron. Volksalmanak*, 1906, pp. 115 ff.), a large ship is depicted on the dock, and Dr Coster, keeper of the Groningen archives, is of opinion that the building of a specific ship is referred to, probably Van Vliet's *navis bellica*.

Marina etc.: 'for a salt-water canal (*marina fossa*), which has been made (*ducta*), comes right to the city (*eousque*), and, with a branch turned off to the left, nearly encircles the inner city (i.e. the *binnenstad*, without the later extensions).'

aula principis the *Stadhouders Hof*, now the *Prinsenhof*. On the surrounding gardens see Peters, *loc. cit.*, p. 169.

f. 264^r. *Assel*. the form seems to be an error. it is not mentioned in J. G. C. Joosting, *Drentsche plaatsnamen* (*Nom. Geogr. Neerlandica*, v, 1901). The names Meppel and Hasselt perhaps confused Van Vliet. Van Vliet, to illustrate the size of Assen and Meppel, compares them respectively to Scheveningen and Voorburg (places near Den Haag).

kerck afgebroocke. the ruined church was repaired in 1661-2 (see A. H. Parreau, *De oude kerk te Assen*, Assen, 1849, p. 27).

sonder reeck 'without order'. See Van Dale, *Groot Wb*, s.v. *reeck* (3).

beter: the town, which Van Vliet preferred to Assen, though he could not remember its name, was probably Beilen.

Drey: 'dry'. Perhaps parts of the waterway were dry owing to bursts and leakages in the banks occasioned by the recent tempests.

waiter-tempest. Drente and probably Overijsel suffered severely in the floods of January and February, 1643: see S. A. Gabbema, *Nederlandse waterfloeden* (Franeker, 1703), p. 318; G. Outhofs, *Verhaal van alle hooge waterfloeden* (2nd ed., Emden, 1720), p. 591.

traesmen. i.e. 'tradesmen', the *d* having been accidentally omitted.

Kamomers: 'commoners'.

soe with threes: 'sown with trees'.

f. 264^v. *turfships* English 'turf' occasionally means 'peat', the usual sense of Dutch *turf*.

Swart-Wetter: the *Zwartewater*, a river, which flows from Zwolle to Hasselt and Zwartsluis.

hamson. 'handsome'.

Mastenbrouck Mastenbroek, a polder and village in Overijssel.

1635. in that year the bridge was closed for repair from 9 Feb. to 9 Sept.

Il est long etc.: the involved description of this bridge seems to translate as follows: 'It is about 150 paces long, and has only 7 or 8 piles, which are [at an average distance of] 30 paces from one another; but [the distance from the bank to the first is] only 23 paces, [from the first to the] second 32 paces, [from the second to the] third 32 paces, [from the third to the fourth] 33 paces, [the bridge is made] so that two poles meet in the middle [between each pair of piles] and support one another, so that the weight of the whole intervening [section of the] bridge hangs from a sharp corner [above it], and is held up on every side by iron hooks. But it begins to quiver if even a single man crosses it. By the farther bank the depth of the water is at least 44 feet. There the whole mass is supported by two poles 100 feet long, because it was not possible to find such large piles.'

A drawing of this bridge appears in J. Blaeu's *Novum ac magnum theatrum*. It confirms most of the details given by Van Vliet. The bridge stood on eight piles, of which seven were solid, but one consisted of a number of poles. (In the drawing, however, this is not the nearest pile to the farther bank, i.e. the bank farther from Kampen, but the second nearest.) At least five sections of the bridge were suspended, by means of two poles, each standing on a pile at an angle of 45°, and meeting each other above the section of the bridge between the two piles. Hence the section of the bridge and the two poles formed an isosceles right-angled triangle. The base of each triangle was connected with the two poles above it by means of a number of chains. The drawing shows that the section from the shore to the first pile was shorter than the others, thus confirming Van Vliet's statement. Van Vliet's estimates of about 150 paces as the length of the bridge, and about 30 paces as the average length of the sections are, of course, irreconcilable. one or other is an error.

f. 265^v. *Norenburger Smit*: no doubt this was *Hans Steffener van Norenberg*, smith in the *Nieuwstraat*, who is, Miss C. J. Welcker, keeper of the Kampen archives, informs us, often mentioned in the official records of the first half of the seventeenth century.

geenventee[*rt*] word left incomplete because the writing had reached the edge of the paper.

in quibus...prostat it is difficult to decide what is intended by the *titulus* of the bridge.

pois de mer the meaning of this expression is not clear. Is the first word an error for *poisson*, and did Van Vliet consider that the *bourgwall* was in some way shaped like a fish?

Vidi etc. 'I saw a ram, which was 40 feet long from the head to the middle of the hole, by means of which it was hung, and 5 feet wide near the hole, and, [being made out of] three beams, was bound together with 4 or 5 iron bands.' This celebrated ram is mentioned by various writers, and the sketch of it given by J. J. Pontanus (*Originum Francicarum libri VI*, Harderwijk, 1616, facing p. 556) shows that Van Vliet's description of it is fairly accurate. It was made from three beams, bound together with iron bands, of which, according to Pontanus, six (Van Vliet, 4 *vel* 5) remained in the seventeenth century. Two large holes were driven through the ram *ad suspensionem*. One of these holes was near the thick end of the ram, which was here 57 inches (Van Vliet, 5 *pedes*) thick, and the other was somewhat farther along the ram, away from the thick end. Van Vliet gives the length *ad medium foramen* as 40 feet. Pontanus (*loc. cit.*) states that the length was 51 feet + about 8 feet buried in the ground.

The ram was destroyed by fire in 1647 (see D. van Hoogstraten and J. L. Schuer, *Groot algemeen. Wb.*, Amsterdam etc., 1733, v, s.v. *Kampen*, p. 9). It was believed to have been used at the siege of Puttenstein (see note below).

temple ambulatorio. this seems a curious phrase to apply to the Chapel of the Heilige-Geesten-Gasthuis, in which building the ram was kept. It seems to imply that the ram was preserved in an ambulatory or cloister: no other authority notes this circumstance.

Puttenstem. on the destruction of Puttenstein, the stronghold of Herbern van Putten, by Arnold of Hoorn, Bishop of Utrecht, in 1375 (Van Vliet, 1300 *et ultra*), see

E. Moulm in the *Overyjsselsche Almanak*, 1838; Van der Aa, *loc. cit.*, s.v. *Puttenstein*; E. Ruyppma, *De ontwikkelingsgang van Kampen etc* (Groningen, Den Haag, 1924), p. 16. The jingle quoted by Van Vliet is given in the following form by J. J. Pontanus, *Hist. Gelricæ* (Harderwijk, 1639), p. 307:

Die van Campen en doen ons niet,
Die van Harderwijck hebben de moet niet/
Die van Elburgh hebben het goet niet
Gods vrient/alle mans vyandt

terrestre[s] ink was failing in the writer's pen and hence the *e* is very faint, and the *s* was not written.

f 265^v *Eerda* not *Eerde*, which would be right out of the way, but Heerde.

la via etc. the road lay close to the boundary of Gelderland and Overijsel.

duplice muri etc.: for descriptions of the defences of Deventer confirming Van Vliet's details, see A. Goos and R. Telle, *loc. cit.*, p. 298; *Reys-boek*, p. 263.

semilunno a type of outwork, so named from its shape (see *N.E.D.*, s.v. *semi-lune* and *demi-lune* 2).

contrascerpa 'counterscarp' (see *N.E.D.*, s.v.).

schola academica this academy was opened in 1630 (16 Feb.); see J. C. van Slec, *De Illustre School te Deventer, 1630-1878* ('s-Gravenhage, 1916).

f 266^t. *Loenen* on Loenen and the Loenenschobosch, see Van der Aa, *loc. cit.*, s.v. The *heerenhuys* is perhaps the Huis de Horst, mentioned in the *Tegenwoordige Staat* (vol. xiii, p. 506), and marked on a map in J. Blaeu's *Atlas Major* (Amsterdam, 1662), vol. iv, lib. x, after p. 13. The word *in* seems to be omitted before *een heeren huys*.

Galgenberg: this was a place to which corpses were brought and exposed after execution. The executions do not appear to have taken place there: *gerecht* must mean simply the gallows upon which the corpses were hung. See J. W. Staats Evers, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der regtspleging in Gelderland, bijzonder te Arnhem* (Arnhem, 1865), pp. 25-6.

hoft... *stat hof* is a slip for *hof*. The distinction is between the *Hof Provinciaal* of Gelderland, and the city of Arnhem, which had ancient rights of jurisdiction in its own affairs. See P. Nijhoff, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het voormalig Hof van Gelderland* (in *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, x, 1856, pp. 85 ff.).

1629. although Arnhem was in a disturbed state in that year (see J. W. Staats Evers, *Kroniek van Arnhem, 1233-1789*, Arnhem, 1876, pp. 35-6), the editors have not been able to find any reference to the incident of the three shots fired from the *Galgenberg*.

Men sack etc.: the places Van Vliet observed from the *Galgenberg* are. Nijmegen, the *Mokerheide* (an expanse of heath on the boundary of Gelderland and Luxemburg), *Huissen* (south of Arnhem), and *Griethausen*. The last-named place is now in Germany: Van Vliet states that it is a quarter of an hour's journey from *Schenkenschan*. The two places are 4 km. apart.

hoorwercken: a slip for *hoornwercken* (i.e. 'hornworks', see *N.E.D.*, s.v. *hornwork* 1), *betuynt* 'surrounded' (by the *lust-hooven*).

f. 266^v. There are no discrepancies between the inn-names of this itinerary and those given in the *Diary*. Of the seventeen inns, those at Leyden, Enkhuzen, Molkwerum, Bolsward, Sneek, Franeker, Harlingen, Leeuwarden and Deventer are unmistakably identical with those recommended in the *Reys-boek*. (The edition of that work used for this article is dated 1689, but older ones exist.) At Groningen, both Van Vliet and the *Reys-boek* mention the *Toelast*, but do not indicate whether the *Groote Toelast* or the *Kleine Toelast* (see B. Lonsain in *Gron. Volksalmanak*, 1931, pp. 83 ff.) is intended. At Zwolle, the *Reys-boek* mentions both *De Witte Man* and *De Wannen*: is Van Vliet's *Witte Wan* a confusion of these? The *Gouden Hoofd* at Leeuwarden was distinct from the *Gouden Huis* (see W[aringa] in *Leeuwarder Courant*, 5 Dec. 1936) mentioned by Starter (see Van Vloten's edition, p. 457). Miss C. J. Welcker, keeper of the Kampen archives, informs us that there were two inns named *De Keulsche Dom* in Kampen in the seventeenth century, and that one of these stood in the *Oudestraat*. The *Witte Paard* still stands in the *Koemarkt* at Purmerend.

It has been possible to trace some of the innkeepers. In a register of the dues paid by the innkeepers of Franeker, which extends from 1628 to 1657 (A. Teltling, *Register*

van het Archief van Franeker, Leeuwarden, 1887, no 780), Kempe Taeckes of the *Vergulden Falck* appears from 1630 to 1647. In 1635, an innkeeper named Pijtter Frids became a citizen of Leeuwarden: was Gerritje Fridjes his widow, or some relative? Jan Tetarre is mentioned in 1627 in a document in a collection relating to the guild of the inn-keepers of Groningen (Gem. Archief, Groningen, no. 206).

Schout. the *Baillive* mentioned on f. 261^r. It is surprising to find this high official functioning as an innkeeper.

Boolsweert altered from *Bolsweert* so that the second *o* nearly obliterates the *l*.

Snets slip for *Sniets*, the spelling used three times on f. 262^v.

Frantjer. spelling also found on f. 262^v.

Swool. the innkeeper here was, no doubt, Costerszoon (see *Introduction*).

oldestra[et]. word left incomplete because the writing had reached the edge of the paper.

Mingel etc.: this note is low on the page, far below the itinerary. *Mingel* is altered from *mengel*, the Dutch form of the word. The point of the note seems to be that Frisian *mingel* (a liquid measure, see W.D., s.v.) is equivalent to Dutch *kroes*, and to Eng. 2 pint tott. This is an early instance of the word *tot* (*N.E.D.*, s.v. *tot*, sb.⁴, records it first in 1725); also an incorrect use of it, for it is applied only to very small liquid measures. The MS. reading seems, however, to be certain. Van Vliet may be vaguely using one of the nouns defined in *N.E.D.*, s.v. *tot*, sb.² and sb.³, to mean 'quantity'.

f. 267^r. *Lolcke.* man's name; see Winkler, *Friesche Naamlyst*, p. 241, and cp. *Lolcke-mijg*, G.J., I, p. 47.

soewe anomalous spelling of *soe*, pret. of *sille*, Japicx has *soe* and *schoe*; *Woutur en Tjalle* and *Ansk en Houck*, *soe*; Bogerman, *schoe*.

tsichtjen. Mod. *sichtsje* 'to scythe', with analogical *sj*. The initial *t* is probably equivalent to *to* (cp. *thuw*s, Baardt, 9). The construction with *to* is here most suitable: the poet has in mind *Lolcke on the way* to where he was to scythe (see Sytstra and Hof, *Nieuwe Friesche Spraakkunst*, p. 135). This is the best explanation, for prothetic *t* before *s* (except before *sw* on Helgoland) seems to be limited in Frisian to the numerals 7, 60, 70, where it is not a purely phonetic development (see Siebs, *Geschichte der friesischen Sprache*, Paul's *Grundriss*², §§ 116 4 and 125). Van Vliet may have equated *tsichtjen* with Dutch *zichten*, and hence have made up the form *tso(o)* (Dutch *zoo*), which occurs in the *Diary*. Or, possibly, both in the *Diary* and here the *ts* is merely an attempt to indicate the voiceless quality of the Frisian initial *s*.

Vnd em. read *In d'em*, 'in the end'.

boermans achten. 'neighbour's field'. G.J., I, p. 66, *boerr'man* (also Oxford MS.); *Woutur en Tjalle*, 58, *boerman* (1639), *buirman* (1609); *Ansk en Houck*, 190, *burman*. The word is often used without a determinative: e.g. *bûrmans hûs*, 'our neighbour's house' (W.D., s.v. *paed*). Read *achte*, i.e. a field of a particular size (see W.D.).

fon. Poem II also has this form. Japicx *fuwn*, Mod. *foun*. Starter (ed. Van Vloten, p. 451) has *von* as past part.

hi cp. *di* in Poem III, *mi* below, and *wi* in the *Diary*; also *sin* (i.e. *sjin*) below.

mes woman's name; cp. G.J., I, p. 36, *Neske*, and see Winkler, *loc. cit.*, p. 270.

fjoester. corrupt: probably *friester* (cp. Poem III, 1), fem. of *frier*, 'wooner' (cp. Poem III, 7, 13, 20). Cp. *Woutur en Tjalle*, 71, *frjster* (1639), *vrystir* (1609); *Ansk en Houck*, 51, *vrystir*; G.J., I, p. 16, *Freester-jieren*.

Jo 'she'; cp. Poem II, 3. *Jæ* is more usual in the period (e.g. Japicx), but *jo* is also frequent (e.g. *Woutur en Tjalle*, 88, etc.; *Ansk en Houck*, 36, 108, etc.; *Spreeck-woorden* of 1641, *passim*; etc.). Bogerman also has *jo* (II, 57, 107). Cp. note on Poem III on the forms for 'they'.

nær... *wachten*. *nær* = *ner* (see *Introduction*); read *wachte* (3rd sg. pret.); cp. for the construction G.J., I, p. 328, *habbe ick...wachtje ney andert* (where *wachtje* is a printer's error of the text followed: read *wachte*).

Famke etc.: *Lolcke* speaks till the end of the stanza.

wod etc.: unless it is a pure error, *thou* can be nothing but an Anglicism introduced by Van Vliet; and is also probably the English copula, substituted by Van Vliet for *om*, since he did not know the phrase *pæ om pæ*. Read *wod du pæ om pæ*: cp. *Jeck wod dat*, Poem in *Vrije Fries*, xx; *wot du*, G.J., I, p. 11; *wotth*, Bogerman, 1/56; *wotie*, G.J.

(i, p. 14, etc.), *Spreek-woorden* of 1641, p. 85; *pæ om pæ, Tjomme en Wemel* (20), *Ick hab dy hæf* (8).

benne usually *binne*; cp., however, *ick ben, Ick hab dy hæf, 14, ben y*, Starter (ed. Van Vloten, p. 448). Cp. the doublet *allinne/allenne* below, and *fen denne, omtrent* in Poem III.

ier = i.e. *hier*; the poem in *Vrije Fries*, xx, has *jer* and *hier*.

allinne: altered from *allenne* (cp. *allenn'* in next line), *allinne* is the usual form, but Bogerman has *allenne* and *allinne*. The rhyme *allinne: sinne* also occurs in *Ick hab dy hæf*.
int hæ cp. *Ick hab dy hæf*, 6, where the phrase rhymes with *pæ om pæ* as here.

Te: altered from *Ti* (?).

schjoeljen: read *schoeljen*; Japicx *schuwlje*, Mod. *skúlje*: e.g. *for de rein skúlje*.

Da 'when'; Japicx *passum*; Mod. *do*.

Het found as a neuter article in some Frisian texts of the time: e.g. Starter (*Friesch Pastorel*, 32), Baardt (11, etc.). Japicx generally uses *it* for the article, but has 'et for the neuter pronoun 'it', and occasionally for the article (e.g. i, p. 244). *Woutir en Tjalle* and *Ansk en Houck* have only *it*.

stoyen: G.J. *stjoeyen*, defined by Junius as. *mallen met eenigh wulpsch hand-gebac*: *nae gewoonte van jonghe luyden* (MS. Junius 115a, f. 544r).

he = i.e. *hie*, 'had'; probably an error for *hie*, but *Woutir en Tjalle* has *he* (7), which may be taken as pret. the 2nd ed. has *hie*.

nin lycken G.J., i, p. 104, *sonder lycke*; p. 68, *nin lyck'* (rhyming with *Usryck*); Baardt, 6, *nin lyck*; *Spreek-woorden* of 1641, p. 32, *hy het nin lyck*. The form with final *n* is here required by the rhyme with *strycken*, which must have final *n* after *fen*. Cp. *majn gelijcken, Waatze Gribb*. (Hottema, *Bloemlezing*, II, p. 39/143), but G.J., i, p. 299, *syns gelycke, Ansk en Houck*, 182, *dryn gelycke*.

Hy wær. *Strycken* a very difficult passage. *bedroen* can be regarded only as equivalent to *bedraun*. cp. *bluuwen* for *bleauwen* in the *Diary*. That form is not generally used in Frisian in the sense of Dutch *bedreven*, 'skilled'; but note *in onbedreun*, 'an unskilled person', G.J., i, p. 19, and *ik bin zoa onbedreun yn dat wurk* (late eighteenth century: see Wumkes's *Paden fen Fryslân*, i, p. 464). *tjommer raem*, though the capital *J* suggests that Van Vliet took *t* as the article, can hardly be anything but *Tjommer raem*, 'a ram of Tsjom (i.e. Tzum)'. So we can translate 'he was as good at kissing and fondling as a Tzum ram'. With the spelling *parjen* (Japicx *paye*), cp. *Tjomme en Wemel*, 14, *payen*; id., 13, *pay*, Poem II, below, *frayj*; *Woutir en Tjalle*, 25, *clay*; id., 95, *omclayen* (1639), *omclayn* (1609); id., 74, *fraye*; id., 71, *frayn* (1639), *frayn* (1609). For *strycken* (Mod. *strike*) used of amorous play, cp. *hâld nou op mei striken en flaeijen* (W.D., s.v. *strike*).

Tousent. Japicx *tuwzen, tuwsen*; *Woutir en Tjalle*, 5, Starter (ed. Van Vloten, p. 483) *tusun*; *Ansk en Houck*, 123, *tuwin*. Van Vliet's form with final *t* is probably a Hollandism, for, in West Frisian, the final dental is not generally found after the fifteenth century (see Siebs, *loc. cit.*, p. 1362), but note *toesend* in Wassenbergh's *Taalkundige Bydragen*, i, p. 155.

paetjen in payen plural nouns; cp. *pæen en patjes* (Starter, *Pastorel*, 16), *tuwsen patkes* (*Tjomme en Wemel*, 15), and G.J., i, pp. 32-3.

ryuwcht the word has little force in the sentence: it is merely a line-filler. Here and in *sljrwucht* below, *y* was inserted after the word was written.

allen: the final *n* should be deleted here, in *verden, besmerden* (3 sg. pret.), and probably in *Famken* (cp. line 5); but note *fumken* (3 times) in Poem II. Van Vliet adopts the form *femke* in his *Diary*, but has diminutives in *n*: *steeken, stedken*. His use of final *n* is, however, erratic: see note on f. 268r.

hem: *him* is more frequent in the period (Japicx exclusively), but Starter, Baardt and the *Spreek-woorden* of 1641 have both forms. *Ansk en Houck* has mostly *him* but *hem* in 151, 210, 218. *Woutir en Tjalle* (109) has *him* (1609), *hem* (1639).

Transeat Cempo the meaning of these words, which are written below Poem I, is problematical: possibly *transeat* is an error for *translat*. (= *translatat*); if so, the words imply that one Cempo was responsible for this Frisian version of the poem. The landlord of the inn, in which Van Vliet stayed at Franeker, was named Kempo (see f. 266v and note).

Morns etc.: the arrangement of this poem is obscured in the MS. The stanzas are of 6 lines, rhyming a b a b c c. The lines of the first end with *daig*, *sliepen*, *waig*, *repen*, *roun*, *boun*, those of the third with *meij*, *dægen*, *wey*, *aegen*, *lest*, *best*. The penultimate lines contain repetitions which are only indicated in the MS.: read *Meij taten*, *meij taten roun* and *Dat jear*, *dat jear int lest*. The second stanza is corrupt. The first four lines end with *djea*, *fochtich*, *hier*, *-bochtich*. Read for the last two:

Ick droeg', ick droeg' er meij

Haer taeten foor en ney.

Morns ier G.J., I, p. 13, *morns yer*; id., p. 54, *yer' moarn*, *Woutir en Tjalle*, 5, *iere moorn*; *Ansk en Houck*, 124, *moorn ier*.

ien. indefinite article. Poem III, 14, *ien* may be article or numeral, but *ien*, 20, is the article, *iene*, 16, a pronoun. In the *Diary*, *ien* is used as article and numeral, but *een* is used once as the article, once as a pronoun. Japicx generally has *in* as article, *yen* as numeral and pronoun, and this distinction is general (e.g. *Woutir en Tjalle* and *Ansk en Houck*), though not always observed (e.g. *Woutir en Tjalle*, 98, has for the article *in*, 1609, but *ien*, 1639; *ibid.*, 135, has for the article *yen*, 1609, *ien*, 1639, *Ansk en Houck* has sometimes *ien* as article. 1, 36, 41, etc.; G.J. has occasionally *ien*, *yen* as article: e.g. I, pp. 254 and 270). Starter and the *Spreek-woorden* of 1641, however, generally use *yen*, *ien* for the article. Baardt uses *en* for the article, and this is also found in other texts (e.g. *Woutir en Tjalle*, 1639, 107). The poem in *Vrije Fries*, xx, *Woutir en Tjalle* (1609), 83, and some of the *Spreek-woorden* of 1641 have *een* for the article.

trucht. hyper-Frisianism for *ticht*, see f. 269^r.

daig, *waig* usually *dei*, *wei*.

hi. i.e. *hie*, 'had'.

haer the form occurs again below (8). it is probably a Hollandism. The usual form *her* (G.J., *Woutir en Tjalle*, *Ansk en Houck*) is used in line 6.

boose miepen. read *boesem repen*; Japicx *boes'me*, Mod. *boezem*. The rhyme *sliepen* : *repen* also occurs in *Woutir en Tjalle*, 1-2.

room: read *roun* for sense and rhyme.

ongeboun. Japicx *onbuune*, but *buun* and *buune* as past part. of *byne*. This form with *-ge-* can hardly be regarded as pure Frisian (see Sytstra and Hof, *loc. cit.*, p. 130).

swiete djea. a particularly common poetical expression (Japicx, Starter, etc.) *djea* is a less usual spelling for *djier*, *dier*. Japicx has it once (I, p. 6, rhyming *dear*, *bejaar*), and *Ansk en Houck* (24) and Starter (*Pastorel*, 4) have *dizer*. For rhyme, the usual form would here be better. On other words with similar interchanges, see *Introduction*.

naem Japicx has both *noam* and *naem*: also *noom* once (*Tjerne*, 1640, 127; B U. *noam*); *Woutir en Tjalle* (45, 71) and *Ansk en Houck* (155, 210) have *naam*.

-ferwech: altered from *-ferwuch*, so that the *e* nearly obliterates the *c*. The reason for the alteration is not clear.

foor en ney. cp. G.J., I, pp. 49 and 174, *foore in ney*.

soo tatter meij etc.: the stanza is rather difficult, but the meaning is fairly clear, the point being that the daughter, whose birth followed the romantic meeting described within the shortest period normally possible, resembled her mother to such a degree that their respective eyes and noses were indistinguishable. So we can translate: 'so that, with [the passage of] eight months and ten days, the nose and eyes of my lass set forth'. What follows is more difficult. The verb is *lyjct*, which appears to be a present (*lyjct* from *lyckje*). see on the various senses it can bear Brandsma, *Het Werkwoord bij G.J.*, p. 127. One can translate 'the end of that year pleases my lass best (*het best*)', but the sense is not good. An alternative rendering would be 'at the end of that year, it (*het*, the child) resembles my lass very much (*best*)'. Perhaps the verb is to be taken as preterite (cp. *ging* above): *lyjct* (i.e. *lyjcke het*) *het best*. Then either of the suggested translations may be adopted in the past tense. The second seems to give better sense.

tat. an error or hyper-Frisianism, which Van Vliet adopted in the *Diary* (see note to second Frisian entry).

inder weij. perhaps read *underweij* (Frisian *ûnderweis*, Dutch *onderweg*).

dat famken · genitival. Final *n* should probably be deleted. Cp uninflected genitives of personal names in *-e*: *Minne jas*, 'Minne's coat', also forms like *Laan-here* (gen., Baardt 11); *mijn Heyte rie* ('my Father's advice', G.J., I, p. 17)

aegen the *ae* is indistinctly written; the rhyme *dægen* · *ægen* also occurs in *Ansk en Houck*, 29–30.

int lest. more usual *op't lest.* G.J., I, p. 17; *Spreeck-woorden* of 1641, p. 17; but note Bogerman, I, 94, *int last*, and Starter (ed. Van Vloten, p. 457), *in 't lest.* Cp *to (te) leste*, *Woutir en Tjalle*, 49, 81

f. 267v. *schruw.* read *snuwgh* (for the spelling cp. G.J., I, p. 48, *sjuwght*, Oxford text, *snuwcht*; Baardt, 4, *sjuwgt*). Cp *Az ick dij sjog*, *Tjomme en Wemel*, 1

dij (line 2): read *dijn*.

hercke G.J. has as imper. of *herckje* (Mod. *harkje*) the forms *herck*, *herckje*, and *hertse*, but *Woutir en Tjalle* and *Ansk en Houck* have *herck* (*W.T.*, 33, 104, 130, *A.H.*, 121) and *hercke* (*W.T.*, 24, 94; *A.H.*, 58). Baardt, 4, has *harcke*, Starter (ed. Van Vloten, p. 450) *hartse*.

sal perhaps a Hollandism, though Bogerman has *schal* as well as *schel* and *schil*.

petterjen · cancel final *n* here and in *begerjen* above, since they are dependent infinitives. The *p* is altered from *b* here and in *petteer* (line 7: *bitteer* was the form first written; on the *i* see note on *mit*, f. 262v). Before he discovered that the usual spelling was with *p*, Van Vliet entered the form *beterngen* (inserting an erroneous *n*) on f. 269v. These *b* spellings have some phonetic basis cp. *pejeer* (i.e. *bejeer*) in the poem in *Vrije Fries*, xx, and Mod. *puchel*, *pûde*, *poarje*, etc., beside *buchel*, *bûde*, *boarje* (see Sytstra and Hof, loc. cit., p. 47, and Brouwer, *Nieuwe Taalgids*, xxxii, p. 178).

der binner etc.: i.e. *der binne er* etc.; Dutch *er zijn er wel meer*; Mod. Frisian *der binner wol mear*.

sitten ... *litten* *sitten* requires final *n* after *te*; *litten* should be *litte*, after *wol*: the slightly incorrect form is used for the rhyme. Cp. *Woutir en Tjalle*, 1, *soe so sleepin* (rhyme *repin*); id., 6, *moet flockin* (rhyme *pockin*).

næst read *næt*. Baardt (12) has a similar error: *nete* for *net te*.

sin. this form would be a normal development of O.W. Frisian *sint*, and Bogerman has *sin* and *synt*. Van Vliet adopts the form on f. 268v, and in the *Diary* uses it as 1 pers. sg. For the usual forms see note on first Frisian entry in *Diary*.

De · altered from *de*.

y · frequent as 2 pl. The passage translates as follows: 'the young wooers are young and foolish; you (i.e. the wooers) say a word and give it no thought; [thus] they trick us, first the one, then the other, so you betray our honour.' The final *n* of *sissen* should be deleted (pres. pl.).

Ja: 'they'; usually *jæ* (G.J.) or *jo* (*Woutir en Tjalle*, *Ansk en Houck*, Starter, Baardt), but cp. *Woutir en Tjalle*, 75, *ja* (1609) but *jo* (1639). Bogerman (II, 178) has *jaat*, 'they it'. The *Spreeck-woorden* of 1641 have *ja* frequently for 'they', and appear to confine *jo* to 'she'. Cp. note on Poem I on the forms for 'she'.

speelje. read *speeldje* (Mod. *spjeldzje*), and cp. *immen huet op'e mouwe spjeldzje*, Dutch *iem. wat op de mouw spelden*.

achter ney: *achter* occurs in dialects, so need not be regarded as a Hollandism. (Cp. *æfter-ney*, G.J., I, p. 13; *Woutir en Tjalle*, 46, *æftir ney*.)

So etc.: cp. *heste dijn trou verquacke*, 'have you betrayed your honour?', *Ansk en Houck*, 11. Since the pres. pl. is required here, we must read *verquackl(je)* or, perhaps, *verquackel*. The noun *trouw(e)* appears with and without final *-e* (cp. *Ansk en Houck*, 11, *trou*; G.J., I, p. 251, *trouwe*).

næuw: Frisian *nij*; perhaps this is *nieuw* (Hollandism), with again the confusion of *ie* and *æ* in spelling. The formulae are very familiar: cp. Mid. Dutch *Och die dit liedeken eerstverf sanc*. *Het was een ghilde*, *Wildy hooren een goet nieu liet*; etc.

eticht: with the hyper-Frisian *ticht* (i.e. *dicht*), cp. *iatter* in Poem II, *tensen* (an attempt to Frisianize Dutch *dansen*) in the poem in *Vrije Fries*, xx (Japicx, *donssje*; *Woutir en Tjalle* and *Ansk en Houck*, *douns(s)je*; Mod. *dounsje*), and *trinck* below, f. 269v. The prefix is probably an error for *ge-* (Hollandism; cp. *ongeboun*, Poem II): the prefix *ge-* does sometimes survive in Frisian dialects as a reduced vowel sound, but

only in compounds (see Siebs, *loc. cit.*, p. 1250). The Saxon dialects still have *e*- in the past participle.

Wirden. probably Wirdum near Leeuwarden, for the dialect of the poem limits one to West Friesland in seeking the place where its alleged author lived. The 'convent' may be the Oud-Barrahuis near Wirdum, said to have been originally a monastery (see Van der Aa, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 124).

Coe-weent: 'convent', 'monastery'. Forms with and without medial *n* are found in O. Frisian: *Oorkonden*, I, p. 230, *conweint*; p. 306, *coweent*; etc.

omtrent. Japicx and Mod. *omtrint*, Baardt *omtrent* (10): cp. interchange of *i* and *e* in *benne* (i.e. *binne*), Poem I; *en* (i.e. *in*, article and copula, see notes above to *Diary* and Poem II); etc. The *e*-form is here chosen for the rhyme. Note also *fen denne* (i.e. *fendinne*) above, also for the rhyme.

habben altered from *hebben*: perhaps the correction is due to Van Vliet cp. note on *petterjen*, above. *Woutir en Tjalle*, 10, has *hebbin* (1609), *habben* (1639). Delete final *n* here (3 pl. pres.) and in *wennen* (weak past part.).

leng. hyper-Frisian for *lang*: cp. various forms in the poem in *Vrije Fries*, XX: *femke*, *wender*, *ender* (i.e. *ander*¹), etc.

f. 268^r. *Leep* etc.: these words are derived from the *Boere-Practica* of Baardt, and the page references given correspond with the first edition (Leeuwarden, 1640), of which two copies are preserved in Oxford. The first two words occur on p. 9. Note that Van Vliet adds a final *n* to Baardt's *siecke* (cp. *Diary*, *hoen*, Baardt, *lyoe*, etc.): some of the misuses of final *n* in the poems (see notes above) may, therefore, be due to him, and it may be noted in this connection that, in the proverbs of the *Bredaesche Almanac*, he four times adds a final *n* to the present pl. (*ryden*, *follen*, *rinnen*, *byten*: the *Spreek-woorden* of 1641, whence Van Vliet derived his proverbs, have *-e* in all four cases). Van Vliet's own verses in the *Almanac* show that he did not realize the distinction of two forms of the infinitive in Frisian. The Dutch and English equivalents do not require comment, except that Eng. **leape*, 'lapwing', does not seem to exist.

f. 268^v. *Maandary* etc.: the English names of the days of the week are roughly correct, except *Thursday*, which is, no doubt, meant as a translation of the Frisian, not as a normal English form. The Frisian equivalents are correct. With the termination *-day* (usually *-dei*) cp. *day*, *waij* in Poem II. On *Waensday* and *Smoun* see notes on f. 262^v. *Tresday*, *Tongersday* and *Sneijn* are practically identical with the forms preserved in Japicx's hand (MS. Junius 115a, f. 527^r). For Monday, Japicx (agreeing with the *Spreek-woorden* of 1641, p. 12) has *Mōnne-dey*, while Van Vliet gives a form corresponding to the pronunciation, though not to the usual spelling, of Mod. Frisian (Sipma, p. 43), and to earlier forms like *mannendey* (*Oorkonden*, I, p. 48), beside usual O. Frisian *Monender*. Japicx's *Freed* or *Fre* corresponds to the modern *Freed*, and to O. Frisian *Freed* (*Oorkonden*, I, p. 127), but Van Vliet's *Fried* corresponds rather with O. Frisian *Friender* (Richthofen, p. 250). *Frydey* (*Oorkonden*, I, p. 127). See also Siebs, *loc. cit.*, p. 1258.

The note after *Sunday* is an attempt to derive *Sneijn* from Eng. *sennit* through a stage *sneit*.

Verceerde etc.: these notes on the values of coins are clear except the first. The phrase *verceerde en ruchte Jacobussen* seems to imply that there were two sorts of these coins, imperfect (*verceerde*) and perfect (*riuchte*) ones. There were in fact two issues of the coin, those issued in 1603 being of more value than those issued in 1604. But it is curious that Van Vliet gives both *verceerde* and *riuchte Jacobussen* the same value (fl. 13) and there seems to be no reason for his putting the English Jacobus in his list of Frisian coins.

Flaemken: O. Frisian *flamske*, Mid. Frisian *fleamske* (Starter, ed. Van Vloten, p. 446); cp. also G.J., I, p. 313. On the other coins see W.D., s.v. *butergoune*, *achten-twentic*, *blank*, *botzen*. Van Vliet correctly distinguishes the *butergoune* of 28 *stuivers* from the ordinary *gulden* (*enkele goune*) of 20 *stuivers*.

Buijsen etc.: for these synonymous words see W.D., s.v. *bûs*, *pong*, *bosk*; *Wb. der Ned. taal*, s.v. *aaszak*. Note that Baardt (11) has *pongen* and *boxen*. Of the five forms given by Van Vliet, the last two are Dutch rather than Frisian, but they may be intended as explanatory glosses rather than examples of Frisian forms.

f. 269^r. Of the Frisian words in this glossary the following require no comment: *beteljen*, *goersen* (G.J. *guwze* and *goeys(s)je*; W.D., s.v. *goeysje*, *gûzje*), *lissen*, *sissen*, *tsjinnen*, *riucht*, *slucht*, *tjæn* (Mid. Frisian *tjean* and *tjæn*; W.D., s.v. *tsjên*), *dwaen*, *bedwaen*. *Bedypjen* should mean 'bathe' (see W.D., s.v. *bidippe*), its equation with Dutch *betypen* ('accuse') must be an error. On *beternjen* see note on f. 267^v. The form *pyngh* (for *pynlk*) does not seem to occur elsewhere. The Frisian gloss on it is probably a mixture of Dutch *net wel te vreen* and Frisian *naet wol to free(d)*, for, while *te* for *to* and *v* for initial *f* occur frequently in other Frisian texts of the time, the form *veen* is not used by them in this phrase: G.J. has *to free* (I, pp. 295 and 314), *Ansk en Houck, te freed* (54, 209), *Woutir en Tjalle, to (te) freed (vreed)* (27, 43, 105, rhyme *need*), Starter. *to freed* (ed. Van Vloten, p. 452), but note *Spreek-woorden* of 1641, p. 19, *to vreden*. *Front* is a mere error for *froun* or some similar form. *Heersch* is a slip for *heeschip*. *Hut* (i.e. *hurd*, 'hard') is a phonetic spelling, showing that *ɪ* was already silent before a dental consonant (Sipma, p. 22), but there is much earlier evidence for this sound-change (see Bos-van der Heide, *Het Rudolfsboek*, p. 33). *Steppen* corresponds to O. Frisian *steppa*, Mod. Frisian *steppe* (dialectal, e.g. *Hindeloopen*, see Van der Kooy, *De Taal van H*, p. 157; Wassenbergh, *Taalkundige Bijdragen*, 1, p. 155). *Lyckefolle* is a normal formation (cp. *Woutir en Tjalle*, 42, *alliche folle*). *Eck* is 'also' (Japicx *eack*, *æ(æ)ck*; Mod. *ek*), but *æckefolle*, *-wol* are unparalleled formations. *Bop-oppe hicken* is Mod. *boppe op 'e hikken* (Dutch *boven op de hekken*): cp. *Spreek-woorden* of 1641, p. 10, *boppe oppe hæp*. The explanatory addition is partly Frisian (*riucht*), partly Dutch (*hecken*: or is this a mere spelling variant? Cp. note on *mit*, f. 262^v). The sentence *Bomke* etc. means 'Bottom up, I drink it out, and clink [my glass, with its bottom] to the stars.' On similar Frisian convivial phrases, see Sipma in *Onze Taaltuin*, v, p. 383. *Trinck* is hyper-Frisian. *Stiert* is 'stars' (collective, Japicx *stierte*). On *tjucht* (no doubt derived from Poem II) see note on f. 267^r. *Tjonnen* is an attempt to Frisianize Dutch *gunnen*, initial *tj* being substituted for *g* on the analogy of a supposed equation *tjæn* : *gæn* (see f. 269^v where the two verbs are mentioned together, and cp. note on f. 262^v): the correct verb would be *gunne* or *gunne* (both in G.J.). *Sjeen*, *sjen* correspond to Japicx's *sjean* and Mod. *sjen*; *sjoen* is the past part. *Hicken* is a slight spelling variation on *hicken* (see above, and cp. *Smets* for *Snits* in the *Diary*).

f. 269^v. This page gives examples of some of the chief differences in the Dutch and Frisian phonological systems [Van Vliet makes some similar comparisons between Dutch and Old Frisian on f. 119^r of the Lambeth MS.] In the first group, words with Frisian *oo* (Mod. *oa*), Dutch *ā* are given. *woor*, *door* are, however, imaginary Frisian equivalents of Dutch *waar*, *daar* (Frisian *wier*, *dêr*). *Oor* is Mod. *oare*, *snoor* is Mod. *snoar* ('daughter-in-law', Dutch, obsolete, *snaar*). The second group attempts to find examples of Dutch *āi* corresponding to Frisian *ā*. Dutch *draaren*, *zwaaen* are alleged to correspond to Frisian *drān*, *swān*, but these forms are erroneous (Frisian *draerje*, *swaerje*: Japicx *draeye*, *swaeye*). *Haan* (i.e. *hān*, 'hand') is no doubt mentioned as an exception to the alleged rule that Frisian *ā* = Dutch *ān*: *hangden* is a frequent seventeenth-century spelling for Dutch *handen* ('hands'). The third group correctly equates Dutch *wonen*, *hooren* with Frisian forms with *e*-sounds (Mod. *wenje*, *heare*), though *wenen* is an incorrect form (Japicx and Starter *wenje*). The fourth group consists of words with Frisian *e*-sounds, but Dutch *ā*. The forms given correspond with Mod. Frisian *tjeen*, *gean*, *fearje*, *gearje*, *jier*, *steam*. All except the first have Dutch *ā*: *gaan*, *varen*, *garen* ('gather'), *jaar*, *staam*. With the alternative spellings of the last two words cp. *sjeen/sjen* on f. 269^r. The last group gives instances of the equivalence of Frisian *i*- and Dutch *e*-sounds: cp. Dutch *geen*, *geld* (Mod. Frisian *gyn*, *jild*).

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PEELE'S 'OLD WIFE'S TALE'

'THE quarto almost certainly represents a mutilated text', wrote Dr Greg in editing the reprint of Peele's *Old Wive's Tale* for the Malone Society. This is perhaps the most salient feature revealed by a close study of the play, but Peele's various editors have made singularly little of it, even though our opinion of Peele's talent must in no small measure depend upon our view of his skill in handling delicate themes of English folk-lore in this play. The piece is unique, not only in Peele's dramatic work, but in the whole of Elizabethan drama. It has presented many a critic with a pretty problem, and has been interpreted in many different ways. For Professor Tucker Brooke it is an 'exquisite satire'; Professor Schelling speaks of its delicate irony and its 'daintily harmonized incongruity'. Collier thought it 'nothing but a beldam's story' with 'a disgusting quantity of trash and absurdity'; Addington Symonds found it a failure because he attempted to interpret it by the same principles as an elegant and highly sophisticated poem like *Comus*. Ward disliked the 'admixture of romance dissolved in nonsense', though he conceived it to be atoned for by 'the fresh and sparkling induction of the piece, together with the irresistible flow of high spirits that pervades it as a whole'; Professor Gummere commends it as 'a saucy challenge of romance, where art turns, however timidly, upon itself'. While some readers have been blind to the play's peculiar fascination, it will always seem to those sensitive to its appeal the expression of the finest, purest, and most original streak in Peele's dramatic genius. But, as a look at so many different verdicts shows, the quality of its appeal is so intangible as to be very difficult to assess.

The difficulty is undoubtedly increased by the unsatisfactory state of the text, and this element is left quite out of account by Professor Gummere, whose essay is in other respects by far the finest thing that has been written on the play.¹ 'Perhaps', he writes, 'the sense of huddling, abruptness, confusion, is intentional as part of an old wive's tale indeed; perhaps, again, this must be laid to the charge of Peele's carelessness in "plotting plaies".' There is certainly no evidence that Peele was a master of plot, and the confused jumble of *Edward I* would prevent any surprise at the tortuousness, the incompleteness, the incongruity of *The Old Wive's Tale*. But Professor Gummere must also be right in

¹ Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*, I, 341 ff.

attributing part of the confusion to the artistic intention. The induction has been almost universally admired, and the dramatist who so perfectly rendered the *naïveté* of the old woman as she begins her tale was not incapable of quite deliberately giving us the story with all the disorder it would have in her mind. In the juxtaposition of many diverse legends and superstitions, in the sudden fitting from subject to subject amid a bizarre medley of themes, in the easy, childlike acceptance of the conventions of fairyland, there is a remarkable insight into a simple, vivid, untutored imagination. The play has all the inconsequentiality of a dream.

Yet when all this has been said, is there not still something unsatisfactory about the play as we have it? Is it not *too* huddled, do not the figures come and go *too* abruptly, are not one or two of the themes *too* slightly handled? Repeatedly figures are brought before the spectator only to be speedily sent off the stage again before he has familiarized himself with them, making way for others who are dealt with in equally summary fashion. Granted that the play is intended to be a jumble of miscellaneous legend, one still feels that the spectator should have been able to understand more easily who and what all the people are. There is all the abruptness of transition, the crowding and the haste that mark the technique of some modern films, especially of films which have been over-dramatically cut. The general impression left by a rapid reading of the play is of an abridgement. Every incident, for all the charm and appropriateness of the dialogue, is treated with the utmost economy of time, is told as barely and as briefly as possible.

Occasionally the reader is a trifle disappointed at not finding in the text matter that he has almost been led to expect. The Spanish friar, for example, seems to have been called up for singularly little purpose. As the 'veriest knave in all *Spain*', he is no doubt a satire both on the Spaniards and on the Catholics, but the satire is not developed. He is immediately asked, 'Which is the most greediest Englishman?', and has just time to reply 'The miserable and most couetous Vsurer' before he has to disappear again. There is nothing here of the questioning of the spirits conjured up in *Faustus* or in *Friar Bacon*, and the one question the friar is asked seems hardly worth while if it is to receive so bare an answer. One expects the friar at least to give a reason for his choice. Usurers were stock material for satire in both play and novel, and we await some satiric character sketch or at least a witty epigram at their expense. But the friar is told to 'holde thee there', a rather unnecessary caution to one who, far from showing any signs of garrulity, has answered one direct question in a mere six words.

I would not like to suggest that it is at all clear that anything has been cut out of the text here, but only to cite this as one instance of the bareness of treatment I refer to. In itself it proves nothing; but the multiplication of such instances gives an unmistakable impression of abridgement. At l. 960 Corebus and Celanta enter together, Corebus congratulating himself on having 'got a wife'. It was plain from the outset that the ugly Celanta was intended for the blind Corebus, but it is perhaps pardonable to be a little disappointed that we do not witness their first meeting or see how the match is made, as we do with the deaf Huanebango and the sharp-tongued Zantypa. Again, there *need* not have been anything cut out, but cumulative evidence suggests that a good deal of the original play may have been dropped from the present text. The impression of abridgement increases as the play proceeds, and the conclusion is astonishingly scamped even for an Elizabethan play. Huanebango and Zantypa, Corebus and Celanta, having found their partners, disappear from the play, though one would naturally expect to see how the men recovered their faculties and what they thought of the ladies of their choice when the one could see and the other hear his betrothed. The spells under which they suffered must, according to the story, have been removed by the conjuror's death, but these four characters do not get so much as a mention in the general wind-up. Lampriscus, the father of Zantypa and Celanta, is also curiously missing from the latter part of the play. Notice, too, that when Delia awakes from her sleep, to be made love to by Eumenides, she hails him as her rescuer and the liberator of her brothers without having been told anything of what has happened—not even that her brothers have ever been enchanted. It may be objected here that since the audience would know the whole story, there would be no need for any repetition of it: it might be retorted that since such an explanation would indeed be partly repetition, it would be particularly susceptible to the attentions of an abridger,¹ and that one would expect some specific reference to the brothers beyond their inclusion in the general statement. 'Nowe this light being out, all are restored to their former libertie.' When they reappear on the stage, the elder brother thanks and congratulates Eumenides, but the second brother remains silent. Convention might have suggested that he should at least add an echo, as he does to his brother's plea for Delia's safety a few lines later:

1. *Brother*: Bee not so cruell vnto our sister gentle Knight.

2. *Brother*: O spare faire *Delia* shee deserues no death.

¹ This is clearly the reason for the cut at l. 190. Cf. below, for a discussion of that passage.

where there is for once a departure from the general spareness. Erestus and Venelia are brought in, now restored to one another, but they speak no word, neither of lament for their past sufferings nor of joy at their present happiness.

I am aware that this whole discussion is fraught with peculiar difficulty, because, as has been seen, the inconsequentiality of the whole action as it would shape itself in Madge's imagination is one of the principal charms of the play and is the result of conscious art. But the fine blending of diverse legends and the haphazard progress of the story do not seem to me inseparable from the parsimony of treatment. I say parsimony here rather than economy because the style is not terse, only sketchy. It is not, of course, that everything is told in a minimum of words—that would have been inappropriate for an old wive's tale and was assuredly no part of the dramatist's intention—but that certain things are not told at all. So far, I do not think I have pointed to any place where a cut has unquestionably been made; but enough has, I think, been argued to suggest the probability that the play was at some time subjected to a fairly drastic shortening.

This general impression of an abridgement is supported by a closer examination of the text. To begin with, the play is extremely, even unnaturally short. That is clear from a cursory reading. Nor, with all the madness of Venelia, the antics of the furies, and the singing of the harvesters, is there anything in the action which would lengthen it appreciably on the stage. In the quarto it occupies only 1170 lines as numbered in the Malone Society edition. And of all the Malone Society Reprints, if we except interludes and pieces belonging to an older period, before the beginning of the regular theatres,¹ it is easily the shortest. The average length of over fifty plays is 2291 lines. *The Old Wive's Tale*, that is to say, is very little more than half the normal length. Next to it comes *The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality* with 1322 lines, though that too might be omitted from our reckoning, since, although it was acted at Court about 1601, it belongs to an older type and is probably in fact a revival of an older play. After that the shortest plays are *George a Greene*,² 1341 lines; *The Arraignment of Paris*, 1354; *Fair Em*, 1545; *The Massacre at Paris*, 1582; *The Battle of Alcazar*, 1591. There are only a dozen others with less than two thousand lines. It may be noted that two of the plays in this list are also by Peele; but his remaining two plays, *David and Bethsabe* and *Edward I*, have 2011 lines

¹ E.g. *Tom Tyler and his Wife*, *Johan the Evangelist*, *Calisto and Melebea*, etc.

² Also an abridgement.

and 2976 lines respectively, so that it can hardly be concluded that brevity was a habit. For the sake of further comparison, one might point out that even *The Taming of A Shrew*—a ‘bad’ quarto of *The Taming of The Shrew*—has 1531 lines, and the ‘bad’ quarto of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* 1596, while the first quarto of *Henry V*, another corrupt edition, runs to 1622. Among the shorter Shakespearean plays as printed in the Arden Shakespeare are *The Comedy of Errors*, 1767; *The Tempest*, 2071; *Macbeth*, 2096; *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 2241. Statistics are sometimes misleading, and due allowance has to be made for certain facts. While the demands of theatrical production would impose some vague standard of length, they do of course permit of a degree of variation; and there seems to have been a tendency—one must not call it more than that—for plays to be shorter in the fifteen-eighties and early nineties than in the decade after 1600. What is more important to notice, *The Old Wive’s Tale* is largely in prose, which is more economical on the page, so that the counting of lines is apt to deceive. Yet it still remains obvious that *The Old Wive’s Tale* is so extremely short as to be highly extraordinary.

There is one clear instance of the mutilation of the text which has been pointed out by most editors since Dyce. The two brothers come upon the old man at the cross and, pitying his poverty, give him alms, promising further gifts if they speed in their journey. The old man then asks, ‘Was shee fayre?’ (l. 190, Malone Society Reprint). No mention has been made of the object of the brothers’ journey, the sister they are searching for has not been referred to. The old man’s question therefore lacks its context, and a passage has clearly been lost from the original conversation. Professor Gummere, however, nowhere hinting at the possibility of any corruption, attempts to justify the text as it stands. Of Dyce’s suggestion that something has dropped out here he says: ‘This is not necessary. Ereustus, who says below that he “speaks in riddles”, knows the errand of the brothers, and asks the question abruptly.’ That seems to me to be special pleading, the attempt of an editor to defend the existing text at all costs. The ‘riddles’ in which Ereustus speaks are cryptic and prophetic rhymes; nowhere is there a parallel to a question so abrupt and, without any context, so meaningless as this. If Ereustus wanted to show the brothers that he knew all about the object of their journey, he would surely have made it appear in a statement, not in a question. And he would have known without asking that ‘she’ was fair. The brothers, far from being confounded at his magical knowledge or surprised at his abrupt, irrelevant question, as they should be by Professor Gummere’s

interpretation, take the old man's words for the most natural question in the world, which, if they have just been telling him about their sister, of course they are. One must assume that part of the conversation has been cut out. And there is not far to look for the reason for the cut here. The brothers' story would repeat what the audience know already and would seem to the reviser, who had brevity for his one aim, to be superfluous. But his cut here was made with unusual clumsiness.

There is a further instance of revision in the text, which has not, so far as I am aware, been previously pointed out. At l. 314, upon the entry of Huanebango and the Clown, the following dialogue takes place:

Fant(astick). Gammer, what is he?

Old woman. O this is one that is going to the conuurer, let him alone, here what he sayes.

Upon the second entrance of Huanebango and the Clown, the dialogue proceeds:

Frol(ick). Soft, who haue we here?

Old w(oman). O this is a cholerick gentleman, all you that loue your hues, keepe out of the smell of his two hand sworde: nowe goes he to the conuurer

The words are not the same at all, but they have the same purpose behind them. They serve as chorus to introduce the two characters who have just entered. Yet why, on the *second* appearance of these two, should Frolick need to ask who they are or the old woman to explain it? The answer, I think, is that this was not meant to be their second entry. It was their second appearance in the original text, but the reviser intended to cut out the earlier scene and make this their first appearance. Their first scene as the text stands shows them meeting the old man at the cross, giving him further opportunity to talk in riddles, and it clearly exhibits their two characters. But a reviser anxious to reduce the play to its barest minimum apparently thought it not strictly necessary. He therefore cut out the whole passage and wrote in a few lines of explanatory dialogue to introduce Huanebango and the Clown when they next appear. At this second appearance the old woman not only tells us that Huanebango is on his way to the conjuror, but says significantly: 'O this is a cholerick gentleman, all you that loue your liues, keepe out of the smell of his two hand sworde', which is a very clever attempt to hit off Huanebango's character. In the original version, at Huanebango's first appearance, there was no need for the old woman to do this; a whole scene was devoted to it. The reviser, cutting this out, attempts now to summarize the impression the scene would have made and to contrive in a single sentence something of the same effect. The earlier scene has made fun of

Huanebango. It has done little to advance the action, but it is important because it has *prepared* for the action. We have met the two companions on their way to the conjuror; we now see what happens when they arrive. Without their earlier appearance, the action here proceeds at an almost ludicrous pace. In twenty lines Huanebango is struck down by a flame of fire, and Sacrapant strikes the Clown blind in half-a-dozen lines more. And this is typical of the abruptness of most of the play. The earlier scene itself is quite leisurely. The writer revels in its comedy and has time to elaborate a little his comic idea. But nowhere else outside the induction does he appear to do this—for the simple reason, I believe, that any static scenes were cut out in revision, as this comic, but not progressive, scene of Huanebango grandiosely flourishing his two-edged sword and expatiating on the splendour of his ancestry was intended to be cut out. It seems to be a relic of a fuller and less huddled style, standing apart from the rest of the play. The printer left it in, presumably not understanding the direction for deletion. But the play, as prepared for acting in its shorter form, was therefore even shorter than the abridged text which has survived.

Huanebango's companion in adventure I have referred to as the Clown. He is described as that in the play, but he also has two names given him. He is first of all called Booby and afterwards Corebus. Booby, of course, is practically synonymous with Clown; but it is not here an example of the frequent Elizabethan habit of referring to a character by a descriptive word instead of a proper name, as is done for example in *Love's Labour's Lost*, where Holofernes is regularly called Pedant in the speech headings, Armado Braggart, Jaquenetta Wench, and so on. The Clown first enters at l. 312, where the direction reads '*Enter Huanebango. . . and Booby the Clowne.*' 'Clowne' is his description, but 'Booby' is his name. 'Booby' appears consistently in the speech headings throughout the ensuing conversation, and occurs once in the text (l. 397). Nowhere in this scene is the character called Corebus (or Corobus). Afterwards, however, he is never called anything else. Clearly what happened was this: originally the man was called Booby, but in revision the name was changed to Corebus; and the change was made quite consistently except in this one scene, where there was no need to alter the name because the whole passage was to be deleted.

Booby-Corebus, the rustic clown, is an excellent foil for Huanebango. He goes with him to the conjuror, is struck blind, and makes a match with the ugly Celanta. Corebus also appears once in quite a different part of the plot. He is one of the two rustics who threaten the churchwarden

and the sexton for refusing to bury their dead companion Jack. It will be noticed, however, that there is nothing in common between this Corebus and the companion of Huanebango. The one is bold and defiant, vigorous in speech, and, though humble in station, delightfully independent in spirit: the other is timid, awkward, naïf. They are really two distinct characters. There is no reason at all why the stupid clown should suddenly appear fulminating against the injustice of the churchwarden. Originally of course he did not: he was simply Booby, and had no connexion with Corebus. Subsequently the two parts were merged in one, evidently in order to dispense with an extra actor.

This makes it clear that one of the objects of the revision of the play was to fit it for performance by a smaller cast. It is possible that some original characters have disappeared altogether. It may well have been the necessity for reducing the cast as well as the length that prevented the appearance of some of the characters at the end of the play. So long as they did not appear in the grand finale, Huanebango and Zantypa or Celanta could be doubled with Erestus and Venelia, or Celanta might even be doubled with Delia; while the actor of Lampriscus could obviously take also the part of Jack, or even Eumenides, who, considering that he is more or less the hero of the fairy-story, makes a surprisingly late appearance. It is conceivable that the beginning of his part has been cut out. Antick and Clunch, who are not wanted again after the induction, would almost certainly be doubled with other parts.

Venelia is a puzzling character, for, although she enters three times, she has no words to say. Yet she is not a 'ghost', a mere name surviving from the unrevised version. She has a crucial part to play in the plot, putting out the light upon which Sacrapant's enchantments depend. It is most improbable that a character of such importance was not originally given something to say. Her part may have vanished accidentally through the zeal for abbreviation. Or is it possible that it was deliberately cut down to nothing, and that the part was taken by an actor whom it was better not to let speak? Since Venelia does not have anything to say, she could be acted, for example, by a man instead of a boy. But since at least one of the boys who presumably played Zantypa and Celanta would be available for Venelia, there seems no particular point in contriving that possibility.

The extant version of *The Old Wive's Tale* is seen to represent a play-house revision of the comedy to make it capable of performance by a smaller company than that for which it was first written. The play is usually dated about 1590-1, and the quarto was issued in 1595. During

the intervening years it formed part of the repertory of the Queen's Company. It is interesting therefore to watch the history of this Company and to find that the Queen's men spent a good deal of time during these years touring the provinces.¹ *The Old Wive's Tale* is one of a number of plays given over to the printer by the Queen's men soon after their arrival back in London in financial straits in 1594. There can be no reasonable doubt that it is the provincial text that we have.

Adaptation of plays for provincial performance was no uncommon practice. A company would have fewer players in the provinces,² and during 1590-1 the Queen's Company toured in two separate bands. One of them seems to have combined temporarily with Sussex's, but the other must have been very much smaller than a full London company. Beyond the fact that the cast was usually somewhat limited in size, there is unfortunately little evidence of the kind of performances the country towns were likely to get. Possibly they often had to be content with shorter pieces than the London audiences, but, however common abridgement was, that can hardly account for the unique brevity of *The Old Wive's Tale*. A play as short as this may perhaps have been fobbed off upon some of the less remunerative towns, or this text may possibly have been prepared for a particular occasion when a very short play was required. That can only be conjecture. What is clear, however, is that there are unmistakable signs of cutting and adaptation; and what is less obvious, but at least probable, from the general state of the text, is that the abridgement was of a very thoroughgoing nature.

The play as we have it may represent little more than the bare bones of Peele's original play, and this must affect our view of it as a dramatic work. While the author charmingly reflected in the tale itself the *naïveté* of the old woman who tells the tale, I believe that Peele intended her to pick her muddled way through all its legends in much more leisurely fashion, and that however deliberately he may have contrived the impression of confusion and the unsubtle juxtaposition of episodes, a great deal of what seems like the abruptness and incompleteness of his treatment of the story is the accidental result of abridgement.

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JOHANNESBURG.

¹ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, 111 ff.

² *Ibid.* I, 332, n. 1.

MICHAEL DRAYTON AS A 'HISTORIAN' IN THE 'LEGEND OF CROMWELL'

WHEN Drayton, for the fourth and last of his tragical legends, chose as hero Thomas Lord Cromwell,¹ he was adventuring upon difficult and doubtful ground. His previous legends were concerned with much remoter history, and, moreover, their morals were much simpler. To paraphrase his own words in summarizing the matter,² the *Legend of Robert of Normandy* was the tale of misfortune overtaking a just man; *Matilda*, an 'exemplum' of chastity; *Peirs Gaveston*, a warning to minions. But *Cromwell* is less straightforward:

Last of all, in CROMWELL thou hast the Example of a new Mans fortune, made great by Arts of Court, and reach of a shrewd Wit, upon the advantages of a corrupt Prince, and Times; shewing, that nothing is certaine in newnesse, where the Creatures Fall may in some measure deliver the mortall Creator from the envie of his proper Acts, and Insolencies.

This is in fact by no means fully descriptive of the picture which Drayton gives; but the references to 'a new man'—the phrase itself a new expression for a new idea—and to 'a corrupt Prince' (Henry VIII, the late Queen's father) indicate a detached and critical attitude to the events of eighty years before which was not found among earlier or contemporary historians. The present study will attempt to define Drayton's attitude and purpose in his poem. As a caveat against the labour-saving belief that the Elizabethan historical dramatist or poet was indebted solely to Holinshed or some other single chronicle it should be said at once that there is ample proof that Drayton, at least, was not so easily contented. His career as a researching historian had begun with *Peirs Gaveston* in 1593, and his methods are announced and his sources indicated, though not named, in the note in that volume,³ some half-dozen fourteenth-century chronicles, borrowed from the collections of John Stow, contributed to the making of this his first historical poem. In *Cromwell* it is

¹ *The Legend of great Cromwel*, 1607, 2nd edition, 1609, and included in 1610 in Richard Niccols' *Mirror for Magistrates*, revised for *Poems*, 1619. Quotations are from the final version, reprinted in *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. W. Hebel (Shakespeare Head Press), vol. II, pp. 451-75, here referred to as *Works*, II. Differences between the first and final versions are slight and nowhere affect the substance of the poem. Drayton's earlier legends were written in 1593-6, revised and drastically abridged in 1605, revised again for *Poems*, 1619. (The first and last versions appear separately in Hebel's edition, in vols. I and II.) There has been hardly any previous criticism of the poem. Oliver Elton, who, in his valuable study *Michael Drayton* (1905), dismisses it with a single phrase 'the last and flattest of his Legends', may be regarded as typical.

² *To the Reader in Poems* (1619); *Works*, II, 382.

³ For this note, which was not reprinted after the first edition, see *Works*, I, 208. The great admiration expressed by Drayton for Stow is noteworthy.

less a question of research among primary sources, and more one of original interpretation; but the point must be made in order to make it clear that Drayton was not accustomed to taking the easy way. He was very widely read in historical writings; he was critical of the 'Writers of these latter times, some omitting things worthy of memory, some inferring things without probabilitie', and he has himself something of the attitude of the true historian: 'framing my selfe to fashion a body of a hystorie, without maime or deformitie.'¹

Drayton's main source was 'The history concernyng the lyfe, actes, and death of the famous and worthy Counsaillour Lord Thomas Cromwell, Earle of Essex' in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1563), which in the fourth edition of 1583 occupies thirteen large folio pages.² It was virtually the only historical source available. There is a dispersed and meagre account of Cromwell's career in Edward Hall's *Chronicle*; Stow³ and Holinshed reproduce this, adding brief extracts from Foxe. Foxe's account is confused in chronology and contains much that is now known to be unauthentic, but also some facts communicated, he tells us, by Cranmer's secretary; while for one incident he had a written source which would itself be accessible to Drayton, the story of Francesco Frescobaldi in Bandello's *Novelle*.⁴ Foxe reproduces this story so closely that it is not necessary to regard the Italian original as a second source for Drayton, but it is probable that he knew it.⁵ He was certainly familiar with a contemporary adaptation of the incident, that in 'W. S.'s play *The True Chronicle Historie of the whole life and death of Thomas Lord*

¹ These quotations, also from the *Gaveston* note, are there of course particularly applied to that poem.

² Pp 1177-90. Quotations are from this edition, which has a much fuller account than the first, though there are also some omissions. No attempt is made here to evaluate Foxe's work as a factual record from a modern point of view, since one may be practically certain that his facts (though not his interpretation) were accepted by Drayton. For the sources available to the modern historian see R. B. Merriman, *The Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* (1902), and Paul Van Dyke, *Renaissance Portraits* (1906).

³ I.e. in *Annales* (1592). Stow has also, however, two personal reminiscences in his *Survey of London* (1603); see edition of C. L. Kingsford, pp 89, 179. In the first he testifies to Cromwell's charitableness, which, he says, 'I my selfe have oft seene'; and this has the more value, because in the second passage he describes how part of his father's garden was taken away without redress when Cromwell built his house in Throgmorton St, adding, 'Thus much of mine owne knowledge have I thought good to note, that the suddaine rising of some men, causeth them to forget themselves.' If Drayton had access to Stow's 'collections' (see above, p 186, n 3), it is not unlikely that he had also discussed Cromwell with the chronicler before his death in 1605.

⁴ *La Seconda Parte de le Novelle*, 1554, novella 34. Not in the translations of Belleforest, Panter, or Fenton; for a modern English version see the Villon Society's edition, 1890, iv, 116.

⁵ See below, p. 194. That he could read Italian is practically certain. In *Englands Heroicall Epistles* he twice refers to the sweetness and smoothness of the Italian tongue, and once mentions Bandello, in reference to the story of the Countess of Salisbury (*Seconda Parte*, novella 37). *Ideas Mirrour* (1594) bears an Italian proverb on the title-page.

Cromwell,¹ and often prefers its version to the original, and this play has influenced his poem in other respects. The total of his sources is completed, rather surprisingly, by an episode from *Piers Plowman*, used to illustrate the degeneracy of the Friars in a way which possibly suggests that Drayton believed that the poem described conditions in the early sixteenth century.²

It is not Drayton's habit to add much to the *facts* provided by his sources; his usual practice is to blend and recompose, and to expand by means of picturesque description of scene and emotion. But in *Cromwell* there is little of this kind of expansion. The poet does not even make use of the stock 'legend' framework of ghost and underworld horrors; he retains from the convention only the post-mortem-first-person method of narrative and the emphasis on Fortune. How seriously the first-person narration is meant to be taken in this poem is doubtful; Drayton may really intend to show Cromwell's 'ghost' as repentant and self-analytical, but more probably he simply takes the method as the usual one and freely interpolates his own comments. In any case, it is in his historical perspective and general commentary, in the bias (or mixture of biases) which he gives to the story, that his originality lies.

Each of his sources had its bias, but none of them is his. Bandello's attitude is simple; he tells the story of Frescobaldi (which is a 'bread-upon-the-waters' episode) to show that gratitude and liberality may be shown *even* by a cruel and wrongheaded man like 'Tomaso Cremonello'. He has no illusions about the goings on in England; he alludes to 'le crudelta & homicidii che fuor di ragione, in Inghilterra si fecero', to the beheadings of holy men, the extinguishing of the nobility. In his view 'di tutti questi mali era general opinione che il Cremonello fosse l'incitatore'; and this monster met the deserved end of one who was 'ingordo del sangue humano'. It was with some skill that Foxe extracted the incident from these surrounding comments (of which, of course, he gives not the slightest hint). To him, the story is one of several examples, given under a special subheading 'The Lord Cromwell not forgetting his olde frendes and benefactours'. His Cromwell is perfection itself, a pattern of

¹ Published 1602; reprinted in *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (1908), which is the edition used here. The play is cited hereafter in the notes as *TLC*.

² (See quotation below, p. 196.) This would be possible if he had read the poem in the edition of 1561 and not in Crowley's edition of 1550. Puttenham (*Arte*, I, 31) does not know the name of the author, and appears to date the poem in the fifteenth century. Stow, on the other hand, has the author's name as 'Iohn Malverne' and the date as 1342 (*Annales*, 1592, p. 366). Drayton's use of the poem reflects the current vagueness about its origin and the tendency, common in the sixteenth century, to treat 'Pierce Ploughman' as a kind of prophet or oracle.

temperance in prosperity and Christian patience in adversity.¹ Naturally, to Foxe, in direct opposition to Bandello, Cromwell's part in the suppression of the religious houses is the chief of his glories. He says that Cromwell was appointed by God to be 'the instrument of rooting out of the Abbeyes and Celles of straunge religion';² the urgency of this deracination is then demonstrated at length in his usual vein. He is indeed slightly on the defensive over the thoroughness of the destruction, but contends that otherwise 'we might peradventure have had suche swarmes of fryers and monkes possessed in theyr nestes agayne' and concludes (in the margin) that 'the utter ruine of Monasteryes, was Gods worke'.

This angle of approach is only slightly modified by the dramatist. Cromwell is still the hero, stoical in undeserved misfortune; but he is a somewhat more realistic figure than the mirror of virtue presented by Foxe. Rather he is the Good Citizen, his humble origin is strongly stressed and he exhibits the desirable bourgeois virtues of thrift, temperance, independence, and honest ambition. His fall, lamented by the citizens, is attributed to the machinations of Gardiner and the fickleness of fortune, and the reputation of the King is upheld by the invention of a reprieve which comes too late. Foxe's account supplies the groundwork of the play, but its original inspiration lies in the rather naïve patriotism and Puritanism of the Elizabethan London bourgeois. Little is said of Cromwell's activities as the 'instrument of God', but one speech of self-justification against Gardiner shows the point of view; the bias resembles Foxe's, though the appeal is to the sensible man's dislike of waste rather than to the zeal of the religious reformer:

I am no enemy to religion,
But what is done, is done for Englands good.
What did they serve for but to feede a sort
Of lazie Abbotes and of full fed Fryers?
They neither plow, nor sowe, and yet they reape
The fat of all the Land, and sucke the poore.³

The opening of Drayton's poem might suggest that he was repeating the bias of his sources, for his Cromwell quits the after-life to defend himself against 'slander'. The reference might be to Bandello's comments, to the broadside ballads of 1540,⁴ to the remarks of Nicholas Sander in his *De Schismate Anglicano* (1585), to the writings of Robert Parsons the Jesuit,⁵

¹ P 1190.

² P. 1180.

³ *TLC*, iv, 2, 76-83

⁴ See *Catalogue of a Collection of Printed Broad-sides* (Society of Antiquaries, 1866)

⁵ In his *Treatise of the Three Conversions*, by N. D., 1603 (part 2, ch. 11), Parsons, criticizing Foxe, claims Cromwell as a true Catholic if his speech on the scaffold was sincere, and a dissembler and liar if it were not. It is possible that Drayton took the former view and developed his interpretation accordingly; in this case the 'slander' alluded to would be the second view. I have found nothing in the writings of Harpsfield or Stapleton which could be called 'slander' of Cromwell.

or possibly even to Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* and *Vision of Cromwell*,¹ which though not published were known to Stow and therefore probably to Drayton. But the second stanza suggests that the ghost's objection is equally to the over-favourable views of such writers as Foxe and W. S.²

What thing so strange of CROMWELL is not told?
What man more prays'd? Who more condemn'd then I?
That with the World when I am waxed old,
Most't were unfit that Fame of Me should lie,
With Fables vaine my Historie to fill,
Forcing my good, excusing of my Ill³

Nevertheless, he will himself endeavour to excuse his part in 'Romes sad Ruine'³ (the epithet already indicates the divergence from Foxe) but he sees himself as an advocate pleading a 'doubtful Case'.⁴ Drayton then takes from Foxe the description of Cromwell's humble origins, and begins with his birth at Putney as the son of a smith; but he adds two heroic accompaniments—portents at the birth, and the father's early death.⁵ Foxe follows this with a sermon on the text that 'you can't keep a good man down'; this theme naturally appealed to the dramatist, who turns it into a soliloquy with perhaps a more topical slant for the Elizabethan Londoner:

Why should my birth keepe downe my mounting spirit?
Are not all creatures subject unto time:
To time, who doth abuse the world,
And filles it full of hodge-podge bastardie?
Theres legions now of beggars on the earth,
That their originall did spring from Kings:
And manie Monarkes now whose fathers were
The rife-raffe of their age: for Time and Fortune
Weares out a noble traine to beggerie
And from the dunghill minions doe advance
To state and marke in this admiring world.⁶

Drayton's Cromwell pursues the same theme⁷ but with a more precise criticism of the unfairness of hereditary honours and a Boethian digression on true gentleness residing in virtue, not in rank or fame. The idea of fame leads him to another subject of lament:

Injurious Time, unto the Good unjust,
O! how may weake Posteritie suppose
Ever to have their merit from the Dust
'Gainst them thy partialitie that knowes!

¹ The latter is in verse and was first printed in S. W. Singer's edition of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* (1825). The author was the uncle of Henry Cavendish, to whom Drayton dedicated *Piers Gaveston*.

² 'To exaggerate' seems to be the most probable sense for 'force' here (cf. *N.E.D.*, senses 9b, 13).

³ L. 25.

⁴ L. 40.

⁵ Hinted by Foxe, who mentions the mother's second marriage to a 'shyreman' (p. 1177). The dramatist finds another use for the father and brings him on the scene in the days of Cromwell's prosperity to demonstrate the son's lack of false pride.

⁶ I, 2, 63-73.

⁷ Ll. 81-160.

To thy report, O who shall ever trust,
 Triumphant arches building unto those,
 Allow'd the longest memorie to have,
 That were the most unworthy of a Grave!¹

The sentiment, as well as the opening phrase, is reminiscent of *Troilus and Cressida*.

So far Drayton's interpretation of Cromwell as a virtuous man overriding the barriers of class is at least consistent enough; but the swelling tone of the stanza quoted suggests that the underlying theme of the poem is not the glorification of Cromwell, nor the demonstration of Fortune's fickleness: it is a general pity for *vicissitudo rerum* and the ruins of time, which is also the impulse behind *Polyolbon*.² And as we shall see, the development of the poem is complicated and the drift away from Foxe is strengthened by this pity being directed impartially towards Cromwell and the religious houses which he destroyed.³

The next phase of Cromwell's career, up to his meeting with Wolsey, is described by Drayton without much departure from his sources. The secretaryship to the English Merchants at Antwerp, the mission to Rome for the renewal of the Boston pardons, and Cromwell's presence at the siege of Rome are recorded much more briefly than by Foxe, as so many phases in Cromwell's education and useful experience, and there are one or two changes and omissions. Foxe treats the Boston affair in some detail and misses no opportunity of pointing out the corruptness of the system; he also necessarily apologizes for his hero's share in the mission to the Pope, saying that Cromwell 'had yet no sound taste nor judgement of Religion, but was wylde and youthfull'.⁴ He suggests too that Cromwell was somewhat reluctant to leave Antwerp. The dramatist (who has the journey to Italy but not the mission) diverges from him here and shows the ambitious apprentice 'altogether set on travell. . . Experience is the jewell of my hart';⁵ and this is much nearer the line taken by Drayton. Then Foxe describes how Cromwell, anxious to cut his visit to Rome as short as possible so as to save time and money, obtains an audience with the Pope by means of a present of jellies and an entertainment in the form of 'a threemans song. . . in the English tongue'. The Pope in return readily stamps the pardons, whose iniquitous provisions Foxe records in detail; the whole incident is of course made as dis-

¹ Ll. 145-54.

² Compare, for example, Song III, 293-312 (on the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey), xiv, 43-90 (on St Albans).

³ Regret for the suppression, and especially its manner, was of course far from uncommon; but such regret could not, at least in works published in England in Elizabeth's reign, be linked with censure of Henry VIII, nor had it, I think, hitherto inspired a poet.

⁴ P. 1178

⁵ *TLC*, II, ll. 3, 5

creditable as possible to the Pope. From Drayton's account the reader would scarcely realize that there was any connexion between the pardons and the songs (the jellies are omitted), this is his version.

Not long it was ere *Rome* of me did ring,
(Hardly shall *Rome* so full dayes see agen)
Of Freemens Catches to the Pope I sing,
Which wan much licence to my Countrumen,
Thither, the which I was the first did bring,
That were unknowne to *Italy* till then.
Light humours, them when judgement doth direct,
Even of the Wise winne plausible respect.¹

(A quite un-Foxian view of the Pope is implied in the last line.) An addition of Drayton's later in the story, showing Cromwell 'driven to hard shifts' and leading the life of a poor comedian,² may be another reminiscence of this incident, or perhaps of the farcical disguise scenes in the Cromwell play; possibly it is simple invention to exemplify the young hero's struggles with adverse fortune. For the wars of the Duke of Bourbon and the siege of Rome Drayton has used Foxe,³ but adds his own comment on the European situation:

That the great Schoole of the false World was then,
Where her's their subtill practices did vie,
Amongst that mightie confluence of Men,
French plots propt up by *English* policie,
The *German* powers, false shuffling, and agen
All countermin'd by skilfull *Italy*,
Each one in possibilitie to win,
Great rests were up, and mightie hands were in.⁴

Here, too, Cromwell gained knowledge and useful experience in 'strange formes of policies' and 'the secrets of those Times':

From whence to *England* afterward I brought
Those slights of State deliv'ed there to mee,
In t'which there then were very few that sought,
Nor did with th'humour of that age agree;
Which after did most fearefull things effect,
Whose secret working few did then suspect.⁵

Here an episode used by Foxe as a mere passing example of Cromwell's wild youth ('showing what a ruffine he was in his yong dayes, and how he was in the warres of duke Bourbon at the siege of Rome')⁶ is developed by Drayton in a way which strongly suggests the much later interpretation of Cromwell as the good student of Machiavelli; in spite of the obscure and clumsy expression of the second stanza just quoted, it is surely

¹ Ll. 225-32.

² Ll. 257-64.

³ Briefly mentioned on p. 1179; but fully described under the account of Wolsey, p. 987.

⁴ Ll. 281-8. In the second line, 'her's' refers to Rome. This and some preceding stanzas might suggest a general knowledge of Guicciardini's *History* (lib. 18, lib. 20), but there is no specific parallel.

⁵ Ll. 299-304.

⁶ P. 1179.

evident that it is to the ideas of *Il Principe* that it refers. The instrument of God and the aspiring citizen have given place to a considerably more interesting and plausible figure; and so far as can be discovered Drayton had no written source for this notion; it was either hearsay (perhaps from Stow) or an imaginative and lucky guess.¹ To an Elizabethan the mere fact of Cromwell's travels in Italy may have seemed sufficient basis; and the recent publication, in 1602, of an English translation of Gentillet's *Contre-Machiavel* shows that Machiavelli was still 'news'.

The occasion of Cromwell's return is left vague by Foxe, the dramatist merely suggests through his chorus that we should 'skip some few yeares, that *Cromwell* spent in travell';² while Drayton, though not very definite, attributes the return to the lure of ambition. Drayton's Cromwell diagnoses the state of England at the time in a way quite foreign to Foxe or indeed to any chronicler, other than Catholic exiles such as Sander:

When now in *England* Bigamie with blood
Lately begot by Luxurie and Pride,
In their great'st fulnesse peremptorie stood,
Some that those courses diligently ey'd,
Shily were fishing in that troubled Flood,
For future changes wisely to provide,
Finding the World so rankely then to swell,
That till it brake, it never could be well.³

His rise to power begins, according to Foxe and Drayton, by association with Wolsey; Foxe adds a 'comparison' between Cromwell and More and Gardiner, in which he admits that Cromwell was inferior in 'skill of learning' but claims for him 'a more heavenly light of munde, & more prompt and perfect judgement, eloquence equall and... more pregnant... a more heroicall and princely disposition'.⁴ That Drayton's eye is on Foxe is evident, for the stanza following the account of Wolsey mentions Cromwell's meeting with More and Gardiner,⁵ whose 'proud competitor' he was; but any hint that he was their superior or even equal in merit is entirely suppressed.

Still following Foxe, Drayton proceeds to the founding of Christ Church and Wolsey's consequent need for money and suppression of 'certayne small monasteries and priories'. In this work, says Foxe, Cromwell 'shewed himselfe very forward and industrious' and made many enemies

¹ Cf. Cardinal Pole's *Epistolarum. . Pars I* (first published at Brescia, 1744), pp. 133-7; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xiv, 110; R. B. Merriman, *op. cit.*, i, 85-6, 203; Van Dyke, *op. cit.*, Appendix, pp. 377-418; R. W. Chambers, *Thomas More* (1935), pp. 132, 360. (The general conclusion is not of course affected by the facts that Cromwell was not really in Rome at the time of these wars at all, and that they did not in any case occur in his youth.)

² *TLC*, iii, 2, 184.

⁴ P. 1179.

³ Ll. 321-8.

⁵ Ll. 345-52.

'with divers of the superstitious sorte'¹ Drayton's comment, in a very different vein, is

This like a symptome to a long disease,
Was the forerunner to this mightie Fall,
And but too unadvisedly did ceaze
Upon the part that runated all,
Which, had the Worke beene of so many dayes,
And more againe, recover hardly shall:
But, loe, it sunke, which Time did long uphold,
Where now it lyes even levell'd with the mold.

Thus, thou great *Rome*, here first wast overthrowne...²

For the next phase, Drayton's changes are mainly those of compression. He indicates only vaguely the vicissitudes of Cromwell's rise in the King's favour, praising his resolution and tenacity, and mentioning the support given by Lord Russell and Sir Christopher Hales. The offices and honours gained by Cromwell during the next five years are run into a single stanza without distinction of date, so as to suggest the speed and the precariousness of his rise. Then comes the incident of Cromwell's gratitude to 'Francis Friscobald', who had befriended him in Florence, it will, says Drayton, be related briefly 'since oft before it wisely hath beene told'—that is, by Bandello, Foxe, and the dramatist. He selects only the second part of the episode—Cromwell's repayal of Frescobald's favours; and in his presentation of the incident he blends the versions of Foxe (or Bandello) and the dramatist. He follows the latter in keeping his recognition scene in suspense; Cromwell recognizes his old friend in the street despite his rags, but refrains from making himself known, sends a messenger to invite Frescobald to his house to dinner, and at a banquet, surrounded by noble friends, reveals the truth, expresses his gratitude, and restores Frescobald's fortunes. The treatment of the source here is interesting only in showing Drayton's discrimination in selecting the more lively and dramatic of two available versions. The incident takes the form, as it does not in Foxe, of a digression; it is vividly and simply described in a straightforward narrative style contrasting sharply with the tortuous and elliptical expression of the poem as a whole. We can detect in the poet some relief in escaping from controversial subject-matter to an aspect of Cromwell which even Bandello could extol.

Immediately afterwards Drayton returns to the progress of the Reformation,³ which he calls 'this sad downfall'. Again he laments the

¹ P. 1179.

² Ll 369-77.

³ The material corresponds to Foxe, pp. 1180-1, but the treatment is radically different, Foxe regarding the abbeyes as 'the Synagogue of Antichrist'.

ruins of 'those Edifices great', but now speculates more closely on the cause. For dramatic emphasis, the whole responsibility is laid on Cromwell as the King's chief adviser; and the process of events is skilfully defined:

In taking downe yet of this goodly Frame,
He suddenly not brake off every band,
But tooke the Power first from the Papall Name,
After awhile let the Religion stand,
When lumbe by lumbe He daily did it lame,
First, took a Legge, and after tooke a Hand,
Till the poore semblance of a Bodie left,
But all should stay it, utterly bereft.
For if some Abbey hapned void to fall,
By death of Him that the Superiour was,
Game, that did first Church-libertie enthrall,
Only Supreme, promoted to the Place,
'Mongst many bad, the worst most times of all,
Under the colour of some others Grace,
That by the Slander, which from Him should spring,
Into contempt it more and more might bring.¹

He also notes how Lutheran opinions

Much from great *Rome* in little space that wan,
It to this change so aptly did dispose,
From whose sad Ruine, ours so great arose.²

He brings forward contrary arguments, admits the encroachments of the Church and her inward deterioration, but the dominating emotion quickly returns:

The wisest and most provident but build,
For time againe but onely to destroy,
The costly Pyles and Monuments we gild,
Succeeding Time shall reckon but a toy,
Vicissitude impartially will'd,
The goodlyest things be subject to annoy,
And what one Age did studiously maintayne,
The next againe accounteth vile and vaine.³

The voice of the economic historian speaks in a gloss (more clearly than in the verse it annotates): '*Abbey Lands raysed a new Gentry upon their desolution of the Houses*'; whereas Foxe defends the dissipation of religious property on the grounds that it made the suppression permanent. The theologian also must be heard; the reformed religion is itself discovered to be not without defects:

Mysterious things being not conceived right,
Thereof bred in the ignorant neglect,
For, in opinion something short doth fall,
Wants there have beene, and shall be still in all.⁴

Foxe has been long deserted; but at this point, as if turning round in his tracks and remembering that Cromwell is his hero and must be

¹ Ll. 697-712.

³ Ll. 753-60.

² Ll. 718-20.

⁴ Ll. 773-6.

vindicated, Drayton proceeds to blame the 'unbridled Sensualitie' of religious men, and observes sarcastically that the Church, unwilling to be praised for being lean herself while her lands were fat,

Her selfe to too much libertie did give,
Which some perceiv'd that in those times did live.

PIERCE the wise Plowman, in his vision saw ¹

And so Drayton substitutes part of the last section of *Piers Plowman* for Foxe's long account of the suppression of the religious houses and his defence of Cromwell on the grounds of 'the abhominable life' and 'the damnable doctrine' which they maintained; the substitution is neat, for Foxe's strongest criticism is of the Friars, 'much more full of hipocrisy, blindnesse, Idolatry, and superstition, then were the monkes'.² The change may be a device to soften Foxe's arguments by presenting them dramatically and at one remove; or simply the outcome of the storyteller's impulse to enliven his narrative. (It would be over-subtle to suggest that Drayton saw the real significance of Conscience's defence of Unity;³ like his contemporaries, he sees 'Pierce', whatever his date, as an early Protestant reformer.) The episode (part of the story of the Siege of Unity in the Vision of Do-best· B text, Passus xx, ll. 212 ff.) occupies eighty lines in Drayton's poem, allowing for compression and selection it represents Langland's account truthfully, many lines being close adaptations of his very words. A summary of the incident and of Drayton's principal changes will show his attitude to his material.

Conscience is in peril⁴ and many of his supporters wounded, while defending the Church of Unity against the Seven Deadly Sins; he calls for help to the clergy·

Freres herden hym crye and comen hym to helpe,
Ac for thei couth noughte wel her craft Conscience forsoke hem.
Nede neghed the nere and Conscience he tolde
That thei come for coverytise to have cure of soules. . . ⁵

Drayton's version runs:

Conscience . . .
...to wise Clergie mainly cry'd for aide . . .
Clergie call'd Fryers, which neere at hand did dwell,
And them requests to take in hand the cure,
But for their Leechcraft that they could not well,

¹ Ll. 781-5. The juxtaposition of the last two lines seems to me to imply that Drayton regarded *Piers Plowman* as a poem of the reign of Henry VIII. See above, p. 188.

² Pp. 1180-1.

³ Cf. R. W. Chambers, *Thomas More* (1935), pp. 364-5.

⁴ Drayton has misunderstood the poem at this point and says that Conscience was 'sore hurt' (l. 786); this would of course damage the allegory, which requires Conscience's integrity.

⁵ Passus xx, ll. 227-32; quotations are from Skeat's edition.

He listed not their dressing to endure,
 When in his eare Need softly him did tell
 (And of his knowledge more did him assure)
 They came for gayne, their end which they did make,
 For which on them the charge of Soules they take.¹

Of Conscience's speech to the Friars (inviting them into Unity on condition that they return to their former ideals) Drayton uses only a few lines, on the danger of their increase in number; he also entirely omits Langland's own digression on the evil done by the Friars.² The siege continues; Conscience makes Peace the porter to keep out all attackers, but nevertheless many are wounded by Hypocrisy; they dislike the stern leeches who attempt to shrive them, and when news comes of a physician, 'one frere Flaterere', who can heal less painfully, Conscience is persuaded to admit him. The friar obtains letters from the Pope and makes his way to Unity.³ Thus far Drayton has summarized his source; he now begins to expand by picturesque touches of description (such as the Friar 'turning up his eyes'). It is therefore more noticeable when an effective turn in the original is entirely omitted, as follows: Peace is cautious, enquires the name of the 'surgeon', is told 'Sire *Penetrans-domos*', and recalls that he has seen someone like him at court, where 'he salved so oure wommen til somme were with childe!'; but Peace is then over-ruled by 'Hendespeche' and the Friar is welcomed. None of these hesitations and suspicions appear in Drayton's version; perhaps he considered the implied accusation too severe. At the climax of the story—the Friar's painless treatment of Contrition by means of

a plastre
 Of 'a pryve payment and I shal praye for yow'—

Drayton expands again, supplying extra dialogue to make the point clearer and the whole incident more dramatic.⁴ In two of his added lines:

Saying that Heaven his silver him should win,
 And to give Friers, was better then to pray,⁵

there is probably a reminiscence of Chaucer's couplet:

Therefore, instede of wepyng and preyeres
 Men moot yeve silver to the povre freres.⁶

The poem then returns abruptly to the fortunes of Cromwell, and Drayton sketches briefly and perfunctorily the Anne of Cleves affair, the use made of it by Gardiner, and Cromwell's imprisonment and execution. Here he follows Foxe, but without his violent condemnation of Crom-

¹ Ll. 786-8, 793-800.

² Ll. 275-91

⁴ *Piers Plowman*, xx, 292-327; Drayton, ll. 809-24.

³ *Piers Plowman*, xx, 354-70; Drayton, ll. 841-63.

⁵ Ll. 859-60.

⁶ *Prologue*, ll. 231-2.

well's enemies, and with several comments of his own. He criticises the tyranny and unscrupulousness of the King, suggesting that he had used Cromwell for his own purposes and now cast him aside.

When he by me had purchased his prey,
Himselfe to cleere, and satisfie the sin,
Leaves me but late his instrument therein.¹

Foxe refers to other 'pestilent adversaryes maligning the prosperous glory of the Gospel', and believes that the King was 'abused by wicked counsell';² but he does not blame him in this way. The dramatist's interpretation agrees with Foxe's save that he moralizes on the dangers of greatness and the folly of trusting in fortune, as Foxe, who is describing 'the worthy and noble Lorde Cromwell oppressed by his enemies' naturally does not; and this moralizing, which belongs to the convention of the 'tragical legend', is also the closing note of Drayton's poem. But the poet's emphasis is on man's attitude to Fortune rather than on Fortune herself.

Who sparingly prosperitie doth use,
And to himselfe doth after-ill propound,
Unto his height who happily doth clime,
Sits above Fortune, and controlleth Time.³

And his last view of Cromwell is as an 'example' to those who

strive too suddenly to rise
By flatt'ring Princes with a servill tong,
And being Soothers to their Tyrannies.⁴

There is also a further likeness between Drayton's poem and the play at this point; both underline the irony of Cromwell's conviction under an act which he had himself made.⁵

Since Drayton was perhaps coming to the end of his allotted or self-allotted space,⁶ not too much weight must be given to his many omissions from Foxe's account of Cromwell's fall. The compression is certainly drastic; Drayton has nothing of Foxe's account of the attainder nor his discussion of its legality, nothing of the weeks of imprisonment, the message to the King, or the last speech and prayer with their repentance and declaration of orthodoxy. This summary treatment may, however, be taken as indicating where Drayton's interests lay: not in the particulars of the 'fall', whether as a deserved punishment or as an 'exemplum' of

¹ Ll. 910-12.

² P. 1134.

³ Ll. 941-4. Compare the close of *His Defence against the Idle Critick* in *Odes*... [1606], *Works*, II, 367; and Chapman, *Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, IV, 1.

⁴ Ll. 953-5.

⁵ *TLC*, IV, 5, 109-12 (cf. also 42-5); Drayton, ll. 913-20. Foxe makes the point in the edition of 1563 (p. 598) but omits it in 1583.

⁶ The poem is by about twenty lines the longest of the four legends in the edition of *Poems*, 1619.

fickle fortune, but rather in Cromwell as a mixed and interesting and (perhaps) a somewhat Jacobean kind of character, and in the rights and wrongs of what to the view of 1607 appeared the most important of his 'acts and doings'—his share in the suppression of the monasteries.

Drayton's departure from Foxe's interpretation need not, of course, be taken as necessarily a sign of Catholic recusancy, nor is there any evidence in his life to associate him directly with this.¹ It is sufficiently explained by the general currents of contemporary opinion and the conciliatory tendencies of James I; by Drayton's dislike of any tyranny or intolerance, which is here linked with the Elizabethan phobia of Machiavelli; by his antiquarian's respect for the past and regret for its vanished monuments; and (perhaps the chief reason) by his fondness for historical analysis, or, if that phrase seems too solemn, for shaking up the mosaic of other people's opinions so as to produce a new picture. But since there was certainly some novelty in the expression of such a point of view at the time, it may be useful to set beside *Cromwell* his only other poem of neighbouring date which touches on religion and politics. The exposition of that difficult fable *The Owle* (1604, written early in 1603) cannot be developed here,² but it would probably be generally accepted that in his picture of the Vulture and his servants Drayton is expressing his strong dislike of Cecil and his spy system, and especially of the Bat, who pries into private families as an *agent provocateur*:

To broach newe Treasons, and disclose them first,
Whereby himselfe he cleeres, and un-awares
Intraps the Fowle, unskilfull of these Snares,³

and of the Parrot, who 'spoyles families' who are detected in suspect charitable actions.⁴ Such passages may suggest that Drayton had himself been a member of households which had suffered in this way. There is also a passage of direct comment on the religious situation which deserves closer attention. It is self-contained; the birds named take no part in the

¹ Some of his friends were Catholics, for example, Thomas Lodge, Sir John Beaumont, Thomas Palmer, Beale Sapperton, A[ntony?] Greneway, and Edmund Bolton; but that might be said of almost anyone. The home of Sir Henry Goodere ('whose I was whilst he was', wrote Drayton in 1597) may in Drayton's childhood and youth have had an atmosphere favourable to recusancy, for Sir Henry was imprisoned in 1571-2 for conspiring in the cause of Mary, Queen of Scots, and 'empayred his estate . . . twenty thousand pounds at the least'. But by 1592 he had so far re-established his loyalty and conformity as to be one of the Commissioners of Recusancy for Warwickshire. He died in 1595, and Drayton, at the date when he wrote *Cromwell*, was enjoying the patronage of Sir Walter Aston, to whom the poem is dedicated. Sir Walter's wife later became a Catholic, and he himself embraced the faith a few years before his death in 1639.

² My interpretation of this poem will appear in the fifth and final volume of the *Works*.

³ Ll. 512-14. (From *Poems*, 1619, in *Works*, II, 493.) This and the other passages quoted all occur in the edition of 1604 with almost exactly the same wording.

⁴ Ll. 529-56.

main allegory. They may with some confidence be identified as follows: the Goose, the exiled defender of Rome, with the Catholics; the Dove, with true Christianity; the Daw, destructive, predatory and garrulous, with the Puritans; and the Stork, always a bird highly respected, with the King¹ in his capacity as Head of the Church:

The Goose exiled, humbly doth appeale
To all the Birds, professing Faith and Zeale
And though he proveth by the *Romane* Booke,
What care to keepe the Capitoll he tooke;
Yet is not heard: The *Dove* without a Gall,
Is left forsaken, and contemn'd of all.
There growes such diffrence and such strange Confusions.
Twixt old Decrees, and later Institutions:
Yet being inspir'd, desisteth not to speake
To edifie the Conscience that is weake,
And by approved Arguments of's owne,
By Scriptures, Fathers, and great Writers knowne,
Discovereth their abominable Trade;
So that the *Storke* their umpire being made,
Judgeth, the *Daw* should from the Church be driven,
To prate in Corners, and to preach by Even.
And since his Art and Cunning was so scant,
To have no Patron but the Ignorant;
And by his Doctrine only teaching Fooles,
To be exilde, and hiss'd out of the Schooles.²

It might be guessed that the writer of that passage had taken up a position somewhat to the right of the centre. But the lines can hardly be truly valued until *The Owle* is elucidated as a whole, which in turn is impossible until much more is known of Drayton's life. On the other side, some weight might be given to Drayton's share in the anti-Catholic play of *Sir John Oldcastle*, unless what the Henslowe collaborator said is not evidence.

Even on the comparatively simple question of what Drayton meant in *Cromwell* itself, no really decisive conclusion is possible. For it must be admitted that his views are neither consistently maintained, nor very clearly expressed. But this was partly because he was grafting them on to material contained in works whose authors held quite other views and partly because his poem expresses an attitude to the reign of Henry VIII for which in 1607 there was little precedent, an attitude which marks a turning away from the lines laid down (and followed by later writers) in Hall's *Chronicle*. If the History of Historians ever comes to be written, this attitude would deserve at least a footnote therein.

KATHLEEN TILLOTSON.

LONDON.

¹ Elsewhere in the poem the King appears as the Eagle.

² Ll. 899-918

DRYDEN AND THE 'WAVERLEY NOVELS'

To Scott, Dryden was Glorious John. For him there were only two greater names in English literature, Shakespeare and Milton. Dryden's powers of versification were, Scott thought, superior to those of any earlier English author, and his prose was the most delightful in the language. After Shakespeare, he is the English poet who has left the deepest impression on Scott's work. Scott came in contact with Dryden's remarkable mind at the outset of his own career, and was proud to be his biographer and editor. Dryden provided more chapter-headings for the novels than anybody else except Shakespeare and Scott himself. In *The Bride of Lammermoor* (ch. 9) he is hailed as 'the great John Dryden', and in *Old Mortality* (ch. 30) as 'the great High Priest of all the Nine'.

Scott, like Johnson, approved of Dryden's politics, for, as Claud Halcro says in *The Pirate* (ch. 37), 'John was a Jacobite'. Scott's satisfaction is undisguised when in the *Life* he shows Dryden throwing off the 'fanatical religion' in which he had been brought up and freeing himself from the 'fetters of puritanism'. In his eyes such a change needed no more apology than the conversion of Edward Waverley to the cause of Prince Charles. Dryden's poem on the return of Charles II, 'a subject', says Scott, 'in itself highly fit for poetry', has its prose counterpart in the last chapter of *Woodstock*.

In *Woodstock* and in *Old Mortality* the dreaming saints

Of the true old Enthusiastick Breed¹

receive much the same treatment as in *Absalom and Achitophel* and *The Hind and the Panther*. It is significant that the chapter in *Woodstock* (ch. 11) containing the portraits of Desborough, Harrison, and Bletson is headed by a passage from *The Hind and the Panther*.² Scott shared Dryden's fear of men who wish to turn things upside down and who would gladly use their powers

Nothing to build, and all things to Destroy.³

The same feeling inspired Scott's anger and alarm at the 'radical scoundrels' of his own day. In a letter to Morritt (23 May 1810) Scott mentions the uneasiness felt by London citizens at the conduct of 'the mob of

¹ *Absalom and Achitophel*, l. 530.

² Compare *Old Mortality* (ch. 1) 'If the zeal for God's house did not eat up the Conventiclers, it devoured at least, to imitate the phrase of Dryden, no small portion of their loyalty, sober sense, and good breeding.'

³ *Absalom and Achitophel*, l. 532

Westminster' and 'the factious demagogues', and he applies to the situation a passage from *The Duke of Guise*:

I would it should be so—'tis a good horror
First let them fear for rapes and plundered houses
Cold Burghers must be struck and struck like flints
Ere their hid fire will sparkle.¹

Though *The Pirate* is full of quotations from 'Glorious John' (perhaps because at the time he was writing it Scott was busy with the second edition of his *Dryden*), the novel in which Dryden counts for most is *Peveril of the Peak*. Naturally enough, since, like *Absalom and Achitophel*, it is largely concerned with the Popish Plot. The reading Scott had done for his edition of Dryden now served him again. Both novel and poem present the various supporters of the Plot: the 'well-breathed witnesses',² the London rabble (Dryden's 'Solymaeon Rout'), those who, like Major Bridgenorth, were

Mistaken men, and Patriots in their Hearts;
Not wicked, but seduc'd by Impious Arts,³

and the great Dr Oates himself. Shaftesbury we do not see in the novel, but he is mentioned, and Scott's view of the part he played seems to be that of Dryden. Monmouth, whom Scott had introduced some years before into *Old Mortality*,⁴ does not figure in the story.

First in the file of the King's friends in *Absalom and Achitophel* is the Duke of Ormond:

Barzillai crown'd with Honour and with Years;
Long since, the rising Rebels he withstood
In regions waste, beyond the Jordan's flood:

The Court he practis'd, not the Courtier's Art;
Large was his Wealth but larger was his Heart,
Which well the Noblest Objects knew to chuse,
The Fighting Warriour and Recording Muse.⁵

The portrait of this stout old cavalier is drawn with the same admiring

¹ *The Duke of Guise*, iv, in Scott quotes the same passage in a letter to George Ellis (6 July 1810), in a letter to the Duke of Buccleuch (10 January 1817), and in a letter to Lockhart (10 Nov. 1830).

² *Peveril of the Peak*, ch. 29. Compare 'a well-breath'd Witness of the Plot', *Absalom and Achitophel*, l. 631.

³ *Absalom and Achitophel*, ll. 497-8.

⁴ 'It was impossible for any one to look upon the Duke of Monmouth without being captivated by his personal graces and accomplishments, of which the great High Priest of all the Nine afterwards recorded:

Whate'er he did was done with so much ease,
In him alone 'twas natural to please;
His motions all accompanied with grace,
And Paradise was open'd in his face.'

Old Mortality, ch. 30.

Monmouth's wife, Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, appears in both *Absalom and Achitophel* and *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. In pointing out her patronage of Dryden's poetry, Scott can hardly have forgotten the encouragement he himself had received as a poet from the Duchess of Buccleuch of a later day.

⁵ *Absalom and Achitophel*, ll. 818-28.

strokes in *Peveiril*. Dryden's mention of Ormond's kindness to 'the Fighting Warrour' no doubt suggested to Scott the scene in which Ormond shows his affection for Coleby and speaks to the King on behalf of old Peveiril 'who fought through the whole war, wherever blows were going and was the last man, I believe, in England, who laid down his arms'.¹ In the same chapter the pathetic lines in *Absalom and Achitophel* about Ormond's dead son, the Earl of Ossory—lines singled out for praise in the *Life*—are recalled when Ormond laments that time will not 'yield him back twenty years, nor the grave restore his gallant son, Ossory'.

It would appear that Scott took some hints for *Peveiril* not only from *Absalom and Achitophel* but also from *The Duke of Guise*, the political play by Dryden and Lee. In the novel, Buckingham is for the most part Dryden's Zimri watered down, but he plots to seize the throne; and in this he is like the Duke of Guise. The scene where Buckingham, after the failure of his scheme, comes to Whitehall to face the King surely derives from the corresponding scene in the play.

Here is part of the scene from *Peveiril* (ch 48):

To add to the general apprehension, it began to be whispered that one or two of the guests, who were desirous of leaving the palace, had been informed no one could be permitted to retire until the general hour of dismissal. And these, gliding back into the hall, communicated in whispers that the sentinels at the gates were doubled, and that there was a troop of the Horse Guards drawn up in the court—circumstances so unusual as to excite the most anxious curiosity.

Such was the state of the court when wheels were heard without, and the bustle which took place denoted the arrival of some person of consequence.

'Here comes Chiffinch,' said the King, 'with his prey in his clutch.'

It was indeed the Duke of Buckingham; nor did he approach the royal presence without emotion. On entering the court, the flambeaux which were borne around the carriage gleamed on the scarlet coats, laced hats, and drawn broadswords of the Horse Guards—a sight unusual, and calculated to strike terror into a conscience which was none of the clearest.

The duke alighted from the carriage, and only said to the officer whom he saw upon duty, 'You are late under arms tonight, Captain Carleton.'

'Such are our orders, sir,' answered Carleton, with military brevity; and then commanded the four dismounted sentinels at the under gate to make way for the Duke of Buckingham. His Grace had no sooner entered than he heard behind him the command, 'Move close up, sentinels—closer yet to the gate'. And he felt as if all chance of rescue were excluded by the sound.

Here is the scene from *The Duke of Guise* (Act v, Sc. iv):

The Court before the Council-hall

Grillon, Larchant, Soldiers placed, people crowding.

Gril. Are your guards doubled, captain?

Larch. Sir, they are.

Gril. When the Guise comes, remember your petition.—

Make way there for his eminence, give back.—

Your eminence comes late.

*Enter two Cardinals, Counsellors, the Cardinal of Guise,
Archbishop of Lyons, last the Guise.*

¹ Ch. 40.

- Gui.* Well, colonel, are we friends?
Gril. 'Faith, I think not.
Gui. Give me your hand
Gril. No, for that gives a heart.
Gui. Yet we shall clasp in heaven.
Gril. By Heaven, we shall not,
 Unless it be with gripes
Gui. True Grillon still
Larch. My Lord.
Gui. Ha! captain, you are well attended;
 If I mistake not, sir, your number's doubled.
Larch. All these have served against the heretics.
 And therefore beg your grace you would remember
 Their wounds and lost arrears
Gui. It shall be done.—
 Again, my heart! there is a weight upon thee,
 But I will sigh it off.—Captain farewell
(Exeunt Cardinal, Guise, etc.)
Gril. Shut the hall-door, and bar the castle-gates.
 March, march there closer yet, captain, to the door.

There are other reminders of Dryden in *Peveril* Edward Christian, discoursing on Chaucer to Julian Peveril, says (ch. 21):

I see that you, like other young gentlemen of the time, are better acquainted with Cowley and Waller than with the 'well of English undefiled'. I cannot help differing. There are touches of nature about the old bard of Woodstock that to me are worth all the turns of laborious wit in Cowley, and all the ornate and artificial simplicity of his courtly competitor. The description, for instance, of his country coquette—

Wincing she was, as is a wanton colt,
 Sweet as a flower, and upright as a bolt.

Then, again, for pathos, where will you mend the dying scene of Arcite?

Alas, my heartis queen! alas, my wife!
 Giver at once and ender of my life.
 What is this world? What axen men to have?
 Now with his love, now in his cold grave
 Alone, withouten other company.¹

But I tire you, sire; and do injustice to the poet, whom I remember but by halves. This is certainly Scott speaking rather than Edward Christian; and Scott is echoing, consciously or not, Dryden's praise of Chaucer in the *Preface to the Fables*.²

¹ But the lines used as heading for the chapter (*Old Mortality*, ch. 44) in which Lord Evandale dies, leaving Edith Bellenden to Morton, are taken, not direct from Chaucer, but from Dryden's version of the passage describing Arcite's death:

Yet could he not his closing eyes withdraw,
 Though less and less of Emily he saw;
 So speechless for a little space he lay,
 Then grasp'd the hand he held, and sigh'd his soul away.

² Dryden praises the simplicity of Arcite's deathbed scene (*Essays of John Dryden*, ed. Ker, II, 257); tells us that 'Chaucer followed Nature everywhere' (*op. cit.*, II, 258); quotes the same lines as Scott does from the *Miller's Tale* and then continues: 'I have almost done with Chaucer, when I have answered some objections relating to my present work. I find some people are offended that I have turned these tales into modern English; because they think them unworthy of my pains, and look on Chaucer as a dry, old-fashioned wit, not worth reviving. I have often heard the late Earl of Leicester say, that Mr Cowley himself was of that opinion' (*op. cit.*, II, 264).

Scott admired Dryden's modernizations of Chaucer. He was not troubled by the injury done to Chaucer's directness and simplicity, and declares in the *Life* that, if Dryden has not preserved all the qualities of the originals, yet 'in passages of gorgeous description he has added even to the chivalrous splendour of Chaucer . . . if he has failed in tenderness, he is never deficient in majesty; and . . . if the heart be sometimes untouched, the understanding and fancy are always exercised and delighted'. It is, therefore, not surprising that, in describing the tournament in *Ivanhoe*, Scott turned to the *Knight's Tale* in Dryden's version rather than directly to Chaucer. He gives a hint of this by the use in three of the tournament chapters of headings from Dryden.

Dryden's *Character of a Good Parson* was clearly a favourite. Scott notes in the *Life* that Dryden, in modernizing Chaucer's portrait, did not neglect 'to make his pattern of clerical merit of his own jacobitical principles'. This did not make the lines less attractive to Scott, and it is to them that Fergus MacIvor appeals in urging Waverley to throw in his lot with the Stuarts. 'Do you remember', he asks Waverley, 'the lines of your favourite poet?

Had Richard unconstrain'd resign'd the throne,
A King can give no more than is his own;
The title stood entail'd had Richard had a son'¹

It is rather surprising to learn that Dryden is Waverley's favourite poet. A little earlier in the novel (ch. 21), it is true, Fergus's voice 'reminded Edward of a favourite passage in the description of Emetrius:

whose voice was heard around,
Loud as a trumpet with a silver sound.'

This is from Dryden's *Palamon and Arcite* (III, 84-5); but it is abundantly plain from the novel as a whole that Shakespeare, not Dryden, stands first with Waverley. Did Scott's memory confuse the Dryden passage with the similar lines about Richard in *3 Henry VI*?

K. Hen. Henry the Fourth by conquest got the crown.
York. 'Twas by rebellion against his King
K. Hen. (Aside) I know not what to say: my title's weak.
(Aloud) Tell me, may not a king adopt an heir?
York. What then?
K. Hen. An if he may, then am I lawful king;
For Richard, in the view of many lords,
Resigned the crown to Henry the Fourth,
Whose heir my father was, and I am his.

¹ *Waverley*, ch. 25. The quotation is from the *Character of a Good Parson*, ll 112-14. Earlier in *Waverley* (ch. 11), Mr Rubrick, a partisan of the exiled royal family, is described as one of those 'Who, undeprived, their benefice forsook'. This is from the same poem (l. 126). Some other lines of the poem are applied to the Rev. Josiah Cargill by Lady Penelope (*St Ronan's Well*, ch. 21).

York. He rose against him, being his sovereign,
 And made him to resign his crown perforce.
War. Suppose, my lords, he did it unconstrain'd,
 Think you 'twere prejudicial to his crown?
Eae No, for he could not so resign his crown
 But that the next heir should succeed or reign.¹

Of Dryden's plays, Scott put *Don Sebastian* first. He particularly admired the scene between Dorax and Sebastian and drew upon it four times for chapter-headings. One of these headings,

My life was of a piece,
 Spent in your service—dying at your feet,²

is used for the last chapter in *Woodstock* to express the simple unfaltering loyalty of the old cavalier, Sir Henry Lee. Here Scott has gone to Dryden, as he so often went to Shakespeare, to find words for an emotion deeply rooted in his own nature. When Sebastian, drawing the fatal black ball from the urn, is faced by the prospect of immediate death, he says

Then there's no more to manage; if I fall,
 It shall be like myself; a setting sun
 Should leave a track of glory in the skies.³

One cannot help wondering whether there is not an echo of these proud words in Claverhouse's speech to Morton about a soldier's death.

It is not the expiring pang that is worth thinking of in an event that must happen one day, and may befall us on any given moment; it is the memory which the soldier leaves behind him, like the long train of light that follows the sunken sun, that is all which is worth caring for, which distinguishes the death of the brave or the ignoble.⁴

R. K. GORDON.

EDMONTON, ALBERTA.

¹ 3 *Henry VI*, Act I, Sc. 1.

² Slightly altered from *Don Sebastian*, Act IV, Sc. III. In a letter to Richard Heber (10 March 1809) Scott uses the same passage in reference to the death of his dog, Camp. The other chapters with headings from this scene are *The Talisman*, ch. 14; *Rob Roy*, ch. 39; *Count Robert of Paris*, ch. 32.

³ Act I, Sc. i.

⁴ *Old Mortality*, ch. 34. *The Spanish Friar* is also quoted in the novels. Colonel Talbot quotes from Act IV, Sc. II in *Waverley*, ch. 56; and Bucklaw from the same scene in *The Bride of Lammermoor*, ch. 6. In describing the scene in the besieged castle in *The Betrothed*, ch. 8, Scott quotes a line from the somewhat similar scene at the opening of *The Spanish Friar*.

CALDERÓN'S 'PRÍNCIPE CONSTANTE': TWO APPRECIATIONS

THE following exchange of views arose out of the paper Mr Wilson communicated to the second writer. Mr Wilson has interpreted this first typically Calderonian masterpiece not as dead literature, but as living poetry. His suggestions began a train of thought in the recipient's mind, which, however, took a quite different direction. The second appreciation was submitted to Mr Wilson, who felt, quite rightly, that he was not called upon to change his ground. Great literature has many facets, and different readers will catch different gleams of the author's genius. These two appreciations, therefore, do not constitute a debate which the reader is asked to judge, but an exchange of views on a subject of some moment, an exchange which may call forth some third or fourth opinion of some quite different nature. They are essays in appraisement; and, though factual considerations occupy so great a part of our professional and private studies, it is the appreciation of great poetry—too often neglected—which is the object and fine flower of literary scholarship

I

El Príncipe Constante is the story of a saint. What is the point of the play? It is, I think, that the man who follows out his beliefs sincerely to the end is superior to his fellows. Every character in this play has good feelings—even the Moorish King is only villainous when he is thwarted—but Fernando rises above all of them. He is measured successively against the other figures; none of them come up to him.

Fernando is introduced to us as the Christian soldier. In the first act he is more the soldier than the Christian; he is a gentleman. The first to set foot on African shore, he captures the bravest of the Moors and sets him free—as Don Rodrigo de Narváez is said to have done—and he does not surrender to the Moors until further resistance would have been useless; then he has the officer's satisfaction of surrendering to the King himself. We meet a chivalrous man of action, whose battle-cry is 'Avis y Cristo'. His catholicism is obvious; he is a crusader and not frightened by auguries like his brother—he is prepared to die for the true faith. He is a soldier who may develop into a saint, but he is above all a soldier.

When he is taken prisoner the Moorish King says that he cannot consider releasing Fernando except in exchange for Ceuta. On hearing

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this Fernando shows that however much of a hero he may be, he is only human after all. Saying farewell to Enrique he says

Enrique, preso quedo,
ni al mal, ni a la fortuna tengo miedo.
Dirásle a nuestro hermano
que haga aquí como Príncipe cristiano
en la desdicha mía.

I, XIX

A brave beginning. But how is the Christian Prince to act? In the light of later scenes we know that his duty would be to keep Fernando a prisoner and to save Ceuta for Christianity. But might not this request also mean that the Christian Prince should sacrifice one of his possessions in ransom for a Prince of the Blood? So at least Enrique seems to understand him, for he replies:

¡Pues quién de sus grandezas desconfía?

I, XIX

King Duarte will not be afraid of making this generous exchange. Thereupon Fernando repeats his request:

Esto te encargo y digo
que haga como cristiano.

I, XIX

He is still not quite explicit, but the first meaning seems to be uppermost now. Finally he says to his brother:

Dirásle al rey . . . mas no le digas nada,
si con grande silencio el miedo vano
estas lágrimas lleva al rey mi hermano.

I, XIX

Has self-interest repressed altruism, or altruism self-interest? We cannot say. But these lines seem senseless unless they convey that Fernando both wishes to be free, and feels that it would be unworthy to be free at such a price (the loss of weaker souls to Mahomet) at the same time. The Fernando of the later acts would have given no uncertain answer to his brother. And though we may take the later Fernando to be speaking here, he has been misunderstood by Enrique; though he must have seen that he was being misunderstood, he does not undeceive him. Fernando has shown human frailty, and this makes his later saintliness all the more convincing.

This moral uncertainty of Fernando's is continued into the second act. Enrique enters with the Portuguese embassy, dressed in black. Fernando, not knowing that Duarte is dead, takes the mourning to be a sign of his own captivity.

¡Ay, don Juan, cierta es mi muerte!

II, vi

he exclaims. Now, however, he is a different man; it has only been a

momentary shock. He is able to rise superior to his last meeting, going on to say:

No llores. que si es decirme
que es mi esclavitud eterna,
eso es lo que más deseo;
albricias pedir pudieras
y en vez de dolor y luto,
vestir galas y hacer fiestas.

II, vii

This was all that was necessary for him to become a saint. When it appears that the Portuguese were willing to sacrifice Ceuta for him—and in no other way, except by another expensive military expedition, could he have hoped to become free—he utterly refuses to have anything to do with it. Now he is indeed the Constant Prince. Henceforth he will be remarkable for his fortitude and humility, not for the more showy virtues of chivalry and courage.

The foil to Fernando in the first act is, as I have already hinted, Enrique, the historical Prince Henry the Navigator. Enrique comes ashore bravely, but trips up as he lands (I, vii). We take this as an omen, and so does Enrique; it foretells the failure of the expedition and shows that Enrique is not his brother's equal. Fernando is right, though, when he reproves Enrique for his superstition in paying attention to it as an omen; this is not Christian, and though neither know it, through the failure of the expedition, Fernando will finally triumph. The omen is both true and not true, and it has dramatic value either way. Enrique fights bravely in the battle, but he never outshines Fernando; he merely has better luck.

Later Enrique returns with the embassy: King Alfonso will exchange Ceuta for Fernando, and it is Enrique who bears the message (II, vii). Again the weak prince contrasts with the strong prince, for Fernando could not have brought such a message. And when he hears Fernando's determination to stay on he can only exclaim: '¡Qué desdicha!' '¡Qué desventura!' '¡Qué llanto!' But at last he promises to return with an armed force which shall free Fernando.¹

We must now consider Fernando in relation to the Moorish characters. The absence of rancour towards the Moors in this play is very notable.

¹ In the last scenes of the play Enrique returns with Alfonso. Symmetry is given to the play by Alfonso's taking on the attributes of Fernando displayed in act I, Enrique still being the foil. After Fernando's miraculous apparition, Enrique exclaims:

Dudando estoy, Alfonso, lo que veo

III, xi

To which Alfonso's reply is such as Fernando might have made.

Yo no, todo lo creo;

y si es de Dios la gloria,

no digas guerra ya, sino victoria.

But doubting Thomas has his place among the Apostles.

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Here there is no brutal husband who tortures his wife, no cruel king who takes away his subjects' property and orders them to be flogged when they protest; the element of caricature that can be found in Lope and in Cervantes is absent.¹ The King of Fez is not wantonly cruel; Muley and Fénix are sympathetic. The Moorish court is first and foremost a court; it might be the scene of a *comedia palaciega*. Calderón does not make his adversaries into ridiculous monsters of iniquity, avoiding crudity he shows them as worthy human beings, often moved by generous impulses.

Pues no es el vencedor más estimado
de aquello en que el vencido es reputado.²

We may consider the play as the story of the conflict of two wills: Fernando's against that of the King of Fez. Both are actuated by high motives; Fernando wishes to save a Christian town, the King to add to his domains. In Calderón's day the act of conquest was considered noble, and the King's desire a justifiable one. He acts strictly within the law and shows no signs of having a particularly cruel nature. While the negotiations respecting Fernando's release are proceeding, the King presses Fernando to see a tiger fight, an offer which Fernando greatly appreciates.

Señor,
gustos por puntos inventas
para agradarme: si así
a tus esclavos festejas,
no echarán menos la patria.

II, v

Words that are indeed ironical in the light of future events. The King replies:

Cautivos de tales prendas,
que honran el dueño, es razón
servirlos de esta manera.

No, the King has a due sense of his obligations and he strives to fulfil them. When he hears of the death of King Duarte he shows at least conventional grief.

At last there arrives the moment when the two men are driven into opposition. Fernando refuses to resign Ceuta and delivers himself up to life-long slavery. The King is able to attack him for his ingratitude:

Desagradecido, ingrato
a las glorias y grandezas
de mi remo. . .

II, vii

and goes on to show that he is piqued in his kingship:

si en mi reino gobiernas
más que en el tuyo. . . .

¹ I am thinking of such plays as *El remedio en la desdicha*, and *Los baños de Argel*.

² Ercilla, *La Araucana*, Canto I, stanza 2.

Then he proceeds to assert his ownership of Fernando (who obediently kneels at his feet before the Portuguese envoys) and appeals to law:

Siendo esclavo tú, no puedes
tener títulos ni rentas
Hoy Ceuta está en mi poder,
si cautivo te confiesas,
si me confiesas por dueño,
¿por qué no me das a Ceuta?

Whereupon comes Fernando's famous answer:

Porque es de Dios y no es mía.

But the King is not satisfied and continues to appeal to man's abstract principles:

¿No es precepto de obediencia,
obedecer al señor?
Pues yo te mando con ella,
que la entregues.

Fernando appeals to the law of God:

En lo justo
dice el cielo, que obedezca
el esclavo a su señor;
porque si el señor dijera
a su esclavo, que pecara,
obligación no tuviera
de obedecerle; porque
quien peca mandado, peca.

After this the King can only do what a tyrant would have done at first, threaten him. Fernando has forced him to become a cruel tyrant, when he was in no way vindictive by nature. From now on he can, and does, always claim, with reason, that he is not cruel to Fernando; the prince is cruel to himself. The Moorish King cannot be expected to understand the workings of a Christian conscience directed *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. The battle is between a man of this world and one of the next; but this world has not an unworthy representative.

Muley is the typical Calderonian hero of a *comedia palaciega*. He has all Fernando's military virtues and can be his foe in battle and friend in captivity. In battle he is defeated by Fernando; afterwards Fernando makes him decide rightly in his struggle between loyalty and friendship—a struggle that again reminds us of the *comedia palaciega*. He is a conventional figure, but he plays his part in the play; a virtuous man, he shows how much more virtuous Fernando is. The convention is well exploited in the pattern of the play.

We are still left with the captives and Fénix. The first scene gives us their respective relationships. Zara, Fénix' maid, tells the captives to

sing in order to please her mistress. The dialogue is worth a lengthy quotation.

- Cau* 1. ¿Música, cuyo instrumento
son los hierros y cadenas,
que nos aprisionan, puede
haberla alegrado?
- Zara.* Sí,
ella escucha desde aquí.
Cantad.
- Cau.* 2. Esa pena excede,
Zara hermosa, a cuantos son;
pues sólo un rudo animal,
sin discurso racional,
canta alegre en la prisión.
- Zara.* ¿No cantáis vosotros?
- Cau.* 3. Es
para divertir las penas
propias, mas no las ajenas.
- Zara.* Ella escucha, cantad pues.

I, 1

The hunt for this passage was probably the 137th *Psalm*:

For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion.

How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?

We are given an indication, not only of the intolerable pain of lack of liberty, but also of the relation of Christian and Infidel. The speeches of the three captives bring this home, and they also prepare us for the melancholy of *Fénix* which is one of the undercurrents of the play. She, who could command the services of the best musicians to sing to her, takes pleasure in the singing of the slaves. They are not so much resentful as puzzled. What can be the matter with the Infanta? They have cause to sing of their troubles; they have real sufferings, hers can only be imaginary. And they make the position clear by drawing two distinctions: the first, between the animal that sings merrily in captivity because it does not understand what captivity is, and man; the second between the man who sings to give pleasure to others and the man who sings because of his own misery. The simplicity of the diction, added to this intellectual analysis is enough to make us feel deeply the plight of the captives. It is quite unnecessary to introduce references to hard tasks, cruel masters and all the apparatus of local colour that we find in *Cervantes*; here we know the essence of slavery. The scene, too, prepares us for what is to happen to Fernando later on.

Then the slaves are sent away. *Fénix* comes in

a dar vanidad
al campo con su hermosura.

I, 11

Her request for a mirror, the flattery of her maids, cannot help her. What is the matter with Fénix?

Fénix. ¿De qué sirve la hermosura
(cuando lo fuese la mía),
si me falta la alegría,
si me falta la ventura?

Celma. ¿Qué sientes?

Fénix. Si yo supiera,
¡Ay Celma! lo que siento,
de mi mismo sentimiento
hsonja al dolor hiciera;
pero de la pena mía
no sé la naturaleza;
que entonces fuera tristeza
lo que hoy es melancolía.
Sólo sé que sé sentir,
lo que sé sentir no sé,
que ilusión del alma fué.

I, 111

Here a nineteenth-century critic might have accused Calderón of quibbling. But there is a real distinction between her use of *tristeza* and of *melancolía*, and the play on the words *sentir* and *saber* is, though almost epigrammatic, terse and justified. It is like the distinctions of the first scene: poetry that arises from the analytical statement of the situation.¹ From now on one of the principal opposites in the play is clearly situated: Fernando will rejoice in his unhappiness, Fénix will be melancholy in her good fortune.

The cause of her melancholy is not precisely stated. We learn afterwards of her love for the then absent Muley; but absence would have been a cause for *tristeza*, and she is melancholy. Nor can it be that she is upset because her father wishes her to marry Tarudante, for she has not yet heard of it. It is a more deep-rooted trouble; though she has cause to be genuinely unhappy later on, here there seems to be only her almost neurotic sensibility to make her miserable.

At the beginning of the second act Fénix reappears in a strangely excited condition to relate to Muley the story of the old African woman's prophecy. This incident is a parallel to Enrique's stumble on landing in Africa. The stumble was an omen of misfortune which did not fall on

¹ Critics often tend to assume that the influence of scholasticism on the literature of the Spanish seventeenth century was a bad one; that the 'wrangling of the school-men' led merely to word-torture and quibbling superficial conceits. It is in such passages as these that the value of the careful distinctions of scholasticism makes itself felt. To us *melancolía* and *tristeza* might be used almost interchangeably. Calderón uses them precisely, to show that the Infanta does not realize what is grieving her. The 'Sólo sé que sé sentir' passage is not a quibble but the most terse way of conveying this confusion to the audience: it is not realistic language, but it is effective and serves its purpose magnificently.

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Enrique himself, the prophecy also was one that was not to affect her adversely, although she fears it will. The woman had said to her:

¡Ay infelice mujer!
¡Ay forzosa desventura!
¿Qué en efecto esta hermosura
precio de un muerto ha de ser?

II, i

She and Muley both take the 'muerto' to be Muley; she is agitated, but he takes the affair calmly and with serenity. She does not realize that Fernando, and not Muley, is the 'muerto', and like the earlier Enrique she worries about the omen that does not refer to her lover. The inconstant princess, thrown out of balance by the words of an old woman, provides the contrast to the constant prince. Yet she is beautiful and pitiful, good as far as anyone can be who lacks emotional stability.

This scene is followed by the touching scene between Fernando and the captives which includes the reflections on captivity that prepare us for Fernando's final constancy:

Temo venir desde aquí
a más miserable estado;
que si ya en aquéste vivo,
mucha más distancia tray
de infante a cautivo, que hay
de cautivo a más cautivo.

II, iv

The plot continues through the scene with Muley to the entrance of the envoys and Fernando's decision to defy the King of Fez by becoming his slave. Fénix witnesses this scene but takes little part in it. It is not until the famous scene in the garden that she once more becomes of importance in the play.

She enters the garden, having asked for flowers to be brought to her, and meditating upon this disturbing forecast. Who can the dead man be she wonders, and 'Yo' answers Fernando unconsciously but truly, in a typically Calderonian *coup de théâtre* (II, xiv). This upsets her, although she cannot understand its meaning. She had asked for the flowers to distract her from her fear of her own destiny. Fernando has accepted his destiny by insisting on being the slave who should bring her the garland. They converse together about his change of fortune, and he recites the famous sonnet 'Estas que fueron pompa y alegría'; in this he shows her that her destiny is foreshadowed in the very distraction she had hoped to find. The sonnet has more than the poetic value which is apparent in it when we meet it in the anthologies; it has a dramatic purpose as well. Fénix finds herself face to face with her fears again; the dialogue proceeds:

Fénix. Horror y miedo me has dado,
ni oírte ni verte quiero;
sé el desdichado primero
de quien huye el desdichado.

Fernando. ¿Y las flores?

Fénix. Si has hallado
geroglíficos en ellas,
deshacellas y rompellas
solo sabrán mis rigores.

Fernando. ¿Qué culpa tienen las flores?

Fénix. Parecerse a las estrellas.

II, xiv

Here we have a very telling scene. The last line in particular is fine in a style of which Calderón is the master: flowers in the element of the earth are the equivalent of stars in the heavenly element¹. But here the similarity is given force because, like the stars, flowers can reveal the terrors of the future. So Fénix in return pronounces a sonnet (to my mind a disappointing one) and goes off. Now we can see perhaps the cause of her trouble. She is afraid of Death, and she has not the resources of Christianity on which Fernando can draw, to enable her to overcome her fear.

In the last act Fénix pleads for the life of the noble captive as we might expect any Calderonian lady to do. She pleads in vain; the King is resolute (III, ii). And then, in Fernando's last hours, the Prince and Princess are brought together again, when he is lying stinking on the dunghill, visited by the King who wishes to show Tarudante his power. There is a powerful scene of the conflict of wills between King and Prince, the King remaining solid as a rock, completely justified in his own mind in his cruelty. The King and Tarudante move away; Fénix remains helpless before the horror of the dying man.

Fernando. Si es alma de la hermosura
esa divina deidad,
vos, señora, me amparad
con el rey

Fénix. ¡Qué gran dolor!

III, vii

Then the last touches are laid on. Fernando with religious cruelty lays bare Fénix' emotional inadequacy, giving her the last, terrible revelation:

Fernando. Hacéis bien; que vuestros ojos
no son para ver enojos.

Fénix. ¡Qué lástima! ¡Qué pavor!

Fernando. Pues aunque no me miréis
y ausentaros intentéis,
señora, es bien que sepáis,
que aunque tan bella os juzgáis,
que más que yo no valéis,
y yo quizá valgo más.

III, vii

Notice how deliberately Fernando's trenchant criticism is contrasted with

¹ *M.L.R.*, xxxi, 1936, pp. 38-9, 44.

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her vague expressions of pity: burning moral indignation against her inadequate sympathy. Finally she is brought to realize her plight, and losing even this feeling of charity she exclaims:

Horror con tu voz me das,
y con tu aliento me hieres¹.
'Déjame hombre' ¿qué me quieres?
Que no puedo sentir más.

Fénix goes off, Fernando dies. The most important part of the play is over, but there are still a few points to notice in the last scenes.

Most readers will agree that the scene of the *post mortem* triumph of St Ferdinand is disappointing. The verse is deliberately heightened in tone to contrast with the poignancy of the scene before, but the expression is cold and conventional (II, XI). Fernando's apparition is theatrical, probably very effective on the stage, but that is all. Then in the last scene we find that Fénix has become the prisoner of Alfonso, balancing, as it were, the imprisonment of Fernando by the King of Fez, and she is to be exchanged for Fernando (III, XIII). The King has to confess what the Christians already know, that Fernando is dead. Alfonso exclaims:

Rey de Fez, porque no pienses
que muerto Fernando vale
menos que aquesta hermosura,
por él, cuando muerto yace,
te la trueco.

III, XIII

Again Alfonso has taken over the attributes of Fernando: he continues to point out the inferiority of her beauty to Fernando's holiness. The truth at last dawns upon Fénix and she exclaims:

Precio soy de un hombre muerto;
cumplió el cielo su homenaje.

But she is rewarded for her attempts at generosity when Alfonso insists that she shall marry Muley. For me the finest parts of the play are the scenes in which this contrast between Fernando and Fénix is displayed. It has often been said that Calderón was at his worst in his depiction of women; have none of the critics read this play?

In reading and criticizing this play it is necessary to avoid the hunt for characters that is the favourite pastime of so many writers on literature.

¹ I think that 'aliento' is not only meant to mean 'courage', 'spirit' here. Remember what Muley has told the king earlier in the play:

Los cautivos (¡pena fiera!)
en una mísera estera
le ponen en tal lugar,
que es, ¿dirélo? un muladar;
Porque es su olor de manera,
que nadie puede sufrille
junto a su casa. . . .

We have here a number of almost conventional figures, all moving in the same world of courtly behaviour but with certain conflicts of loyalties and divisions of religion. What Muley is in himself is a matter of no importance whatever; we have met him many times before if we have read more than a few plays of Calderón. In this play, though, he is of great importance, for he is used to set off Fernando. It is the same with the others. With Fénix there is more attempt at a psychological study, but it is not until she has been placed near Fernando that we can see her in proportion, and then we are surprised at the revelation. Chivalry and pity are fine enough emotions, but here they are powerless to help the victim, not so much of evil, as of blindness (the King of Fez is wise in his own conceit) believing itself to be right. Saintliness, by their side, shows that they are entirely inadequate.

El Príncipe Constante is a study of how a good man becomes a saint, as *La Vida es Sueño* is a study of how an animal man becomes a good man. That does not necessarily mean that in order to appreciate this play we must accept the Catholic, even the Christian, values. (To justify the ending this would perhaps be necessary.) The figure of Fernando stands for any man who carries through his devotion to a belief to the end, and sacrifices to it himself and all his interests. Such a man has integrity of character, a quality that is rare in these days when so many are well-intentioned. It is in Calderón's concern for this quality of integrity that the value of this magnificent play lies.

E. M. WILSON.

CAMBRIDGE

NOTE. I have decided to leave this article as I first wrote it, though there are some of Professor Entwistle's comments that I would gladly have incorporated. I do not, however, agree with all that he has to say, and I wish to take this opportunity of pointing out the differences in our attitudes.

1. Professor Entwistle looks at the play in terms of an imaginary auto-sacramental. Whether his scheme is in accordance with Calderón's practice I do not feel qualified to determine. But this introduces an important difference in attitude—he is preoccupied with the scheme as it probably existed in Calderón's mind, while I have tried to state the way I am moved while I am reading the play. Consequently I find his approach too schematic; he probably thinks that I do not carry my approach far enough. To this I would answer that the play is a play and not an auto, and that what we make it is more important than the original conception expressed on paper.

2. Professor Entwistle justifies the last scenes of Fernando's triumph as the climax of the play. I agree that the conception of the scenes is fine enough, but I am repelled by the rhetoric. He quotes the fine lines

Por las sendas . . .

which tell us much about the whole play, but do not, to my mind, atone for the poor verse of the rest of the scenes. Here I consider that Calderón is relying on the miracle to carry the attention of the audience and has not attempted to support it with any poetic re-creation. To me the ending merely shows us the fulfilment of the prophecy about Fénix; Fernando might as well be lying in his grave, his soul in Heaven. He has preserved his integrity and that is all we need to know about him.

E M W.

II

I owe to E. M. Wilson the suggestion for a more sensitive approach to this piece. In essence, the *comedia* is a great symbolic drama. Behind the human marionettes there are eternal and abstract values in conflict. Evil all-powerful in the things of this world, Good which triumphs through weakness and death. Under these circumstances the rights of history are abrogated. The mention of the disasters of Los Gelves (1510) and Alcacerquivir (1578) is fittingly introduced into an action of the year 1437 and after, because by so doing the poet raises the whole question of the apparent triumphs of the Moslem enemy of Christendom. The Constant Prince is the epitome of Christian disasters, and the proof that they are contributions to ultimate triumph on a higher plane. So other historical facts have been warped to suit the play. The opponent of the Portuguese is not the famous Çala-ben-çala but a generic Muley (Maulay 'my master' might be any distinguished Moor); Enrique is subordinated to his younger brother Fernando; and his relics are obtained by conquest in a more or less imaginary expedition of Afonso V, and not smuggled from the country by Fr. João Álvarez.

The Christianity of this play is that political Christianity of the epoch, the religious element of which we are prone overmuch to discount. The question of Ceuta arises in the play, and it is undoubtedly an element in Christian constancy that ground occupied by churches and souls won for the faith should not be surrendered to the enemy. But the question of Ceuta arises only incidentally. It occurs to the mind of the King of Fez after the Infante has surrendered, but is in no way a cause of war; and once the Infante has refused to surrender Ceuta for his own liberty, the contest between the King and Infante continues on purely personal, i.e. on spiritual, grounds. There is no doubt as to the overwhelming power of the King, to which the Infante offers no resistance. Yet the King is baffled:

Constante
te muestras a mi pesar.
¿Es humildad o valor
esta obediencia?

III, vii

In fact it is both: Christian humility is the highest kind of valour.

The play reaches its climax in the lines

En el horror de la noche,
por sendas que nadie sabe,
te guié.

III, xiii

In this way Fernando, after his death, leads the Portuguese army to the victory which he had failed to achieve in his material body. The appear-

ance of the deified Prince, 'con manto capitular y una hacha encendida', is not only a magnificent *coup de théâtre*, but the keystone of the action, which would otherwise be unintelligible. It is probably a pity that the Prince should use parry-and-thrust language as if the grave had taught him nothing: it is even a pity that he should speak at all. But the heroic silences—those of Cassandra and Prometheus, all that Lear bites back and Macbeth leaves unsaid—belong to another order of eloquence. They are not Calderón's way. He covers the moments of tension with heightened rhetoric; and what seems so disappointing to a modern reader may have seemed less so to a contemporary spectator. Whatever the language, the intention is clear enough. It is through the Valley of the Shadow of Death that Christian fortitude triumphs.

Behind the human actors, there is a tragic conflict of elementals. The Constant Prince is Christian Constancy itself, Fortitude, or perhaps most succinctly La Fe. Faith, incarnate in human beings, is not always clear-sighted. It may misinterpret the omens in a carnal sense, and so look for an immediate material triumph in a work that seems to be of God's choosing, whereas the real triumph was to be otherwise. Faith may even hesitate, and suggest momentarily (only to retract) the notion of some escape from Calvary. There is ambiguity in the message

Dirásle a nuestro hermano
que haga aquí como príncipe cristiano
en la desdicha mía.

I, XIX

But even before the end of that early scene, Faith has recovered from its weakness:

Dirásle al Rey. . . Mas no le digas nada.

I, XIX

It is the same with succeeding trials. The Prince is on the point of accepting Muley's offer of escape, and does not do so because it becomes clear that Muley could not honourably make the offer. This is a secondary consideration really; the primary one is that to have run away would have left his task undone, and the justification of Faith incomplete. What is characteristic of Faith, however, is the ability to recognize the ultimate right in each situation and to grow in clearness of vision.

In this respect Faith is opposed to human understanding, El Entendimiento (Enrique). Human understanding may judge more accurately on a short view, as that the expedition would immediately fail, but it can see no further than the facts. The great renunciation is merely '¡Qué desventura!' The victory is inexplicable:

Dudando estoy, Alfonso, lo que veo.

III, X

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The conclusion is accepted coldly and uncomprehendingly:

<i>Alfonso.</i>	En mis brazos os recibo, divino Príncipe mártir.	
<i>Enrique</i>	Yo, hermano, aquí te respeto.	III, xiii

There is, incidentally, grievous historical injustice in this portrayal. Enrique was the chief mover in interpreting Fernando's death as martyrdom, and it was he who ordered the composition of Fr. João Álvarez's life.

On the other side, we have Power, or rather Tyranny.

<i>Rey.</i>	Vive muriendo; que yo rigor tengo.	
<i>Fernando.</i>	Y yo paciencia	III, vii

I am not sure that Calderón would wish to excite our indignation against the Rey de Fez for the particular history of Fernando's sufferings. The matter goes further back. As a Moslem infidel, the King of Fez could only be a tyrant, *tyrannus*, illegally occupying power. This was the regular medieval terminology, just as the equivalent word *tāgh* was applicable to even noble Christians like the Cid. But in cases of obstinacy, all kings acted more or less in the same way. When Fernando ceased to be a redeemable hostage and became a slave, he laid himself open to ill-treatment proportionate to his previous dignity. He does not complain of the humiliations cast on him. He is resisting power that is in its nature wrongful.

Alfonso to some extent duplicates his uncle, and Tarudante is a more farouche duplicate of the Rey de Fez. Fénix is another, and an unexpected character, though she fits in too. She is Beauty, La Hermosura. Beauty is satisfied with itself, yet uneasy. Beginning with an undefined melancholy, which is not yet quite unhappiness, her feelings turn to horror when she realizes her own worthlessness. She, Beauty, is to be exchanged for a corpse, a grinning death's head:

precio soy de un hombre muerto.	III, xiii
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It is not merely death, but all the Baroque horrors of death, decomposition and skeletons. So it is with a growing fascination of horror (the word 'horror' is a key-note of her exits) she sees her fate linked to that of Fernando, whom she only sees in his outward aspect of ugliness; until she reaches breaking-point on seeing him lying, a living corpse, putrefying on a dunghill:

Horror con tu voz me das, y con tu aliento me hieres. ¡Déjame, hombre! ¿qué me quieres? Que no puedo sentir más.	III, vii
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And in the end Beauty and Force, Fénix and Tarudante, are things of much less value than Constancy of Faith. Beauty does not hesitate to demand the exchange which Constancy had been bold enough to refuse.

The character of Muley, as Mr Wilson points out, is that of the Abencerraje. As a single quality it might be Bizarría. He is released by Fernando as Abindarráez by Narváez, and for the same reason. Oddly enough he carries the reader's sympathies on that occasion as the Abencerraje does; though the moral is the superior chivalry of Narváez and Fernando. Later he seeks to repay the debt, even at the cost of his own honour. Humanly he could do nothing more, and if the offer is declined, it redounds again to the superior credit of Fernando. Muley, whose love affairs might seem impertinent, fulfils one other office. In the welter of supernatural forces, he provides the human level. He is perplexed, like Segismundo in *La Vida es Sueño*, but he has one sound principle which can carry him through, laying the responsibility elsewhere:

Porque al fin,
hacer bien nunca se pierde.

Bruto also has a foot in *La Vida es Sueño*, with his comic effort to escape death by feigning death, which leads to his capture (it might have been death, but he is barely named later), while others escape.

With this definition of characters and elementals it is possible to state what is the action of the play. Fernando comes leading an army to overthrow the Moroccan infidel, but his army is materially defeated. The contest continues on a new plane. Fernando, the prisoner, will conquer through patience; the King through power. Opportunities of avoiding the issue are presented to Fernando, and these he alone is clear-sighted enough to refuse. Enrique offers the surrender of Ceuta, backed by Duarte's will; it is Fernando who refuses the offer, and the King is reasonably incensed:

¿cómo así
hoy me quitas, hoy me niegas
lo que más he deseado?

II, vii

It is the first victory of Constancy over Power. Then Muley offers to facilitate an escape. The situation is not quite clear at this point until Muley is made Fernando's keeper, and so bound in honour to retain him. Then Fernando voluntarily refuses this way out. Finally there is the appeal for mercy. Muley makes it as a gentleman should: Fénix makes it, as Beauty would, to remove a horror of decay:

Horror da a cuantos le ven
en tal estado.

III, 11

Even Fernando makes the appeal to clemency as a royal virtue, but midway in his own speech he retracts the appeal, he reflects that he knows how to die, and that the appeal was a sign of weakness; he ends by proclaiming his unbending constancy. So he dies, and by dying lives to achieve the real triumph. In the reversal of fortune, Beauty is a frightened virago, and Power cannot claim for itself

que en un ánimo constante
siempre se halla igual semblante
para el bien y el mal

I, v

Such constancy belongs only to Faith.

The element of time is essential to this great argument, for in a short space of time all Fernando's calculations run agley. Hence the insistence through the drama of the motif *En un día*—a motif also discernible in *La Vida es Sueño*. Hence also the particular appropriateness of Fénix or La Hermosura. Beauty is the type of transitory good, and is the means of measurement applied to the whole piece

hoy cadáver y ayer flor.

Power may seem to have more permanence than Beauty; Tyranny is an evil in itself. Beauty does not harm anyone, but rather intercedes in a selfish way, to spare itself harrowing reflections. But Beauty is nothing in itself, and vanishes leaving no trace:

Estas que fueron pompa y alegría,
despertando al albor de la mañana,
a la tarde serán lástima vana,
durmiendo en brazos de la noche fría.

II, xiv

The sense of transience which the notion of beauty connotes is applied to the whole play by Fénix in the first scene. She is irresistibly attracted by—but plainly neither she nor other infidels understand—the melancholy moral of captivity:

Al peso de los años
lo eminente se rinde;
que a lo fácil del tiempo
no hay conquista difícil.

I, i

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FRANÇOIS MAUCROIX' FRIENDSHIP WITH LA FONTAINE

MAUCROIX is now chiefly remembered for his friendship with La Fontaine. The fabulist's fame has completely outshone that of the canon of Rheims; what reputation the latter has to-day is merely reflected. La Fontaine is the star, Maucroix the satellite. In their own day, however, the difference between the two was not so great. One was well-known as a poet, the other as a translator.

La Fontaine experienced no other friendship so intimate or so long-lived as that with Maucroix. We are assured of this by their contemporaries and biographers. Yet, as often happens, excessive sentiment has led modern critics to indulge in a certain amount of useless exaggeration. Our first task must therefore be to examine a number of fictitious statements which have been made concerning them.

Some of Maucroix' biographers, including Louis Paris,¹ assert that he attended the same school as La Fontaine, and trace his earliest association with the poet back to the school bench. As proof of this, they point to the discovery in the Bibliothèque Nationale early in the last century of a copy of Lucian upon the cover of which is written in an unidentifiable hand 'de la Fontaine, bon garçon, fort sage, et fort modeste'. The title-page bears the words 'Ludovicus Maucroix'. The deduction from this that La Fontaine and Louis Maucroix (François' brother) were at school together is justifiable, but to go a step further and maintain that François attended the same school as these two is to make an assertion obviously lacking foundation.

Now Maucroix tells us in his memoirs that he and La Fontaine had been friends 'plus de cinquante ans'.² The fact that they had been friends for more than fifty years at the date of the latter's death does not necessarily prove an acquaintanceship since boyhood, as many critics assume. Even supposing their friendship to have dated from 1640, Maucroix was at that time twenty-one years of age, and La Fontaine nineteen. An early friendship between the two is indeed possible, but it is mere hypothesis to say it started from childhood.

Again, J. Salesse makes the statement which occurs under various forms in other biographies: 'Il [Maucroix] n'était vraiment heureux qu'avec son cher La Fontaine. Ils se voyaient souvent, tantôt à Reims,

¹ In *Œuvres diverses, publiées par L. Paris*, Paris, 1854.

² La Fontaine died on 13 April 1695.

tantôt à Château-Thierry.¹ To one acquainted with Maucroix' character the first of these sentences is obviously an exaggeration. There is nowhere any suggestion that La Fontaine was indispensable in the matter of Maucroix' happiness! They must undoubtedly have visited each other in their respective homes; the distance between the two towns, even in those days, was trivial. But throughout the whole of their works there is no reference to the canon having visited Château-Thierry. And what is still more striking, we know definitely of only one occasion on which La Fontaine stayed with him in Rheims. This was early in the year 1656. We possess two letters² of La Fontaine, written from there at that date, and in one of them he says he is staying with the brothers Maucroix. It was very likely a prolonged visit. The winter of 1656 was a period of gaiety for the inhabitants. On Shrove Tuesday there was a carnival described in Maucroix' poem *La Mascarade de l'Empereur*. It is reasonable to suppose that La Fontaine took no mean part in the festivities. But the rest of his visits to Maucroix is a matter of supposition. There is a letter sent from Rheims in 1658, but from whose house he does not say. In 1670 or thereabouts he probably also made a prolonged stay as is suggested by the *conte Les Rémois* published in 1671:

Il n'est cité que je préfère à Reims
C'est l'ornement et l'honneur de la France;
Car sans compter l'ampoule et les bons vins
Charmants objets y sont en abondance.

These 'objects' no doubt refer to the 'Philis' and 'Iris' sung by Maucroix, but that La Fontaine actually met them while staying in his friend's house is again only a matter for conjecture. There is, indeed, one piece of evidence to show that La Fontaine did *not* always stay with him. This is contained in an unpublished *épître* from the latter which starts:³

Que la belle fièvre quartaine
Vous sangle sieur de la Fontaine
Qui si viste quitte ce lieu
Sans avoir daigné dire adieu.

Later he writes:

Donc Monsieur vous estes parti
Sans venir heurter à ma porte.

If La Fontaine was in Rheims longer than a day, we see from this that he was certainly not staying with his friend.

Mathieu Marais, in his life of La Fontaine, says that his son, Charles,

¹ 'François de Maucroix.' (In the *Annales de la Société Historique et Archéologique de Château-Thierry*, 1896.)

² Written to his uncle Jannart (14 and 29 February 1656).

³ Bib. Nat. Fonds fr. 19142.

was brought up by Maucroix.¹ Salesse copies this statement, or rather enlarges upon it. He says 'Il [La Fontaine] délègue tous ses pouvoirs à son cher Maucroix et lui confia la mission de donner à son pauvre enfant l'éducation et l'instruction que les régents du collège de Château-Thierry lui avaient prodiguées jusque-là sans le moindre profit.'² He also³ gives another reference for this assertion (a letter to Fréron from one of La Fontaine's granddaughters in the *Année Littéraire*, 1758, vol. II, p. 11) which when investigated is found to be quite false. The letter to Fréron contains no statement of the kind, nor is there any evidence elsewhere to show that it can be corroborated. The fact is likely, but that is all.

These suppositions about the lives of the two friends are also extended to the literary influence which one had upon the other. Salesse says: 'La Fontaine le [Maucroix] prenait constamment pour arbitre et ne faisait rien paraître sans l'avoir préalablement consulté. Les lettres qu'il lui écrit en fournissent la preuve. Il lui fait part de ses projets, lui demande son avis et désire qu'il le lui donne en toute franchise.' Thus according to him the whole of the *Poèmes*, *Contes*, *Fables*, etc., etc., were only published after they had met with Maucroix' approval! The facts are these. There is a long letter to Maucroix, written on 26 October 1693, the greater part of which deals with the latter's translations.⁴ It shows that Maucroix' manuscripts were continually passing backwards and forwards between the two friends and that La Fontaine was responsible for their correction. Thus he asks for the translation of '*De Causis*, et le reste que tu as traduit de Tite-Live, et que tu m'a déjà envoyé, et que je t'ay renvoyé avec quelque peu de notes'. As regards the manuscript of Maucroix' *Homélies morales d'Asterius* he says: 'Enfin j'ai reçu tes papiers, tout cela va le mieux du monde', and then proceeds to give a detailed criticism of certain passages in the translation. He says that he is sending Maucroix his own translation of the hymn *Dies vae, dies illa*. He will also send him 'toutes mes hymnes quand je les auray mises un peu plus au net; tu les compareras à celles de Messieurs de Port Royal'. Not a word here about 'avis' or 'franchise'! There is, indeed, a note quoted by d'Olivet in the *Œuvres Posthumes* of Maucroix of 1710 and subsequently published among the Fragments from La Fontaine's letters which runs: 'Donne-moi tes avis sur le *Dies vae dies illa*

¹ *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de M. de la Fontaine*, Paris, 1858.

² He adds 'Maucroix ne réussit qu'à demi dans sa tâche qui fut continuée par d'autres'. He is probably here referring to de Harlay, who did as a fact take Charles as his charge in 1668.

³ In *Un Coin de la Champagne et du Valois au 17^{me} siècle* Jean de la Fontaine-Marie Héricart, Château-Thierry, 1894

⁴ First published by H. de Terrebasse: *Une lettre inédite de La Fontaine*, Lyon, 1910.

que je t'ai envoyé. J'ai encore un grand dessein où tu pourras m'aider. Je ne te dirai pas ce que c'est, que je ne l'aie avancé un peu davantage.¹ But according to M. de Terrebonne² this may merely be a passage from the other letter which d'Olivet is falsely quoting from memory.

Further there is no hint that La Fontaine asked for Maucroix' advice in composing the *Contes* and *Fables*. We only possess two short notes mentioning them; both are written on the backs of fables which La Fontaine is sending to Rheims. In the first he says 'J'ai un conte à te faire', in the second, 'Mets cette fable dans ton recueil'. From this it appears that Maucroix, as was customary at the time, was making a manuscript collection of poems. La Fontaine does not ask for advice. Instead, he proceeds in the second of these notes to give his opinion upon certain verses of his friend: 'Je ne te manderai pas mon sentiment sur tes derniers vers, qui m'ont édifié. Si tout le reste y ressemble, je donnerai de bien loin la palme à tes Homélies sur tes vers dignes du paganisme. Quant à tes deux derniers épigrammes, j'en donnerois le choix pour une épingle.'

In the question tackled by all his biographers of the influence which helped to shape La Fontaine as a poet it is not rare to come across the name of Maucroix. Thus Walckenaer, speaking of Pintrel's advice to the former to study the literature of the ancients, says: 'Il se rendit à ce sage conseil, et un de ses amis, M. de Maucroix, qui avoit fait une étude particulière des orateurs anciens, contribua aussi à l'affermir dans la route où il s'étoit engagé, et à lui inspirer cette admiration pour l'antiquité qui dégénéra même chez lui en une sorte de préjugé superstitieux.'³ This happened, according to Walckenaer, about La Fontaine's twentieth year. It has already been shown that there is no definite evidence that the friendship had been formed as early as this. Secondly, even if they had been friends, would it be likely that Maucroix, aged twenty-two, lover of pleasure, writer of madrigals and elegiac verse, should inspire La Fontaine, aged twenty, with a love of classical antiquity? The latter's taste for the classics had certainly already been instilled in him, but it remained to all intents and purposes dormant until he was well over middle age. Thirdly, what was the nature of La Fontaine's writings at this time and for several years after? Almost exactly the same as Maucroix'. He, too, was an elegiac writer and indulged in the witticisms and *badinage* common to the period. There was in the 'forties no sign of a

¹ What the 'grand dessein' is we are not told.

² *Op. cit.*

³ *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Jean de La Fontaine*, Paris, 1820.

change of tone. He continued to write this kind of poetry until after he had published his translation of Terence's *Eunuchus* in 1654.

In 1659 La Fontaine wrote:

Hélas! . . . pour moi je n'ai rien fait encor;
Je ne suis qu'écoutant parmi tant de merveilles,
Me sera-t-il permis d'y joindre aussi mes veilles?
Quand aurai-je ma part d'un si doux entretien?¹

In 1665 appeared the first edition of the *Contes*, in 1668 of the *Fables*. Do these show a sign of Maucroix' influence? We may rather say that he was even slower to turn his hand to anything serious than his friend. He was at this time composing poems to the ladies of Rheims. He was not occupied with more important matters until the following decade. Thus from the evidence we possess it may be seen that Maucroix had no influence whatsoever upon La Fontaine's work. The latter on the other hand possibly gave his advice upon the canon's poetry and certainly upon his translations.

Having discarded some of the sentimentalities that have been written about this friendship, we can consider how far it really went. Even if there is no proof of Maucroix having been in Château-Thierry or La Fontaine in Rheims so often as critics assert, they must frequently have visited each other. Moreover, from his works we gather that Maucroix was often in Paris. He never speaks in his letters of having met La Fontaine there, but in his news from the capital, he never mentions any of his friends by name. Maucroix knew Mme. de la Sablière, and thus must have met him at her house. They had the same acquaintances and formed part of the same literary group.

In 1685 their friendship received a public consecration by the appearance of the *Ouvrages de prose et de poésie*. Here the fables of La Fontaine, who was responsible for the work, occur side by side with Maucroix' translations. La Fontaine dedicates it to de Harley:

Harley, favori de Thémis,
Agréez ce recueil, œuvre de deux amis;
L'un a pour protecteur le démon de Parnasse,
L'autre de la tribune étale tous les traits. . .

He proceeds in prose: 'Ce n'est pas assez, Monseigneur, de vous dédier en vers les derniers fruits de nos veilles; comme il y a un volume sans poésies, et c'est le plus digne de vous être offert, j'ai cru que je devois vous confirmer ces louanges en une langue qui lui convient. Je vous offre donc encore une fois les traductions de mon ami; et au nom de leur auteur et au mien, car je dispose de ce qui est à lui comme s'il étoit à moi-même.'

¹ In *Le Songe de Vaux*. (See ed. Regnier, Introduction, tom. I, p. lvn.)

The *avertissement* contains the following: 'L'assemblage de ce recueil a quelque chose de peu ordinaire. Les critiques nous demanderont pourquoi nous n'avons pas fait imprimer à part des ouvrages si différents c'est une ancienne amitié qui en est cause.'

Nowhere is their friendship so apparent as in their correspondence, of which unfortunately all too little has been preserved. There is only one letter from Maucroix to La Fontaine, and about half a dozen (including fragments) from La Fontaine to Maucroix. These letters are extremely intimate in tone. The two friends never call each other anything else than 'tu', and their remarks are constantly punctuated by terms of affection—'mon cher', 'mon cher ami', etc.¹ Such a personal note in epistolary style was rarely to be found in the second half of the century. Friendships, however close, were not often allowed to become apparent. The formality and pomposity which contaminated so much of later seventeenth-century life spread to the realm of letter-writing. Even between friends the formal 'Monsieur' was employed. Letters lost much in spontaneity and feeling, since so many of them (those of Racine and Boileau, for example) were obviously intended for posterity. Thus spontaneity was precisely what characterized the letters of La Fontaine to Maucroix. He skips from one subject to another without any form or plan, and when he is writing on serious topics his style portrays a depth of feeling especially refreshing in an age in which deep feelings were apt to be concealed.

It is not surprising that these two should have been friends, since in many ways their characters were so strikingly similar. They were born within two years of each other, and both belonged essentially to the first half of the century. Both were possessed of a certain genial outlook upon life which entered into their works and neutralized the licentiousness to be found in them. Neither has any systematic philosophy: both are in the wide sense Epicureans. They shared a love of idleness, of literature, poetry and ease. It was only at the very end of his life when La Fontaine underwent his conversion, that he differed from Maucroix.

On 10 February 1695 he writes to tell his friend of his serious illness and of his presentiment of death. This letter and Maucroix' reply are two of the most touching letters ever written. 'O mon cher, mourir n'est rien; mais songes-tu que je vais comparoitre devant Dieu? Tu sais comme j'ai vécu. Avant que tu reçoives ce billet, les portes de l'éternité

¹ Ruchelet in his introduction to *Les plus belles lettres des meilleurs auteurs français* (1687) says: 'Mr de Maucroix, Chanoine de Reims, l'un des plus polis écrivains de nos jours, tu-toyot ainsi dans ses Lettres le célèbre La Fontaine'. He does not entirely approve of this familiarity!

seront peut-être ouvertes pour moi.' We can imagine Maucroix' feelings on reading this. He himself answers 'Mon cher ami, la douleur que ta dernière lettre me cause, est telle que tu la dois imaginer.' He exhorts La Fontaine to put his trust in the divine mercy, and adds 'Si Dieu te fait la grâce de te renvoyer la santé, j'espère que tu viendras passer avec moi les restes de ta vie, et que souvent nous parlerons ensemble des miséricordes de Dieu... Adieu, mon bon, mon ancien, et mon véritable ami. Que Dieu, par sa très grande bonté prenne soin de la santé de ton corps, et de celle de ton âme.' Maucroix' wish here expressed was not fulfilled, the letter was indeed one of farewell, for the two friends never saw or communicated with each other again. The following well-known obituary notice inserted by Maucroix in his memoirs, remains a fitting memorial to their friendship:

Le 13 mars 1694¹ mourut à Paris mon très cher et très fidèle ami M de la Fontaine; nous avons été amis plus de cinquante ans; et je remercie Dieu d'avoir conduit l'amitié extrême que je lui portois jusques à une si grande vieillesse sans aucune interruption ni aucun refroidissement, pouvant dire que je l'ai toujours tendrement aimé, et autant le dernier jour que le premier. Dieu, par sa miséricorde, le veuille mettre dans son saint repos: c'étoit l'âme la plus sincère et la plus candide que j'aie jamais connue: jamais de déguisement, je ne sais s'il a menti en sa vie; c'étoit au reste un très bel esprit, capable de tout ce qu'il vouloit entreprendre. Ses fables, au sentiment des plus habiles, ne mourront jamais, et lui feront honneur dans toute la postérité.

R. W. LADBOROUGH.

SOUTHAMPTON.

¹ An inexplicable error for 13 April 1695.

SOME ASPECTS OF HEINSIUS' INFLUENCE ON THE STYLE OF OPITZ

THE work of Martin Opitz has always attracted the hunter for parallels and imitations. Already during the poet's lifetime, Witkowski tells us,¹ Caspar Barth annotated his copy of the *Acht Bucher Deutscher Poematum* (1625) with numerous references, the 'Schweizer' followed suit, and a number of 19th-century scholars, above all Muth, Beckherrn, Hopfner and Rubensohn, proved to what extent Opitz had borrowed from *Den Bloem-Hof van de Nederlantsche Jeught*, from Heinsius and from Ronsard.²

His indebtedness to these authors for subject-matter, motifs and, in the case of the Dutch poets, for diction, metaphors, rhymes and rhythm, is obvious. The very abundance of translations, adaptations and borrowed phrases in the work of Opitz, however, has tended to distract the student from the more important question: What was their lasting effect on his style? For however unoriginal Opitz may be in his first volume, there can be no doubt that he did evolve a manner of his own, which no reader of the later works, especially the long discursive poems, can fail to notice. And it is no less true that the searcher for parallels does not find these works quite such good hunting-ground: another indication that by 1621 or thereabouts the time of at any rate slavish imitation was past.

A careful study of the later works should therefore bring to light in how far the many influences that Opitz underwent proved productive in the evolution of his mature style. I hope to show that the more obvious borrowings, though sometimes of little significance in themselves, often point the way to those models which were the starting points of Opitz's (relatively) independent development.

Richard Alewyn has observed that it is in the unconscious, unintentional departures from his original that one sees the real Opitz as distinguished from that which he wanted to be.³ One might go a little farther and defend the thesis: All those aspects of Opitz's work which he discussed in his theoretical treatises: arrangement of subject-matter, diction, metaphors and similes, rhymes, metre, stanza forms, may—and

¹ M. Opitz, *Teutsche Poemata. Abdruck der Ausgabe von 1624*, etc. (Braunes Neudrucke, no. 189), Halle a.S., 1902, p. xxvii.

² Some borrowings from other Dutch authors are discussed in my article: 'Some Unrecorded Dutch Originals of Opitz', *Neophilologus* (April 1938), pp. 187–98. Other aspects of Heinsius' influence are considered in my article: 'The Influence of Heinsius on Two Genres of the German Baroque', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (Oct. 1938), pp. 187–98.

³ R. Alewyn, 'Vorbarocker Klassizismus und Griechische Tragödie', *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, Neue Folge, Jahrbuch 1926, pp. 1, 21.

do—furnish indications of the models which Opitz consciously imitated, but in order to trace those influences which he really assimilated, one should preferably consider those aspects of his style of which he was not so aware. One of them is his syntax.

Trostgedichte in Widerwertigkeit des Krieges is by common consent the first mature work of Opitz, and in the opinion of many his most successful one. It is a loosely connected series of moralisations on various aspects of human behaviour. The tone of the poem is generally of medium strength, neither indifferent nor passionate. But at times the style rises to real eloquence: it becomes sententious. Those are the passages in which Opitz's verse has the maximum of personal character of which he was capable, passages such as the following¹

- 385 Nun unser weiser Mann gewohnet nicht zuwancken /
 Gewohnet durch zugehn mit fewrigen Gedancken /
 Zu stehn / als eine Wand / der wird von nichts versehrt /
 Sein Reichthumb bluhet stats / bleibt gantz und unzerstort.
 Er lasst den Feind das Gelt und sonsten zeitlichs Wesen
 390 Gleich wie Caligula die Muscheln / zu sich lesen /
 Das beste bleibt jhm: Er weiss wohl Gold und Gelt
 Sey nichts / als thewrer Koht / und Tockenspiel der Welt.
 Er stehet hoch empor / weit von des Pofels Hauffen /
 Sieht diesen hier / den da / und jenen sonsten lauffen /
 395 Verlacht die Eytelkeyt / verhonet Schmach und Spott /
 Schawt seinem Glucke zu / erschrickt vor keiner Noht.
 Er weiss dass im Gemuht / in Sinnen und Verstande
 Der rechte Mensch besteh' / und dass nur einem Bande
 Der Leib zu gleichen sey das uns zusammen helt
 400 Biss unser Stundlein kompt / und reisst uns von der Welt
 Und darumb schatzt er auch dess armen Leibes Guter
 Vor keine Guter nicht. . .
(10 lines)
 So tritt er frolich / hin / begehrt nicht abzuweisen /
 Was auff ihn tringen wil / bringt wider Stahl und Eisen /
 Den Muht der Eisern ist / lernt warten auff sein Ziel /
 Nicht wunschen / dass es ihm gelinge / wie er wil.

This long rhetorical generalisation on the characteristics of a certain type of man (it is easy to find four complete examples of the kind in the *Trostgedichte*, as well as many shorter ones) somehow rings familiar even to readers little acquainted with Opitz. Probably the passage as a whole goes back to the Latin poets: Horace's *Beatus Ille* is one of the best known examples. In other poems, notably *Die Lust des Feldbawes* and *Zlatna*, Opitz has many reminiscences of that poem. But here the sententious character of the style renders direct imitation of Horace unlikely:

¹ Buch II, 385–416. Ed. Amsterdam 1646 (M. O. *Opera Poetica. Das ist Geistliche und Weltliche Poemata Vom Autore selbst zum letzten übersehen und verbessert*, etc., I, 286–7. The numbering of the lines is that of Goedeke u. Tittmann, *Ausgewählte Dichtungen von M. O.*

the passage, though still recognisable, has undergone considerable changes. Other influences must have gone to the making of it.

It is certain that Opitz learnt the technique of writing such passages from Heinsius. The first one he wrote: *Elegie* [4], lines 69-96,¹ is an almost literal translation of part of Heinsius' *Elegie*

Doorluchtige Princes van Neerlandts rijke steden,²

of which the following are some of the most characteristic lines

- 101 Den rijkdom en licht niet in landen ende steden,
Maer die niet veel en heeft, en is nochtans te vreden,
Trotst al wat datter leeft. de kroonen en 'tgewelt,
De scepters en het goet is onder hem gestelt.
105 Zijn hert staet altyt vast, en sonder te bewegen,
Niet tot vergancklick goet of ijdelheyt genegen,
Bemantelt met de deucht. die maeckt hem kloeck en sterck,
Gerust en altyt blij. dat is zyn bollewerck.
Al wat het diep gewelf des hemels kan bepaelen,
110 Al wat de gulden toorts der sonne kan bestralen
Veracht hy al te saem, en siet hy niet eens acn.
Het sy hoe dat het wil, het moet doch al vergaen.
Alleen de kloecke geest geleert en wel ervaeren
Doorbreekt al watter is. is meester van de jaeren.
115 De doot en kent hy niet. schopt met den voet het graf,
En als de mensche sterft, en weet hy niet daer af.

The close similarity of this passage and the one quoted from the *Trostgedichte* is obvious. A further indication of the origin of all such passages with Opitz lies in the fact that all the characteristic ones contain motifs from Heinsius' *Elegie*, or from two poems by him of an equally sententious character: *Aen de eerbare ende konstrijcke Ionckvrouw Anna Roemer Visschers*³ and *Op de doot ende treffelicke victorie van... Jacob Heemskerck*, etc.⁴ In the passage quoted above there are several. Compare *Tr.* 385 with *H. Elegie*, 105; *Tr.* 387 with *Nederd. Poemata*, p. 44.

De deucht wort niet verkleynt. zy staet als eenen wandt....

Tr. 391-2 with *A.R.V.*:

hy weet dat al het gout
Dat onse sinnen treckt, daer Amsterdam op bout,
Niet anders is als slijck

and *Tr.* 395, 401 with *H.* 106.

The stoical spirit which animates the passage from Opitz is also Heinsius' prevalent mood, at least in his non-amatory passages, but that is an indication of spiritual kinship rather than of influence.

¹ *Teutsche Poemata*, ed. Witkowski, pp. 22-3.

² *Nederduytsche Poemata* (1616), pp. 20-5. The borrowing was first noticed by R. Beckhörn in *M. Opitz, P. Ronsard und D. Heinsius* (Diss., Königsberg, 1888), p. 76.

³ Referred to below as *A.R.V.* (*Nederd. Poemata*, pp. 33-6).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-7.

The motifs enumerated above do not prove much individually, but the fact that reminiscences of the three Heinsian poems mentioned above appear in all passages of this kind and that the earliest of them is entirely translated from one of these is very strong evidence.

In *Beatus Ille* Horace's syntax and arrangement of paragraphs are of the simplest. Yet he avoids the monotony that would result from an unbroken succession of statements in the third person singular. Several times the logical subject of the poem is relegated to a grammatically less prominent place in the sentence, or merely understood.

- (23) Libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice
- (28) Somnos quod invitet levis
- (49) Non *me* Lucina iuverint conchylia,

although the rarity of pronouns would have rendered the continuous use of the third person singular far less noticeable than it is in any modern language.

Not all Renaissance imitators of the poem managed to avoid this kind of monotony. The paraphrase of *Beatus Ille* which Ronsard wrote in his *Discours à Odet de Coligny*¹ is one of those where the pronouns *qui*, *lui* and *il* obtrude by their frequency. Yet the way in which he alternately employed these to divide the passage into paragraphs was useful, and it may have had some influence in teaching Heinsius to employ the same device: the Dutch poet's use of *al die*, *die*, *hem*, *zyn*, *hij*, is very similar. But it is more likely that Heinsius learnt it from Du Bartas. For not only is there in the latter's paraphrase of Horace (and Ronsard).

'O trois et quatre fois bien-heureux qui s'esloigne
Des troublez citadins!'² etc.

plenty of that variety through change of grammatical subject which Ronsard lacked, but in addition one observes several of the rhetorical peculiarities that are associated with Heinsius' style. Indeed, much of Heinsius' work is, to our mind, not so much poetry as rhetoric in verse. It owes this character chiefly to the excessive use of two devices: asyndetic succession of words, clauses and sentences, and the practice of frequently leaving a part of speech to be understood several times, after it has once been expressed.³ Ronsard had made a very sparing use of

¹ *Œuvres complètes... Nouvelle édition* par M. Prosper Blanchemain (1857-67), vi, 198-9.

² *Les Œuvres de G. de Saluste Sr du Bartas, etc. Dernière édition...* (Paris, 1611). *Le Troisième iour de la Sepmaine*, pp. 153-6.

³ I have called the latter phenomenon 'contraction', for want of a better term (O. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, III, 510 sqq.: 'Ersparung eines gemeinsamen Glieds'; Krüger, *Syntax der engl. Sprache*, III, § 3054. 'Zusammenziehung'; G. S. Overdiep, *Zeventiende-eeuwse Syntaxis*, III, 271: 'samentrekking').

these; it is difficult to find any but isolated examples of them in his work. Even in passages such as the opening lines of the above *Discours*:

L'homme ne peut sçavoir de qui parfaitement
Il se peut dire aimé...etc.,

where Heinsius would have piled one asyndeton upon the other, the conjunctions and pronouns are consistently retained. Nor is there anything comparable to the breathless, clipped half-lines so characteristic of the Dutch poet.

Can it be that Heinsius, who was a Latin poet before he wrote Dutch verse, naturally fell into a manner so congenial to the classical scholar? 'Contraction' and asyndeton and their combined use are certainly nothing unusual in Latin literature. But the sudden transplantation of however perfect a Latin technique into a language which had hitherto never been subjected to this technique *in verse* would have been a feat little short of genius, worthy of a far greater poet than Heinsius was.

Heinsius' verse, the alexandrine, is of French origin. If therefore anything similar to his technique had been achieved before in France, it must be from French and not directly from Latin poetry that Heinsius derived it.

To nearly all Dutch poets of the time the phoenix of French poets was not Ronsard but Du Bartas. Heinsius hailed Zacharias Heyns' translation of the *Première Sepmaine* in a laudatory poem of more than customary enthusiasm. It is in Du Bartas that one finds the models of his style, passages such as the following:¹

Car du vent de sa bouche ayant fait dans le vuide
Un tas confusement froid, ardent, sec, humide:
Par temps, du monde bas Dieu separe le haut:
Met à part peu à peu le chaud avec le chaud,
5 Renvoye le solide avecque le solide,
Le froid avec le froid, l'humide avec l'humide,
Autant qu'il est besoin: et forme ingenieux,
En six iours tous les corps de la terre et des cieux,
Non qu'ensemble il ne peust des humains la demeure
10 Parfaire et commencer, qu'il ne peust en mesme heure
Cindrer les cieux flambans, peupler nostre ayr d'oiseaux,
De bestes les forests, et de poissons les eaux...etc.

Most of the characteristic features of Heinsius' style, at least the syntactical ones, are already present here, though still free from excesses. Ronsard had done no more than occasionally leave out a subject that could be understood from a preceding sentence or clause. In the above passage one finds not only this phenomenon (in ll. 4, 5 with asyndetic succession, in 7 connected by the conjunction *et*), but also a subject +

¹ *Les Œuvres*, etc. (1611), p. 23.

finite verb (6^a, 6^b), an elliptic main clause (*Non* in ll. 9 sqq.), a subject + auxiliary (11^b) are left to be understood once or several times.¹ Besides this there occurs a phenomenon which might be termed *progressive truncation*: in a sentence consisting of a succession of main clauses with the same subject the first is complete, in the next one or more the subject is understood, then the auxiliary is left out, next the participle or infinitive, until the sentence tails off in two or more asyndetic objects or nominal predicates or adjuncts. This phenomenon is quite frequent with Du Bartas. The same architectonic device was adopted by Heinsius, who sometimes applied to it the Latin principle of charging an ever shorter phrase with an ever stronger meaning. In general it can be said that all these essentially rhetorical devices, which in *La Sepmaine* are found either isolated or in short periods, were used by Heinsius systematically, in long, sometimes tedious succession. Du Bartas favours the cumulative effect brought about by a series of asyndetic clauses of increasing emotional force:

Je ne puis, je ne veux estre tant inhumain
Pour obeir à Dieu, Dieu colomme eternelle
De foy, de verité, sera donc infidelle?
Sera donques menteur? dunque il demohra
Ce qu'il aura basti?...etc.²

These sometimes coincide with the half line, though they are more frequently longer. Heinsius, in applying this device, almost invariably separates the lines and half lines, thus sacrificing continuity to rhetorical effect. Ll. 109–11 and 113–16 are good examples. In the former example it is reinforced by an element of suspense, due to the increasingly spacious effect of two long object clauses of a full line each, which are as it were shattered by the two following half lines, of which the second exaggerates the first.

Heinsius cannot be said to have added any new syntactical device to those used by Du Bartas (his rhythm is of course entirely different and a purely Dutch development of the alexandrine), but he was the first to write long sententious passages, in which the French poet's rhetorical devices were piled one upon the other—though on the whole with just sufficient variety to escape tediousness.

When Opitz for the first time translated one of these (in the *Elegie* [4] mentioned above) he fully recognised that its rhetorical qualities were

¹ In other passages one also meets with cases where the finite verb alone is left to be understood (the subject being repeated or replaced by a different one), and sometimes even subject + finite verb + object (the sentence ends in a series of asyndetic attributes of the object).

² *Les Pères*, III iour (*Œuvres*, *La seconde Sepmaine*, pp. 311–12).

based on the combination of asyndetic arrangement, non-repetition of parts of speech once mentioned, and the use of the clipped half-line. But he was not yet able to escape the chief danger inherent in the manner: monotonous repetition of one and the same device. It is true that, although logical and grammatical subject coincide somewhat more frequently with him, a certain variety is preserved here. But really tedious is the incessant repetition of one kind of 'contraction': that of the subject. It is the only one that occurs in the whole passage

It was some time before Opitz went beyond this primitive stage. No. [40], *Begrabniss Gedichte*, contains a similar passage,¹ in which one meets with several motifs from Heinsius' *Elegie* and *A.R.V.* It is, if anything, poorer, for there is scarcely any change of subject, and again the subject is the only part of speech left out. The resulting monotony is to some extent mitigated, however, because the asyndetic clauses and sentences do not so often coincide with the half-lines. The translation of Heinsius' *Elegie*, like the original, contains more asyndetic half-lines than asyndetic alexandrines, but in Opitz's *Elegie* [40] the asyndetic clauses (or sentences) that are most frequent extend over two half-lines: the second half of the former and the first half of the latter. In other words, there are a number of run-on lines. We shall see that this is the first sign of a coming development.

In *Trostgedichte in Widerwertigkeit des Krieges* Opitz has fully mastered the figure and developed it into something which, though still manifestly influenced by Heinsius, has a number of personal characteristics. It was very probably through translating Heinsius' *Lofsanck van Jesus Christus* that he attained this mastery. For although this poem does not contain many sententious passages in which the person or type discussed appears in the third person singular, there are many speeches addressed to the Saviour. In these the logical subject naturally appears in the second person singular, but the principles of asyndeton and 'contraction' are applied almost continuously, whilst 'progressive truncation' is also repeatedly met with. A glance at the German translation is enough to show that Opitz copied these tricks of style conscientiously.

Apart from a great many shorter passages which exhibit 'contraction' and asyndetic arrangement the *Trostgedichte* contains six passages where these devices are used to build a complete sententious characterisation of some human type or some personified abstraction: II, 225-44, 385-416, 417-68, 471-84; III, 517-32; IV, 63-116.

They all evince a remarkable progress in flexibility and variety, but

¹ Witkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 63, ll. 5-25.

they are by no means uniform in character. Sometimes, it is true, e.g. in II, 385–416 (the passage quoted above), and still more in IV, 63–116, the logical subject of the passage is for many lines on end also the grammatical subject. In the latter passage ll. 72–96 contain an unbroken succession of asyndetic main clauses¹ with the same subject, which is also the logical subject of the passage. It is once expressed and then understood thirteen times. Yet the effect is not so monotonous as might be expected. A certain variety is introduced by the insertion of adjective clauses with different subjects, the varying length and complication of which distracts the attention from the recurrent asyndetic predicates. These clauses also bridge many gaps between half-lines, so that the passage is much more continuous than is usual with Heinsius.

The sententious passage in Book II, ll. 417–69, is very different in character. Here Heinsius' principle change of grammatical subject for the sake of variety, is applied skilfully. At the most the logical and grammatical subjects can be said to coincide over a total of 21 lines, which is made up of scattered passages averaging about $3\frac{1}{2}$ lines each, whereas over a (scattered) total of 32 lines the logical subject is either absent or relegated to a less prominent case.²

- 430 *Ulysses* weiss es besser.
 Wo sonst kein Waffen hilft / da zwingt er durch den Wein /
 Und stösst der Bestien das Stürnenfenster ein.
 Sein unverzagter Geist / sein Geist erzeugt zu Kriegen /
 Zu Ehren angewohnt / der kan nichts / als nur siegen /
 435 Als immer oben seyn: *Er* schöpft kein Wasser nicht /
 Er bleibet / wer er erst³ / wann Mast und Boden bricht.
 Du kanst / Fortune / ja *den werthen Helden* zwingen
 Hin in die tieffe See / biss an den Hals zuspringen,
 Du kanst ja wider *ihn* vermischen Luft und Flut /
 440 Kanst fordern / wilstu so / *sein Leben* / Gut und Blut.
 Dass aber *er* für dir die Knie auch solle beugen /
 Viel weynen / klaglich thun / sich / wie ein Weib erzeugen
 Sein Leben / seine Zeit / verdammen für und für /
 Sein Hertze lasse⁴ gehn / *das stehet nicht bey dir*.
 445 *Er* weisst⁴ wol / dass...etc.

The complete passage shows both the full extent of Opitz's debt to Heinsius and his personal way of applying the acquired technique. We have already mentioned his skilful avoidance of monotony through frequent change of subject, but there is also considerable variety in the kind of 'contraction' used: besides successions of predicates of which the subject is left to be understood, one finds cases where both subject and auxiliary are left out (ll. 418, 419, 441–4); in ll. 421–2 a series of asyndetic

¹ With the exception of ll. 91–2, which form a parenthesis.

² Ed. Amsterdam, 1646, p. 288.

³ Other editions 'ist'.

⁴ Sic.

objects belong to one subject + predicate, and in 445-7 four subjects, of which three are not connected by conjunctions, govern one predicate (they form one contracted clause which is the object of the preceding main clause). But there is more. Lines 437-40 and 441-6 are two passages which derive great rhetorical effect from the accumulation of asyndetic sentences or clauses of increasing emotional force, which in the latter case are also increasingly truncated, the very principle applied by Heinsius in his *Elegie* (see p. 24), carried to far greater lengths. As in Heinsius' *Elegie*, the passage also holds an element of suspense due to the enumeration of subject clauses, which are finally summed up in the emphatic demonstrative *das*, and suddenly swept aside in the same half-line. But again the tension continues through a greater number of lines.—This is the difference between the two poets' sententious characterisations generally: those of Opitz are often less varied as regards the kinds of 'contraction' used, but more involved in syntax (clauses of clauses are quite frequent), longer, and more continuous in rhythm. It should be remembered that the passages analysed, though longer and therefore better suited for an analysis of Opitz's characteristic manner in all its aspects than the less complete sententious passages, are not essentially different in style from the *Trostgedichte* in general. The whole poem is a series of generalising moralisations with examples, and each of these, however short, may at any moment develop into a characterisation of some human type. Asyndetic arrangement and 'contraction' are to be found throughout the poem.

Of Opitz's style in his *Antigone*, Richard Alewyn has said.¹ 'die Schwierigkeit die dieser Stil einer Beschreibung bietet, ruht daher, dass alle Symptome das Zeichen gerade der Unauffälligkeit tragen, dass sein Charakteristikum gerade die Charakterlosigkeit ist. Im barocken Stil kann man Eigenheiten: *besondere Stilfiguren, Abnormitäten, Exzesse*² nennen und beschreiben, bei Opitz werden wir immer wieder nur deren Nichtvorhandensein konstatieren können.' The above analysis shows, I believe, that in his *Trostgedichte* at any rate Opitz uses some turns of style so consistently that they must be considered characteristic of his manner, in fact their frequency is almost excessive.

As one retraces the course of Heinsius' influence on Opitz one realises that both the depth of that influence and Opitz's originality have been underestimated.—Opitz begins by translating passages from Heinsius of which both the matter and the manner appeal to him. The matter at first predominates: he reproduces the form to the best of his ability, but

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

² The italics are mine.

tends to work certain devices to death whilst others evade his grasp. Then, as his mastery of Heinsius' technique increases, he begins to handle the Dutch poet's motifs more freely, until in his mature work he achieves a style based, it is true, on that of his master, but in some respects more versatile, less burdened with rhetorical devices. He never ceased to quote and paraphrase his favourite Heinsian passages, but those outward signs of his admiration should not lead one to suppose that he was then still *imitating* Heinsius. The very fact that he succeeded in combining his master's devices of style so variously as to succeed in building an ambitious poem with them testifies both to the fruitfulness of Heinsius' influence and to his own creative invention.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

RICHARDSON: IDEALIST OR REALIST?

It is strange that Richardson scholars have overlooked, in their discussions of realism in *Pamela* and *Clarissa*,¹ the contrast between Richardson's ideas in Letters CXXXVIII and CXXXIX of the *Familiar Letters*, and the course of action followed by Pamela. Letter CXXXVIII runs thus:

My dear Daughter,

I understand, with great grief of heart, that your master has made some attempts on your virtue, and yet that you stay with him. 'God grant that you have not already yielded to his base desires!' For when once a person has so far forgotten what belongs to himself, or his character, as to make such an attempt, the very continuance with him, and in his power, and under the same roof, is an encouragement to him to prosecute his designs. And if he carries it better, and more civil, at present, it is only the more certainly to undo you when he attacks you next. Consider, my dear child, your reputation is all you have to trust to. And if you have not already, which God forbid! yielded to him, leave it not to the hazard of another temptation, but come away directly (as you ought to have done on your own motion) at the command of

*Your grieved and indulgent Father.*²

This letter, '*A Father to a Daughter in Service, on hearing of her Master's attempting her Virtue*,' was followed by '*The Daughter's Answer*,' Letter CXXXIX:

Honoured Sir,

I received your letter yesterday, and am sorry I stay'd a moment in my master's house after his vile attempt. But he was so full of his promises of never offering the like again, that I hoped I might believe him; nor have I yet seen any thing to the contrary: But am so much convinced, that I ought to have done as you say, that I have this day left the house, and hope to be with you soon after you will have receiv'd the letter. I am

*Your dutiful Daughter.*³

In telling the Maid to leave her lustful employer at once, Richardson seems to be taking a stand such as he would have taken had his own daughter fallen into a like situation. Like the Father in Letter CXXXVIII, Pamela's parents urge her to leave at once. But how much more realistic a course than the obedient daughter of Letter CXXXIX Pamela actually takes; one must consider her a shrewd woman.

¹ Cf. Alan D. McKillop, *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist* (Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press, 1936), Brian W. Downs, *Richardson* (New York. E. P. Dutton, 1928); E. K. Broadus, 'Mr Richardson Arrives,' *London Mercury*, xxviii (1933), 425-35; and Charlotte Lefever, 'Richardson's Paradoxical Success,' *PMLA*, xlvi (1933), 856-60.

² Samuel Richardson, *Familiar Letters on Important Occasions*. With an Introduction by Brian W. Downs (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1928), pp. 164-5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

We may believe it was certainly a realistic view of her position, and not idealism, that would bring Pamela to marry a wretch that would treat her so. The contrast here with Clarissa's remark, 'The man who has been the villain to me that you have been shall never make me his wife,' is interesting. Clarissa was merely in love; she could afford to let pride take its course. But Pamela, poor creature, unencumbered by love, had a chance to contract a marriage far above her station, and she was clever enough to take full advantage of it without allowing interference from any silly prideful emotions.

Both women reacted in a natural fashion. In Clarissa's reply we find an ideal situation, just as one feels things should happen; but of course pride can in the long run be analysed only as a form of selfishness. Richardson, knowing women's motives as he did, either consciously or unconsciously made his female characters do the most selfish thing in each case. Clarissa, having no more to lose than what she felt she had already profitably lost, satisfied her outraged vanity by her angry explosion and several months of self-pity. Pamela, on the other hand, having much to lose, shrewdly used the insults to her own advantage, and finally seduced her attacker into marriage.

WILLIAM WHITE.

LOS ANGELES.

THE EDINBURGH 'RAMBLERS'

I

PERHAPS the most interesting editions of Johnson's *Rambler* are those which were brought out at Edinburgh by James Elphinston in 1750-1752, during the course of its original publication in London.¹ Elphinston announced his edition on 1 June 1750, with this advertisement:

Just published, on a fine writing paper, and in a small octavo size, fit for binding in pocket volumes, THE RAMBLER. To be continued TUESDAYS and FRIDAYS. Nullius addictus, &c. EDINBURGH. Printed for the Author: sold by W. Gordon and C. Wright, at their Shops in the Parliament Close. Price One Penny each Number, and regularly delivered to Subscribers in Town, or sent to the Country by Post.

This paper, which lately began its course at London, seems very happily calculated, after the manner of the SPECTATOR, in a variety of *moral* and *critical* essays, equally solid and agreeable, to improve taste while it entertains it, to expose vice with all the force of ridicule as well as argument, and to set forth virtue in all her charms. This being the sole design of the RAMBLER, he never ranges in the regions of politics, and conveys neither news nor advertisements. The reception he has met with in his native country, and which he must indeed meet with wherever learning and knowledge digested by genius and virtue, wherever delicacy of sentiment or beauty of style is

¹ Boswell has a long account of this edition. See his *Life of Johnson*, eds. Hill-Powell, Oxford, 1934, I, 210-12. The collation of the eight volumes of this edition will be given in the forthcoming supplement to Courtney, so I confine myself to the history of the edition.

admired, flatters his Scottish editor, that he introduces to his countrymen no unacceptable acquaintance, he having prevailed with this new writer, 'blessed' (as the Remembrancer justly paints him) 'with a vigorous imagination, under the restraint of a classical judgment, and master of all the charms and graces of expression,'¹ to renew in Scotland his *Rambles* at half the London price.²

It seems likely that at Edinburgh *Ramblers* 1-20 were immediately printed off to enable the publishers to catch up with the London edition. The colophons to numbers 1-19 have no dates, number 20 is dated June 1, and thenceforth as long as the colophons continued, the *Rambler* which was printed in London on Tuesday appeared in Edinburgh just a week later, that printed on Saturday on the following Friday, six days after its initial publication. The serial reproduction of *The Rambler* was given up at Edinburgh after number 104.

Some of the letters that passed between Elphinston and Johnson at the time of their co-operation are available. On 25 September 1750, Johnson wrote a noble letter to Elphinston on the occasion of his mother's death,³ which was handed about in Scotland and aroused so much admiration that it helped to promote the circulation of *The Rambler*.⁴ In a difficult and apparently undated letter from Johnson to Elphinston⁵ there are several passages which refer to the Edinburgh edition:

I am glad that you still find encouragement to proceed in your publication, and shall beg the favour of six more volumes to add to my former six,⁶ when you can, with any convenience, send them me. . . I have transcribed the mottoes, and returned them, I hope not too late, of which I think many very happily performed. Mr. Cave has put the last in the magazine, in which I think he did well.⁷

It is difficult to say just what is meant by the last sentence of this letter. Elphinston did more than see *The Rambler* through the press at Edinburgh; he was an editor in the real sense, for he provided each of the first six volumes with a table of contents, and made translations of the Greek and Latin passages in numbers 1-158. Johnson used many of his mottoes in the London editions, though to be sure he altered Elphinston's

¹ Reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, xx, 178, as so characterized in an article from the *Remembrancer* of 21 April 1750.

² I have not discovered an Edinburgh paper carrying this advertisement, it is printed in a memoir of Elphinston which appeared in the *European Magazine*, November 1809, lvi, 361-8. A copy of the advertisement, dated 1 June 1750, was found among Elphinston's papers.

³ Boswell, *Life*, i, 211-12.

⁴ Shaw, W., *Memoirs of . . . Johnson*, London, 1785, p. 95.

⁵ Elphinston, in his edition of his letters (*Forty Years' Correspondence between Geniuses on Both Sexes, and James Elphinston*, London, 1791), preface, i, [xxxv], dates the letter 1751. Late in 1751 is the most probable time, for in the body of the letter six volumes of the Edinburgh edition are referred to, and volume 6 was advertised in the *Scots Magazine* for November 1751.

⁶ This probably means that Elphinston had sent the first 6 volumes containing *Ramblers* 1-158 to Johnson, and that Johnson was requesting another set.

⁷ Boswell, *Life*, i, 210. Elphinston's own text of this letter is printed in his reformed spelling, so Boswell's is preferred.

versions. It is probable that Johnson's letter refers to translations which Elphinston had sent to be copied and returned. Cave published motto translations for *The Rambler* in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1750 and 1752,¹ neither of which seems to be the occasion referred to by Johnson. After the appearance of *Rambler* 158 Elphinston ceased to translate mottoes and to prepare tables of contents. The reason for this he explains in a note to the words 'your publication' in the letter quoted above:

Hwich J. E. made dhis year (1751) at Eddimburrough, ov dhe *Rambler* in eight pocket-volumes; at wonce for dhe onnor ov hiz frend, and dhe improovment ov hiz contry. But he translated not anodder motto, after he understood dhat dhe Author had sold dhe propperty, dho he continued to dhe last hiz care ov dhe Scotch Edision.² No details of a sale of *The Rambler* in 1751, the time apparently referred to by Elphinston, have come down to us.

The first six volumes of the Edinburgh edition appeared on the following dates. June and September, 1750; January, March, July, and November, 1751.³ Volumes VII and VIII were published after the appearance of the 12mo edition in London, and have the translations and the tables of contents that were used in that edition. These are not by Elphinston who had prepared those used in volumes I-VI.⁴

The Edinburgh edition of *The Rambler* with the first four volumes made up of the collected penny numbers is very rare. It is important as well; for, since Johnson occasionally made corrections in the folio numbers before forwarding them to Edinburgh for reproduction, it exhibits the text of *The Rambler* in an intermediate state. It has been known for some time that changes were made in the text, but, so far as I know, no one has attempted a collation of the folio and Edinburgh *Ramblers*. It therefore seems worth while to present the results of a comparison of certain numbers of *The Rambler* in these editions. These numbers have been collated: 1-10, 12, 15, 20, 25, 29, 35, 40, 45, 50, 55, 60, 65, 70, 75, 80, 85, 90, 95, 100, 110, 120, 130, 140, 150, 160, 170, 180, 190, 200, 208. The mottoes and quotations have been compared throughout, and whenever an error was noted in the folio *Rambler*, the corresponding passage in the Edinburgh edition was read to see if a correction had been made. The printer of the Edinburgh edition may well have corrected obvious misprints, as when 'teh' is replaced by 'the' (folio, p. 245). And in a number of other instances Elphinston probably revised the sheets. He was a good classical scholar, and so may have been responsible for the

¹ xx, 406-9; and xxii, 468-70.

² Elphinston, *Forty Years' Correspondence*, I, 35 n.

³ See *Scots Magazine*, xii, 304, 456; xiii, 56, 168, 360, 552.

⁴ The *Scots Magazine* for July 1752 has this advertisement: 'The Rambler, vols 7. and 8 3s. to those who have taken the former volumes. These complete the Rambler. 18s. bound. Gordon, Yair, Wright, &c.' (xiv, 368).

correction of the mottoes or quotations in numbers 3, 50, 117, 129, 130, 143, 145, 153, 163, 194, 199, and 201. There were in addition slight editorial changes in numbers 4, 5, 18, 20, 38, 70, 89, 95, 100, 102, 140, 174, 180, 206, and 208, possibly Elphinston made these. But some, at least, of the sixteen variants which follow must have been due to Johnson.¹

- § 37, p. 218: reason that have read] reason that *I* have read
- § 40, p. 237: *Felicia* took one morning] *Floretta* took one morning
- § 45, p. 268: animal *motions*] animal *functions*
- § 48, p. 284: In F this reads: 'and forget that every terrestrial virtue is chiefly valuable, as it furnishes abilities for the exercise of virtue.' The cacophony is not corrected in the text of E, but in the list of *errata* 'terrestrial virtue' is changed to 'terrestrial enjoyment.' This reading was not retained, for in the first collected edition we find 'terrestrial advantage'
- § 50, p. 299: In F the reading is: 'if they will drag infirmity to the ball, and darken assemblies of pleasure by the ghastliness of infirmity.' This likewise is not changed in the text of E, but in the list of *errata* the first 'infirmity' is changed to 'decrepitude.' This reading was not retained, for in the first collected edition the first 'infirmity' is kept, the second replaced by 'disease.'
- § 55, p. 326: seldom used to a woman without effect] used in such a case
- § 127, p. 759: of men whose consciousness] to men whose consciousness
- § 132, p. 787: the respect which I was] the respect *with* which I was
- § 152, p. 908: by no means of delighting] no means of delighting
- § 159, p. 952: the eye which happens to glance upon is] upon *us* is
- § 168, p. 1003: into the violence] in the violence
- § 171, p. 1022: unqualified for *cabinet* offices] unqualified for *laborious* offices
- § 176, p. 1051: works of genius produced] works of genius *are* produced
- § 180, p. 1078: that *he* should dart his eye upon him] that should dart his eye, etc.
- § 194, p. 1159: An incomplete sentence in F is corrected in E by omitting a 'which.'
- § 200, p. 1193: the impatience of my friend not from] impatience... *arose* not from

II

The second edition of the *Edinburgh Rambler* extended only to the first four volumes; the rest were never reprinted. The first of these volumes was published in August, 1751.² The text of this second Edinburgh edition is interesting. Numbers 1-37, that is, all of volume I and part of volume II, have the same text as the earlier edition, and differ from the folio text just as the corresponding numbers of that edition differ. Numbers 38-104, that is, part of volume II and volumes III and IV, have the text of *The Rambler* as revised by Johnson for the 12mo edition of 1752. The tables of contents and the translations of the mottoes are those prepared by Elphinston and not those prepared by Johnson. In reprinting, the text was slightly rearranged and the headings of the separate numbers were considerably simplified.

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¹ The abbreviations F and E stand for the folio and Edinburgh editions respectively; the page references are to the folio.

² See *Scots Magazine*, XIII, 408. 'The Rambler, vol. I, edit. 2 2s. 6d. Gordon, Wright, Yair, etc.'

THE DATING OF SHELLEY'S NOTES AND TRANSLATIONS FROM PLATO

SHELLEY'S Platonism cannot be fully evaluated until the by-products of his study of Plato are dated. We know the date of the translations of the *Symposium* and the *Ion* from Shelley's letters,¹ but the translations from the *Menexenus* and the *Republic* and the notes on Socrates are undated. Mary Shelley, who published all with the exception of 'On the Daemon of Socrates'² in Shelley's *Essays, Letters from Abroad etc.* (1840), gives no hint as to their date. Internal evidence, however, gives us certain clues as to the approximate date of each fragment. No date can be established with certainty, but we can with certainty establish the *terminus ante quem* of each.

Shelley's translation of the introduction of the *Menexenus* (234A-236D) is concerned with Socrates' meeting Menexenus who has just arrived from the senate house. The council had met for the appointment of a speaker who was to give the funeral oration on those Athenians who had died in the last war. Shelley's translation stops at the point where Socrates is about to give a funeral oration which he had learned from Aspasia. In *An Address to the People on the Death of Princess Charlotte*, by the Hermit of Marlow, 1817, composed on the 11th and 12th of November 1817,³ we have a passage which throws light on the translation. 'The Athenians', says Shelley, 'did well to celebrate, with public mourning, the death of those who had guided the republic with their valour and their understanding, or illustrated it with their genius.'⁴ This allusion may either reflect the reading of Thucydides II, 35-47, which is in the list of books read by Shelley in 1815,⁵ or the *Menexenus* of Plato. The probabilities are that the allusion is drawn from a recent reading of the *Menexenus* at Marlow where he read Plato under the influence of Hogg and Shelley.⁶ The reading of the *Menexenus* at Marlow may therefore be a clue to the date of the translation. How soon afterwards he made his translation of the *Menexenus* is uncertain. The evidence points, however, to July 1818 when Shelley translated the *Symposium*. Writing to William Godwin from the Bagni di Lucca on 25 July 1818, Shelley said, 'I have been constantly occupied in literature but have written little—except for

¹ R. Ingpen, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London, 1914), II, pp. 606, 847.

² First published by H. Buxton Forman in Shelley's *Prose Works* (1880).

³ R. Ingpen and W. E. Peck, *The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London, New York, 1929), VI, p. 354.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵ Mrs Julian Marshall, *The life and letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley* (London, 1889), I, p. 124.

⁶ T. J. Hogg, *The Life of Shelley* (London, 1933, ed. H. Wolfe), I, pp. 121-2; E. Dowden, *Life of Shelley* (London, 1886), II, pp. 183-5.

some translations from Plato.¹ The use of the plural indicates that he translated more than the *Symposium* at this period. If the translations from the *Republic* and the notes on Socrates are of a later date, as I hope to show, this leaves the *Menexenus* as the other dialogue that he translated at the Bagno di Lucca in July 1818.

The dating of the fragments from the second and third books of the *Republic* gives us a definite *terminus ante quem* for Shelley's translation of them. Appended to the translation of fragment XV (*Republic* 401 B-C) is the following comment, 'The monstrous figures called Arabesques, however in some of them is to be found a mixture of a truer and simpler taste, which are found in the ruined palaces of the Roman Emperors, bear, nevertheless, the same relation to the brutal profligacy and killing luxury which required them, as the majestic figures of Castor and Pollux, and the simple beauty of the sculpture of the frieze of the Parthenon, bear to the more beautiful and simple manners of the Greeks of that period. With a liberal interpretation, a similar analogy might be extended into literary composition.'² The reference to the statues of Castor and Pollux makes it appear that the translation cannot have been made earlier than the date of a letter to Peacock from Rome written on 23 March 1819. In this letter Shelley tells of his visit to the fountain on the Quirinal. 'On each side,' he says, 'on an elevated pedestal, stand the statues of Castor and Pollux, each in the act of taming his horse; which are said, but I believe wholly without authority, to be the work of Phidias and Praxiteles. These figures combine the irresistible energy with the sublime and perfect loveliness supposed to have belonged to their divine nature'³ Thus, if we assume that the comment was simultaneous with the translation, the fragments from the *Republic* were translated sometime after Shelley's visit to Rome. If the translation was made after this comment, the date of the translation then must be October or November 1819, while Shelley was in Florence. This date seems more probable, for in Mary's Journal for 28 October 1817 we find: 'Shelley reads... *Plato's Republic*.'⁴

If the report of Medwin's conversations with Shelley is to be trusted,⁵ Shelley's note 'On a Passage in Crito' probably comes between November 1821 and March 1822, the interval during which Medwin visited Shelley in Pisa. While there Medwin reported, 'I have often heard him say

¹ *Letters*, II, p. 609.

² Ingpen and Peck, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 262

³ *Letters*, II, p. 683.

⁴ Mrs Julian Marshall, *The Life and Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley* (London, 1889), I, p. 259.

⁵ Cf. H. B. Forman's introduction to *Medwin's Revised Life of Shelley* (Oxford, 1913) and *Prose Works* (London, 1880), I, introduction p. xvi, where he calls Medwin 'a well-intentioned narrator with an essentially inexact turn of mind'.

that he wished to die young—and he one day opened Plato and read, “It would be delightful to me to die surrounded by my friends—secure of the inheritance of glory and escaping after *such* an existence as mine, from the decay of mind and body that must soon be my portion.”¹ This remark, however, is not to be found in Plato but in Shelley’s ‘On a Passage in Crito,’ where it is found in almost the identical words which Medwin quotes. It is obvious that Shelley had not been reading Plato, but his own note on the *Crito* (or perhaps some notebook which contained this Platonic passage). ‘On a Passage in Crito’ may be dated therefore within the period of Medwin’s stay with Shelley in Pisa.

Shelley’s fragment ‘On the Daemon of Socrates’ is not based on his reading of Plato, but rather on his reading of Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*. The source of Shelley’s remarks, ‘Socrates’ daemon a form of Augury. Socrates made a distinction between things subject to divination and those not subject to it’ is in the very first chapter of book one of Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*. Shelley’s notation ‘p. 5’ as the page of Xenophon for a remark of Socrates enables us to find the exact place and text of Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* which he used. In Appendix F of the second volume of Peck’s *Shelley, His Life and Work* we have Shelley’s notes in his copy of Xenophon. In volume VIII of *Xenophontis Quae Exstant Opera, Graece & Latine, Ex Editionibus Schneideri et Zeuneri*. Edinburgi: E Prelo Academico. Impensis Gulielmi Laing MDCCCVI, Peck notes the following:

‘Page 2, straight line down left margin opposite passage, lines 14–15:

οὗτοι τε γὰρ ὑπολαμζανουσιν. οὐ τοὺς ὀρνίθας running over to

‘Page 3, and concluding with οὕτως ἐνόμιζεν the first three lines on this page being marked by straight line in margin at right.’²

This marked passage is in the first chapter of the first book of the *Memorabilia*, where Socrates’ daemon and its relation to augury are discussed. The time when Shelley wrote the note ‘On the Daemon of Socrates’ can be determined by means of Mary’s Journal and Shelley’s note-book, where the note is found. Among the box of books that arrived at Bagni di Lucca in June 1818 was Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*, which appears ‘in Mary’s journal as forming part of Shelley’s studies at this period’.³ This note on Socrates is found following note VIII of Shelley’s ‘Notes on Sculptures in Rome and Florence’. In all probability Shelley made the note ‘On the Daemon of Socrates’ when visiting Rome in the spring of 1819, perhaps when he marked the passage in the *Memorabilia*.

¹ Thomas Medwin, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (Oxford, 1913), p. 435.

² W. E. Peck, *Shelley, His Life and Work* (Boston and New York, 1927), II, p. 350.

³ Dowden, *op. cit.*, II, p. 215.

In confirmation of the inference that Shelley's note 'On the Daemon of Socrates' is based on a reading of Xenophon is Shelley's note in the manuscript. 'At the beginning,' says Forman, 'is written indistinctly, what seems to read thus,—*Mem.* on L. 1.' This cryptic notation can only be: *Mem(orandum)* on L(iber) 1, or *Mem(orabilia)* on L(iber) 1.

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ON TWO ANGLO-NORMAN PROLOGUES

In the abundant religious and didactic literature of the thirteenth century in England, two works stand out by their bulk if not by their intrinsic value the *Lumière as Laïs* of Peter d'Abernon of Peckham, and the *Manuel des Péchés* commonly attributed to William de Waddington. These two 'poems' have had strikingly similar fortunes. And, probably on the strength of this external factor as much as on account of the identity of purpose implied by the title of one and the better known contents of the other, they have been often mentioned as two closely similar manifestations of the same genre.

Both works, it is true, are most probably contemporary.¹ They sometimes occur together in the MSS.² or in medieval libraries. Either their respective authors were equally ignorant of the French language and versification, or the scribes to whom we owe the many copies we possess were equally unskilful and careless. Both have often been mentioned or quoted from, but neither has been favoured with a thorough study, let alone a satisfactory edition.³ Finally, they both purport to expound some

¹ The *Lumière* is dated 1267 in the York Cathedral Library MS 16 N 3: 'S1 fu comencé a la Pasche al Novel Lyu, terminé a la Chandelure apres a Oxeneford, le an Nostre Seygnur Mil e deus cenx e seisaunte setyme'. The *Manuel* must have been written between 1350 and 1370.

² E.g. in Camb. Univ. Lib. Gg. 1, 1 and St John's Coll. 167

³ Several notices and partial studies have been devoted to the *Lumière*, e.g.: P. Meyer, *Romania*, VIII, 325, xv, 287. A. T. Baker, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, LIII (1910), 246 sq. Prof. Baker conjectured, on very slender grounds, that the York MS. 16 N 3 was the author's autograph. He also announced his intention to give an edition of the *Lumière*, but this never materialized. Miss Dominica Legge, *Modern Language Review*, xxiv (1929), 43 sq. Ch. V. Langlois, *La vie en France au Moyen-Age* (iv, La Vie Spirituelle), 1928, pp. 66-119. As for the *Manuel*, we have very little besides the remarkable study of the *exempla* by Mr J. A. Herbert, three articles by Miss H. E. Allen and, of course, P. Meyer's notices of the Oxford and Cambridge manuscripts: J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, III (1910). H. E. Allen, 'The Manuel des Pechiez and its scholastic prologue', *Romanic Review*, VIII (1917), 434 sq., 'The lyrics of the Manuel des Pechiez', *Romanic Review*, XIII (1922); 'An English prose version of the M. des P.', *Modern Philology*, XIII, 743 sq. P. Meyer, *Romania*, VIII, 332-4; xv, 312-3; 248-9, 351, xxix, 5-9, 47-53. Although reference is frequently made to Furnivall's 'editions' (Roxburghe Club 1862 and E.E.T.S., O.S. 119 and 123 (1901-3)), Furnivall's work was nothing of the sort, but, as the title indicates, an edition of the *Handlyng Synne* 'with those parts of the Anglo-French treatise on which it was founded, William of Waddington's *Manuel des Pechiez*'. This partial text of the *Manuel*, though very carefully established, is based on two MSS. only; and, after Book V (the Sacraments), considerable portions were displaced in order that they should face the

essential points of the Christian doctrine for the benefit of 'lay people'.¹

But there, it seems, the resemblance ends. And even if one were to decide at the outset that both are too far below our modern standards of literary excellence to deserve the scholar's attention, it would be unfair to throw them back together into that 'charretée de décombres scolastiques' which disgusted Taine. It would be unfair to the *Manuel* at any rate. For it differs widely indeed from the *Lumière as Lais* both in scope and in execution. The *Lumière* is a real encyclopedia, lengthy, dry, heavy, servilely compiled from Latin authors, filled with such topics as could interest only the most decadent scholastics, and almost totally bare of concrete *exempla*.² The *Manuel*, on the other hand, is a plain compendium of moral theology in which the doctrine itself is restricted to a minimum; it aims at being practical and easily understood above all; it is a list of does and don'ts to be observed in the everyday life of the average Christian. The theoretical parts, which run up to less than one-half of the whole, are abundantly illustrated by over 60 *exempla* of an essentially popular character.

It is, therefore, surprising to find both works—and especially the *Manuel*—placed under the patronage of the Scholastics in what is otherwise one of the best partial studies on the *Manuel* and, though to a lesser extent, on the *Lumière*.³ And if the arguments put forward in support of this view are scrutinized, the conclusion appears totally unwarranted.

It may be noted, first, that in the making up of the alleged Scholastic Prologue of the *Manuel des Péchés* Miss Allen quotes various passages which are actually scattered all through the Introduction: she finds 'matter' in lines 3-5, 'form' in line 71, 'title' in lines 63-4, and 'end' in

corresponding parts of the *Handlyng Synne*; others, omitted by Robert de Brunne, were either printed in an Appendix (in the Roxburghe edition) or left out altogether (in the E.E.T.S. edition). Finally, the editor's introduction was short and little to the point in the 1862 edition, and no introduction ever appeared with the later work.

¹ 'Pur la laie gent ert fet' (*Manuel*, l. 113). Pierre d'Abernon, at the end of his work, dedicates it to 'vieux et joevenes, femmes e enfanz' (quoted in Vising, *A. N. Language and Literature*, p. 17), though he had more truthfully said in his introduction: 'Enfaunt entendre ne le poet' (cf. Langlois, p. 71).

² The author admits borrowing from the 'Lucidarie' throughout the first Distinction (as far as fol. 7 B in the St John's College MS.), but, in spite of the errors which he claims to have detected in that work, he retains it as his chief source. The division of the work into Books and Distinctions is pedantic enough. And a number of topics are, to say the least, far from essential to the salvation of the average folk, e.g.: 'Pur qei est dit (Deus) plus pere qe mere' (St John's Col. MS. fol. 6); 'Pur qei la Sapience est dit plus fiz qe fille' (*ibid.*); 'Pur qei sunt les diables plus en l'eur ke en la tere' (fol. 8); 'Pur qei ad Deus criés les almes as Gius e a paens' (fol. 12 v). Cf. also the technical and hardly relevant section on 'How to play the harp': 'Coment l'em deit harpe temper' 'De ceus ke malement temperent le harpe' (ff. 35 and 35 v). Only five or six *exempla* are to be found in the whole work.

³ H. E. Allen, 'The Manuel des Pechiez and its scholastic prologue', *Romanic Review*, VIII (1917), 434 sq.

lines 113-6, the intervening passages dealing with a number of other things. There is, at any rate, nothing formal—the terms themselves are not used—in these paragraphs; and if William de Waddington—or whoever wrote this simple introduction—is to be regarded as guided by the methods of the School, then any author who cares to present his work to his readers in a short preface is writing ‘scholastic’ just as unconsciously as Monsieur Jourdain was making prose. In contrast with the *Manuel*, the enumeration of the elements of such a prologue—‘atur’, ‘entitlement’, ‘matire’, ‘furme ou cause furmele’, ‘fin generale’ and ‘fin speciale’—is quite deliberate, complete, detailed and uninterrupted in the *Lumière*,¹ and here we have a truly scholastic prologue which agrees with the tone and atmosphere of the whole work.

More important, the reference itself to a ‘prologue’ (l. 35) occurs in a passage which is an obvious interpolation this passage appears in only one of the 16 complete manuscripts, Harl. 273, which is late and was the one used as a basis by the editor. The latter, however, had duly pointed out the absence of lines 35-48 from the MSS. he used for the variants. And there is, of course, nothing corresponding to them in Robert of Brunne’s translation opposite.

Finally, l. 35

Le prologe i ad pus le livere avant

was not only incorrectly cited, but also misunderstood: it does not refer to a Prologue of the *Manuel*, but means: ‘The prologue shall be found further on in the book’; and thereby the author—of the interpolation—announces a prologue which is actually found in the edition (E.E.T.S. No. 119, p. 349, ll. 8649-8678), entitled there *Le Prologe de Confessiun*, and immediately followed (ibid. p. 350, ll. 8679-8690) by a section ‘Pur qey confessiun fu establi’ which corresponds verbatim to l. 37 of the Introduction of the *Manuel*:

E pur qei confessiun fut establi.

Also, the rest of the interpolation (39-48) announces five out of the eight sections, or ‘Virtues’, of Book VII (Confession), which are to be found in the same order on p. 371 of the edition, ll. 8691 sq.² That the interpolation

¹ E.g.

Cinc choses sunt en ja enqere
Au comencement en liver fere:
Ki fut *atur* et l’*entitlement*
Et la *matire* e la *furme* ensement
Et la *fin* par qei ceo est resun
Fu fete la composicion (487-92).

Quoted in *Romania*, VIII, 328 sq.

² The dismemberment of the *Manuel* by Furnivall (see his note, E.E.T.S. ed., p. 351), however legitimate in an edition of the *Handlyng Synne*, certainly results here in a considerable confusion in the text of the *Manuel*.

of MS. Harl. 293 in the introduction to the *Manuel* is only an incomplete table of contents of that part of Book VII is clearly shown by a comparison of the two passages:

<i>Introduction</i> (ll. 35 sq.)	<i>Book VII</i> (<i>sub-titles</i>)
Le prologe 1 ad pus le livere avant Qe mult eyde a feble e vaillant; E pur qei confessiun fut establi: En signe de humilité, pur veir le di, Et coment confessiun l'alme vivifie Qe einz fu par pechié enmortie; Coment descharge confessiun Par penance e absolucioun; E coment confessiun quert grace a la gent Qe la tenent leaument; Coment le deable est confunduz Par confessiun e ces vertuz, Coment confessiun a Deu nus apese E nos almes met a grant ese.	Le Prologe de Confessiun (p. 349) Pur qey confessiun fu establi (p. 350) Qe confessiun l'alme vivifie (p. 371) Qe confessiun descharge (p. 372) Qe confessiun quert grace a la gent (p. 374) Qe confessiun le deable confunde (p. 375) Qe confessiun apese Dampne Deu (p. 376)

It is thus beyond doubt not only that the author of the *Manuel*—unlike his colleague Pierre d'Abernon—was not guilty of scholastic pedantry, but also that the mention of a prologue is not due to him, but appears in a spurious passage or, at least, in a later addition.

Naturally, this raises other interesting problems. For instance, if the above table of contents is spurious, so probably is the portion of Book VII (the 'Virtues' of Confession) which it announces in detail.¹ This, in turn, involves the authenticity of certain parts of the *Manuel* as well as the authorship of William de Waddington.² But the question of the elaboration of the *Manuel des Péchés* is a very complex one, which is not rendered easier by the dismemberment and mutilation of the text in Furnivall's editions. An attempt to elucidate it would far exceed the limits of an article and will be made elsewhere.

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¹ As a matter of fact, Book VII, in whole or in part, is missing from several, and the earliest, manuscripts.

² The latter point was first raised, on different grounds, by Miss H. E. Allen, in the article here discussed which, apart from its misleading title, contains many judicious and original remarks on various issues connected with the elaboration of the *Manuel des Péchés*. An interesting fact, which does not seem to have been recorded so far, is the mention of one 'Adam de Furches' at the end of MS. Greaves 51 of the Bodleian, which claims to offer a text 'verray e leal' of the *Manuel*. The name of this person—very likely a scribe—is inserted immediately after that of 'Wilham de Widindone' in the following terms:

Priez ausi devoutement
Al duz Rei omnipotent
Pur Adam de Furches qe l'escrit,
Ke entre les bons sert eslit
E a Deu puist venir
Sanz aucune retourner.
(K1 pur autri prie e hure
Pur sei meimes, dit home, labure. Amen.)

REVIEWS

A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar. By HENRY LEWIS and HOLGER PEDERSEN. Gottingen· Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht; Oxford: Blackwell. 1937. xix+442 pp. 28s.

For a generation Pedersen's monumental *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* has been an indispensable classic of all Celtic studies. The present work is designed as a modernized revision in English, 'giving in condensed form as much of the material... as seems to suffice for university courses in the Celtic countries'. The name of Henry Lewis is a guarantee that the Brythonic parts are thorough and up-to-date; he has been able to use his own native familiarity with the modern dialects as well as his profound knowledge of medieval Welsh to give the best summary of historical Welsh grammar yet written, for which Celticists cannot be too grateful. One regrets that the old arrangement of the section on the uses of the subjunctive has been kept, since compared with that in Strachan's *Introduction* it is neither concise nor convincing; e.g. section 443, where consecutive clauses of the *nemo est quin sciat* type are placed under one heading with conditional clauses. P. 307 note 1 must be revised in the light of *Canu Aneirin* pp. 298-9 and perhaps 95; p. 342, add *gomynu* to the Welsh cases of *ben-* (see *op. cit.*, p. 72). The references to 'LIH' (Hendregadredd MS.) are not explained in the Abbreviations, where they appear to belong to *Canu Llywarch Hen*. The section on Spirant Mutation makes no attempt to explain its relation to other Celtic mutations, as the old *Grammatik* did.

For the rest, the book appears to suffer from excessive pruning. The *Einleitung* should not have been dropped, for some general introduction to the history of the Celtic languages is obviously necessary; one result is that no comparative account of the common Celtic character of lenition is given. The section on the long sonants has been too compressed for clearness, and the important articles on prefixes and suffixes should have been retained. In translating, the German order of the cases in paradigms needed changing; English or Anglo-Saxon cognates might have been substituted for Old High German and Old Norse in some cases.

If the Welsh side is full and up-to-date, the same cannot be said of the Irish. The sections on the grammar of the older language have been largely modernized, but the authors have not kept up with recent very important work on the development of later Irish. This is seen partly in the lack of historical sense which continues to mark Irish words simply 'Ir.', while the Welsh language periods are carefully distinguished; declares vaguely that *dh* and *gh* fell together 'very early in Irish', p. 35; or baldly states that the *-m* of *-beram*, etc., 'is as a rule lenited', p. 283 (contrast Thurneysen, *Handbuch*, pp. 339-40). It was a false simplification to omit the vowel-glides in verbal paradigms, so that, for example, on p. 276 there is nothing to show the student that the quality of *rth* in *berthe* differs from that of *nt* in *bente*; yet for the present book the model

of the Strachan-Bergin *Paradigms* was to hand. Irish scholars have long ago substituted the convenient *aí, ói* for the diphthongs that used to be written *ái, ói*; hence the note on p. 98 is unnecessary, and the retention of *ái, ói* is confusing.

Least adequate of all is the treatment of Modern Irish; the authors ignore almost completely the most important modern dialect, that of Munster, in spite of the work of Sommerfelt, Mme. Sjoestedt-Jonval, O'Rahilly, and others. The results are sometimes surprising, e.g. the implication on p. 93 that forms like *ana-, seana-, uile-*, are confined to Scotland, or that the modern 2nd pl. perf. termination is regularly *-bhar*, p. 295. The note on lenition after the copula in Modern Irish, p. 138, is rudimentary, and so is that on the pronunciation of *gh*, p. 31. Pedersen's paragraph on *té, tí, Grammatik*, p. 185, and on the *-de* comparatives, *ibid.*, p. 125, should not have been left out. It might be said that this is mainly a grammar of the older language, but the later Welsh parts are not so summarily treated, and there is a distinction between mere omission and statements that are misleading. The book ought to have been revised by someone with a competent up-to-date knowledge of Middle and Modern Irish.

In spite of such criticisms this is a very important work. It will be a boon to the young student, and scholars of all ages will profit greatly from the invaluable setting out of the British languages and the many additions due to Professor Lewis. But, as the authors say, it will not altogether replace the old *Vergleichende Grammatik*.

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CAMBRIDGE.

A Study of Ballad Rhythm with Special Reference to Ballad Music. By J. W. HENDREN. (*Princeton Studies in English.*) Princeton: University Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1936. xii+177 pp. 11s. 6d.

It is over thirty years since Cecil Sharp pointed out how inseparable text and music are in the minds of folk-singers. Yet students of the popular ballad and of folk-song have continued to pursue their independent paths, each rather indifferent to the others' importance to their own problems. Professor Gerould, in *The Ballad of Tradition* (1932), regretted this conservatism, and expressed the opinion that one of the most urgent needs in ballad scholarship was a study of the way music and poetry affected each other in the evolution of folk-songs. The present book is an attempt to act on Professor Gerould's hint, and it is a useful piece of investigation. Mr Hendren assumes an organic unity between the text and the melody of a ballad and proceeds to examine the structure of that unity. He finds the basis of form to be the stanza, composed of related phrases, each of which moves towards a cadence. There are traces in the ballads of musical invention determining the form of the text, and there are also signs of poetic creation moulding the character of the tune. The interaction of the two kinds of inspiration produces a formal unit, in which text and music coincide. An analysis of ballad stanzas reveals the

universality of patterns consisting of three- and four-stress phrases and their compounds (phrases of six and seven stresses) These, however, are by no means regular, and numerous variations of stress are shown to be common to both music and verse. Once the tune is kept in mind, these variations do not appear fortuitous, the result of imperfect art or careless tradition. Similarly, the refrains are seen to be the product of a feeling for musical pattern, or else the development of melodic material under poetical inspiration. Indeed, the whole structure of the ballad becomes clearer with a perception of the ways in which the sense of musical form controls and imposes a shape on continuous narrative, just as the individuality of folk-tunes is less surprising when one remembers the concentration of the singers on the incidents and emotions of their stories.

There is little theorizing in the present book: it contents itself with analysis and classification, and the generalizations that emerge are a real contribution to the study of ballad structure. It is the method that is most to be commended, for it can be profitably applied to other aspects of ballad scholarship. The problem of ballad origins, for instance, cannot be solved without reference to the tunes. The present author has added certainty to statements about rhythm that would perhaps appear arbitrary without a consideration of the music, and it is to be hoped that this modest and unpretentious book will be followed by other investigations which take music and text equally into account.

BRUCE PATTISON.

LONDON.

The Seafarer: An Interpretation. By O. S. ANDERSON. (*Kung. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse 1937-1938, I.*) 1937. 49 pp.

Mr Anderson sets out to give what is to some extent 'a new reading of the poem, which will...solve the major difficulties ascribed to it, while dispensing with the theory of interpolations'. This general exposition is followed by a translation and notes.

In the course of an interesting and provocative study the author comes to three important conclusions: that *The Seafarer* as it stands in the Exeter Book is the work of one poet, that it is there preserved essentially as the poet wrote it and, finally, that it is not a heroic elegy but a religious allegory of the life of man conceived as a sea voyage. Following up this third conclusion he maintains that the three sections into which the poem naturally falls are three parts of the allegory; the first two describe earthly suffering (A1, ll. 1-33*a*) and yearning for eternal joys (A2, ll. 33*b*-64*a*), while the last section (B, ll. 64*b*-end) stresses generally the transience of life on earth and its function as a preparation for the future life. In the author's view the key to the meaning of the poem and the link which shows the essential connexion of A1 and A2 with B are both to be found in one short passage (ll. 39-43) which is interpreted thus: no man, whatever be his life on earth, is without anxiety as to his fate after death.

As the argument develops some important features of the poem, which are often ignored, are emphasized; for instance, the difference between the voyages of A1 and A2. The first, the voyage of hardship which the sailor has experienced, is close inshore amid familiar surroundings, the rocky cliffs and wintry storms. The second voyage, that which he longs to make, is far away over the high seas to distant lands; there the familiar dangers are replaced by fear of the unknown.

The translation runs smoothly and gives a logical sequence of thought, though occasionally this result is attained by a somewhat forced rendering of the original, e.g. *geswincdagum* (l. 2) = 'toilsome existence on earth', *ceare* (l. 10) = 'cares of life', and *sæföre* (l. 42) = 'last voyage', 'death'.

Certain criticisms of Mr Anderson's findings suggest themselves. Neither his estimate of the quality of section B nor his contention that the change of tone in B is due to a difference of subject-matter will find general acceptance. Again, the theory that A1 and A2 express a sailor's conflicting emotions towards the sea is rejected largely because of the lack of contemporary analogous evidence. But *The Ruin*, where contrasting aspects of one scene are presented in turn, reveals a parallel mode of thought in the Old English period, and those who believe in the continuity of English poetry will remember the evidence of this very conflict in the mind of Edward Barlow, and the words in which, in the seventeenth century, he recorded it.

Yet, in spite of these objections, it must be emphasized that, whatever be the ultimate fate of the hypothesis put forward therein, this interpretation is a most stimulating essay and a valuable contribution to the literary history of the poem.

E. BLACKMAN.

CAMBRIDGE.

Uhtred de Boldon, Friar William Jordan and 'Piers Plowman'. By MILDRED ELIZABETH MARCETT. New York: published by the Author, New York University. 1938. viii + 75 pp.

Miss Marcett's study has a threefold purpose. First 'to bring more fully to light than has been done heretofore' Uhtred de Boldon, one of the greatest of the Durham monks; next to examine his reply to the charge of heresy brought against him by the Dominican, William Jordan; and last to give some account of William Jordan, who has hitherto excited little interest, and to show how he sheds light on certain passages in *Piers Plowman*.

The author is largely successful in achieving her objectives.

The figure of Uhtred is drawn clearly and convincingly. When he died in 1396 he was a very old man, some years past the celebration of the Jubilee of his entry into monastic life. The versatile career thus closed had been one of distinction. He had made his mark as scholar and theologian, as administrator and as ambassador. In two at least of these spheres his work had not been without danger. On his embassy to the Pope at Avignon in 1373 he was for a time held prisoner in Dauphiné,

while his treatises against the Friars provoked attacks on him, among them Jordan's tract accusing him of heresy.

Although Jordan's tract has not survived, Uhtred's *Contra querelas fratrum*, which is almost certainly a reply to it, reveals the nature of the charges brought against him. Among the matters taken up by Uhtred are some of the most important theological questions of the day, such as the doctrine of free-will, the necessity for divine grace, and the baptism of infants. Clearly Uhtred was successful in establishing his orthodoxy, for during the many years of life that remained to him he received preferment in the Church and was allowed to serve it in many ways.

The sources for a biography of William Jordan are scanty and so contradictory that it is probable that there has been a confusion of two persons of the same name. Uhtred's opponent, the Dominican who eventually became Prior of the House of Friars Preachers at York, was evidently a learned, arrogant man, who delighted in controversy. It is here that contact is made with *Piers Plowman*, for Miss Marcett maintains that Jordan is the original of the learned Doctor who dominates the dinner in the house of Conscience (B-text, XIII, 21-201). This interesting hypothesis is well-argued and, indeed, it seems likely that it is correct. The status and reputation of the Doctor correspond well with what is known of William Jordan. He is a mendicant, evidently a Dominican, who has a great name as a learned man and a preacher. He is, moreover, overbearing, argumentative and quarrelsome. Some further details are highly significant. Twice during this episode, and each time with reference to the Doctor, the phrase *periculum est in falsis fratribus* occurs, and Langland emphasizes that the Doctor dissociates himself from that text and never preaches from it. Now it is with this same text that Uhtred begins his treatise against Jordan. Finally, the play upon the Friar's unfortunate name in

I shal iangle to þis Iurðan with his iust wombe

(B-text, XIII, 83)

is almost conclusive.

This is a sound piece of work, though a sprinkling of minor errors and slips in proof-reading leave an impression of carelessness: e.g. Boldon, Durham, includes a third village, South Boldon (p. 1); if the learned Doctor is William Jordan, this does not necessarily give evidence for dating the B-text, but only those sections of it where he appears (p. 64); cf. also, *Thomas Aquinas* (p. 18); *Dumblarne* (p. 51); *þe... kynne* for *þo... kunne* (p. 61), and the reproduction of the meaningless and erroneous *yfrved* (for *yfyred*) from Skeat's B-text (p. 60).

E. BLACKMAN.

CAMBRIDGE.

Sir Degare: A Study of the Texts and Narrative Structure. By G. P. FAUST.
Princeton: University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1935.
99 pp. 7s.

We welcome a further study of *Sir Degare*, a romance which has received very considerable attention from various scholars in the last

ten years. In the first part of his work Mr Faust has treated the relationship of the nine extant versions in some detail, but his disagreement with his predecessors is chiefly confined to the relation of the Percy Folio text to the original, his view being that this version is in the main line of development. The importance, however, of this first portion of Mr Faust's work lies in his treatment of the wider question of transmission (addition and omission) in detail in the different versions. Sometimes one feels that he is straining matters and drawing conclusions from an over-elaborated method of classification, but the method as such might well be applied to other Middle English romances.

Part 2, dealing with narrative structure, is a more original piece of research. Mr Faust finds that the author's chief interest lay in the narrative of his romance and not in the reactions of the characters to the situations and events, and in this connexion he points to the economy and swiftness of movement in the poem which are all too rare virtues among writers of mediaeval romance. His account of the sources of the poem is thoroughgoing though not altogether convincing, Mr Faust being too easily satisfied with mere similarities and parallel themes. His comparison of *Sir Degare* with the related poem *Richars le Braus*, both derived from a common original, is illuminating, but he does not always strike a happy balance between the purely scientific methods required in such comparisons and an allowance for that uncertain and indefinable colour belonging to almost every Middle English romance. There is a bibliography and some very useful appendices in this thought-provoking study of *Sir Degare*.

J. P. OAKDEN.

ST ANDREWS.

Die sudenglische Legende von den elftausend Jungfrauen. By FRIEDRICH SCHUBEL. (*Greifswalder Beiträge zur Literatur- und Stilforschung*, Heft 21). Greifswald: Dallmeyer. 1938. 250 pp.

Mr Schubel has edited the twelve texts of the Middle English poem of the eleven thousand virgins in the Southern Legendary, giving us each of the texts in full together with manuscript comments. Some of the versions are slightly shorter than others and the minor differences are so considerable as to render a synthetic text useless. By use of footnotes, however, important differences in form and reading cannot escape one's notice, and cross references are made easy. The dating of the texts is not difficult, but their inter-relationship is naturally highly debatable and Mr Schubel is apt to content himself with superficial evidence despite the thoroughness with which he collected his evidence. In a work of a hundred and eighty lines the problem is often more complex than in a longer work. But the material here assembled for the first time is of great intrinsic value, whatever conclusion is drawn about the use of it.

The major portion of the book deals with sources and represents the fruits of wide reading and painstaking research. Greater compression was certainly called for, as much of the detailed history of the St Ursula

legend is of interest chiefly to the martyrologist. The broad outlines of historical development are, however, to be welcomed as a contribution to the study of this type of Middle English literature in general apart from its bearing upon the poem in question. The author begins with the *Inscription of Clematrus* and continues his survey systematically to the tenth century, and then through the masses of homiletic literature after that time. There is a brief section on the liturgical material and some useful comments on Geoffrey of Monmouth, but the treatment of *Passio Ursulae* yields more fruitful results. The growth of the legends of the eleven thousand virgins is treated with reasoned criticism and there is an enquiry into the historical foundations of the material. Altogether this is a well-documented piece of research extending over a very wide field. It is inevitably discursive in places, but comprehensiveness in a work of this kind can scarcely be called a fault.

J. P. OAKDEN.

ST ANDREWS.

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. By EDWIN CASADY. New York: The Modern Language Association of America; London: Oxford University Press. 1938. xii+257 pp. 11s. 6d.

The final chapter of Professor Berdan's *Early Tudor Poetry* remains the most satisfying account of Surrey's poetry as interpreted against the background of his life as heir to the Dukedom of Norfolk at a time when 'all the blood of all the Howards' was in danger of being spilt. From the many brilliant suggestions thrown off in that chapter may be traced much subsequent research on this 'lantern of light to . . . English Poesie'. The value of this present volume lies in its careful integration of existing sources for Surrey's biography and, to a lesser degree, in Mr Casady's desire to rescue his subject from the odium of Dean Barlowe's hasty judgment: 'It is the most foolish proude boye that ys in Englande.'

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, grew up amid surroundings of conflict. There was tension in the home, and there was a larger tension in the society in which he was destined by birth to play so brilliant a part. We have his mother's evidence, in a letter to Cromwell, that her husband the Duke 'sett hys women to bynde me tyll blode come out att my fyngars endes, and pynnacullit me, and satt on my brest tyll I spit blode'. She also complained that even when she was 'in chylde-bed ij nyghts and a day', the Duke dragged her about the house by the hair of her head and struck her with a dagger. This second report Mr Casady counters with the engaging understatement that Norfolk's desire for legitimate offspring would restrain him from so jeopardizing their well-being. But however much the embroilments of the Howard home life were exaggerated, there was no doubt of their dangerously ambiguous position in the political sphere. In 1537, when Surrey was only twenty, he joined his father in the expedition sent to suppress the Pilgrimage of Grace: a clear indication that the Howards were rehabilitating themselves with Henry VIII by a readiness to oppose all that they held most dear. A suspicion that

Surrey himself was only too much in sympathy with the Catholic rebels was widely voiced by Sir Edward Seymour and the 'new men' who were gaining ground at the expense of the Howards after the crowning of Queen Jane Seymour. Surrey, defending himself with a desperation natural for one in his position, incurred the royal displeasure by striking Seymour within the precincts of the Court. For his pains he was imprisoned at Windsor Castle, and during his confinement there he is presumed to have written two of his best known poems, 'So cruell prison' and 'When Windsor walles susteyned my wearied arme'.

Mr Casady's biography is well managed for the most part, but his general views are often irrelevant and sometimes naively expressed. It was hardly necessary, for example, to remark, apropos of Surrey, that 'death is incorporate in birth', or to trick out the rusty phrase 'nation of shopkeepers' merely to embellish a plain statement that England, like its monarch, was anxious for the appearance of a male heir to the throne. There are, too, evidences of careless proof-reading: 'Viscount Rockford' and the Italian poet 'Molaz' may give pause to the unwary reader.

The appendix on Surrey's contribution to literature is for the most part a summary of other opinions, but although the author has had access to Mr Herbert Hartman's admirable reprint of the Day-Owen edition of *The Fourth Booke of Virgill*, he seems to remain unconvinced by the argument that the parallels between Surrey's translation and Gavin Douglas's version of *The XIII Bokes of Eneados* can be attributed not to direct borrowing, but to a common source in the commentaries by Servius and other grammarians in the early sixteenth-century editions of the *Aeneid*. It is only when we are confronted by particular problems of this nature that the pre-eminent authority of a scholarship based on careful interpretation of Tudor literary culture as a whole can be demonstrated. Professor Berdan, on this point, takes his stand not by guess-work between two equal theories, but by reference to the probable actions of Surrey himself. 'To the sixteenth-century boy,' he writes, 'Latin was almost as familiar as his mother-tongue, and of all writers in Latin Vergil was probably the most familiar. To find a writer of that age turning for help to a translation in a foreign vernacular is curious. One would expect him to use the Latin to interpret the vernacular.'

S. GORLEY PUTT.

EXETER.

A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Poems. Edited by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1938. xvii+667 pp. 30s.

The New Variorum Shakespeare is no longer the Furness Variorum Shakespeare, but the work goes on. The present volume is the second published under the management of the Modern Language Association of America and its Supervisory Committee, since the death of the second Furness in 1930, with assistance from other learned bodies towards the heavy costs of production. The format of the book continues to be the

same, as do the general principles familiar to users of the Furness Variorum.

No better editor could have been found for this part of Shakespeare's work than Professor Rollins, who has already given ample proof of his mastery of Elizabethan poetry, and in particular of his unrivalled authority in the field of the Miscellanies, an admirable preparation for the task he has now completed. It is a notable achievement, and a monument to the patience and meticulous accuracy of its author. We now have at last at our disposal in one volume all the material that we could reasonably desire for the most thorough study of the *Poems*.

The Appendix, which runs to three hundred pages, includes material bearing upon sources, and even presents us with a reprint of John Quarles' *Tarquin Banished* (1655). One might have thought that if such exceptional generosity were to have been practised, Middleton's continuation of *Lucrece* might have been an even more acceptable gift, though it is now somewhat more accessible in the Huntington reprint. It is not without some grief that one observes the decision of the editor that all quotations from Latin sources must be presented in English translations. Frazer's *Fasti*, for example, might well raise questions, apart from the general principle involved. If the book is intended principally for the scholar, as surely it is, Latin at least might be assumed.

Criticism, as one might expect, tends to reflect rather on the general project of these volumes than on its execution in this instance. Professor Rollins might have allowed himself more discretion in his all-embracing quotations of all suggestions for interpretation; what he would have eliminated as absurd or ignorant would have been no loss, and one would have been happy to trust his judgment. No one attaches any value to the interpretation of a Harris or a Mathew or other modern journalists, and Mr Ranjje Shahani is fortunate in this early immortalization.

I have only one small quarrel with Professor Rollins in his own interpretations and critical activities in this volume. In the opening paragraph of his excursus upon 'The Vogue of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*' (p. 447), he associates himself with a view of the plays as mere 'potboilers' and the poems as the sole 'literary' activity of Shakespeare, which is surely no longer tenable or credible. The true interpretation of Shakespeare's career as a dramatist, as of the Elizabethan drama in general, rests upon the basis of literary ambition and literary judgment as much as commercial success—Pope's facile paradox is not to be allowed to close our eyes to clear and strong evidence, and to probability.

Among the many excellent features of Professor Rollins' edition, I would single out one which we owe directly to his own particular wealth of information, the remarkably complete section upon 'Musical Settings for the Poems' (pp. 610–21).

C. J. Sisson.

LONDON.

Thomas Middleton: *Hengist, King of Kent; or the Mayor of Queenborough*. Edited from the Manuscript in the Folger Shakespeare Library by R. C. BALD. New York and London: Scribner's. 1938. liv + 136 pp. + 6 facsimiles. 16s.

Thomas Middleton: *The Ghost of Lucrece*. Reproduced in facsimile from the unique copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library. Edited by JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS. New York and London: Scribner's. 1937. xxxiii + 43 pp. + facsimile. 16s.

The treasures of the Folger Shakespeare Library are beginning to find their way into the libraries and studies of scholars, and to be made available for general use, thanks to the generous and enlightened policy of the Library Trustees and the wise guidance of the Director, Professor Quincy Adams. The two volumes now under consideration are of great interest and value.

Professor Bald, to whom we already owe an excellent edition of Middleton's *Game of Chess*, has edited *The Mayor of Queenborough* from the Lambarde manuscript, of which it forms part. The manuscript is not one of the more important play-manuscripts, as it now appears upon full knowledge. It is obviously a transcript of a prompt-copy, not a prompt-copy, as is also the rival MS. of the same play at Welbeck Abbey. The well-known MS. of Suckling's *Aglaura*, intended for a royal spectator, shows how far a transcriber can be a slavish copyist. But it is a rare thing to have a play in a quarto print and in two manuscript versions. Mr Bald has used his opportunity to the full.

I do not find myself in agreement with his identification of the two hands in the two manuscripts as being of the same scribe. I do not perhaps attach the same importance to 'slope and pen-pressure' as Mr Bald. And I should be inclined to attribute the Folger manuscript rather towards the third than the second quarter of the century (p. xxv). I might add to the footnote on p. xxxiii the comment that there is in fact an example in a MS. play (*The Bugbears*) of the songs with music appended at the end of the play. This bears out conclusively Professor Quincy Adams's observation here.

I regret myself that Professor Bald has thought it right to 'edit' the text to the extent of incorporating readings from the quarto text, and to alter spellings in some instances. What we have in his text, in fact, is neither a reproduction of the manuscript nor an edited text, but something between both. It would surely have been consistent to read, e.g. *watte faide* in the text, and to record in a footnote '*Q. watile-fac'd*', instead of vice versa (III, 3, 124). I admit that it is a problem of some difficulty to formulate a policy. But the important thing here is the manuscript and the provision of material, which seems to have been Mr Bald's main object, except for occasional qualms of this sort.

In Plate IV, for 'fol. 55b', read '35b'. On p. 76: v, 1, the manuscript is more sophisticated than the Introduction suggests as the intention of the editor. There seems to be an attempt at verse-lining, hardly justified. The reading *wore* from Q instead of the MS. *worne*, which appears also

in the MS. three lines above, is adopted to produce an accidental rhyme. *wise* for MS. *wisse* is read for no clear reason. Is *wise* the meaning? Or is it the expletive *wis*? Professor Bald's introductory matter is most helpful and appreciative, though I am not happy about the evidence, e.g. of fourteeners and rescued 'scraps of verse', as proof of an *Ur-Mayor of Queenborough*. There is an interesting Appendix on the Hengist Legend.

Professor Quincy Adams gives us a welcome facsimile of an extremely interesting unique copy of Middleton's *Ghost of Lucrece*, appending to it an edited text in modern type, with an admirable set of notes on the poem. (I wonder if the difficult l. 81 is not a reference to something like the 'art' of crystal-gazing, known to the Elizabethans.) The Introduction establishes Middleton as the author of the poem satisfactorily, and throws much light on the history of his poetic activities. I have doubts about the validity of the observation (p. xxiii, note 1) that Simmes's failure to enter *The Ghost of Lucrece* in *S.R.* indicated a low estimate of the value of the copyright. The book is a notable addition to an Elizabethan library.

We may now, we hope, look forward to further gifts to scholarship from the same source, e.g. *Oenone and Paris*, another unique. In the meantime, we are profoundly grateful for these two important books, and to their editors as well as to the Folger Library.

C. J. Sisson.

LONDON.

The Poetical Career of Alexander Pope. By ROBERT KILBURN ROOT. Princeton: University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1938. viii + 248 pp. 11s. 6d.

Professor Root, who is already known to students of Pope for his work on the *Dunciad*, will win their further thanks for this readable and sensible study of the development (if that word is valid) of Pope as a poet. The pastorals, the poems of the 'Maze of Fancy', the Homer, the *Dunciad* (of 1729 and 1743), and the 'Moralized Song' are treated in chronological order, and there are additional, more general chapters on *The Canons of Poetic Art*, *The Heroic Couplet*, and *The Art of Satire*. The main virtue of the book is its balance, nothing of major importance is wholly omitted, nothing is laboured. Students will find the book a useful companion to Professor Sherburn's brilliant pioneering criticism in his *Best of Pope* (it is a pity that that modest but indispensable work has not yet appeared in an English edition).

Professor Root contributes most to the criticism of Pope when he seeks to recreate the effect which Pope's successive poems produced on their first readers. The method, when applied, for example, to the *Rape of the Lock*, produces the following:

Suppose you were asked to write today a great poem on a week-end house-party, its heroine an empty-headed débutante, its hero a college undergraduate; its chief episode a ride in a motor car, the mixing of cocktails, a game of bridge; its story a passing flirtation, in the course of which the undergraduate hero, having accepted a dare, snips a lock from out the débutante's permanent wave... For [Pope's contem-

porary readers] powdered wigs and knee-buckles and snuff-boxes . were not picturesque fashions of long ago, but familiar matter of today. Mr Pope's sylphs were fluttering down the columns of society news and the social register (pp. 81 f.).

And Professor Root pauses at 1718, in which year Pope reached the age of thirty, to suggest that if Pope, like Shelley, had died at this age he would have received the acclamations of the nineteenth-century critics as a 'romantic' poet, and we should never have heard of the 'wasp of Twickenham'. The method leading to these and similar positions is as novel as it is persuasive. Our first difficulty in approaching an eighteenth-century poet is to get rid of the nineteenth century. Quite clearly, Professor Root has been teaching Pope on admirable lines.

The defects of his work strike the present reviewer as two. Professor Root fails sometimes to appreciate his poet as closely as seems essential when the poet is Pope. His Pope turns out not quite dazzling enough to be the real Pope. (The stockings were silk until Crabbe wore them.) The *Moral Essays* are surely not simply 'witty and entertaining', with not 'much profundity of thought or poignancy of feeling', 'poetic badinage'. The second defect is one of oversight. Professor Root does not use all the recent work on Pope which has been appearing in the periodicals.

One or two smaller points. (1) the account of Spenser's influence on Pope neglects the influence of his diction. (2) What is the ground for implying (p. 32) that the stanza later used for Gray's *Elegy* had already by 1717 taken on 'the tone of pensive melancholy', so that Pope might have considered using it for his *Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady*? Was it not still primarily the tougher 'metaphysical' stanza of *Nosce Teipsum*, *Gondibert* and *Annus Mirabilis*? (3) After citing (inaccurately—the MS. is on this side of the Atlantic) the extant lines of *Brutus*, Professor Root comments: 'These lines show that Pope could write blank verse at least as well as his friend, James Thomson, but not a single example of the form is found in his published verse.' There are other published examples of Pope's blank verse. in his letter to Cromwell of 21 December 1711, and in his edition of Shakespeare where he ekes out as blank verse passages which in the original text are apparently misrepresented as prose. Pope's extant blank verse is individual enough to forbid comparison with Thomson's. They are writing two widely different kinds. Pope's blank verse derives from dramatic blank verse. as represented, e.g., in Rowe; Thomson's derives from *Paradise Lost*. (4) Professor Root follows Lytton Strachey in using the line—

Die of a rose in aromatic pain

—as an instance of Pope's capacity to produce 'poetic beauty'. The honour of that line, however, must go mainly to Pope's friend, Lady Anne Winchilsea (see her *Spleen*, stanza 2). (5) On p. 32, despite additional instances given in a tailnote (the word 'footnote' no longer serves for American books), Professor Root does not do justice to Pope's technical capacity in metres other than the heroic couplet.

I have noted the following errors: on p. 97 for 'T. Oldmixon' read 'J. Oldmixon'; for '1619' (the date given for Drayton's *Englands*

Heroicall Epistles) read '1597-9', for '1637' (the date given for Wye Saltonstall's translation of the *Heroides*) read '1636' (see *S.T.C.*); on p. 237 for 'S. R. Sutherland' read 'J. R. Sutherland', on p. 227 Mr Ault's edition of the *Prose Works* (published by B. Blackwell, Oxford) is confused with the forthcoming edition of the *Poetical Works* (excluding Homer) which is to be published by Methuen's.

GEOFFREY TILLOTSON.

LONDON.

The Poems of Jonathan Swift. Edited by HAROLD WILLIAMS. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1937. Vol. I, lxi + 354 pp., Vol. II, viii + 355-766 pp.; Vol. III, viii + 767-1242 pp. Three vols., 60s.

The position of Swift among eighteenth-century poets has been a curious one: everything has conspired to make posterity neglect his poetic achievement. He was himself a great prose-writer, and it has been assumed that his verse (as, indeed, much of it was) must have been written with his left hand. He was the friend of poets who, by their single devotion to verse-composition, have overshadowed him. Dryden's 'Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet' has stuck to his memory like an unlucky burr. But no one, perhaps, has done more to hurt his reputation as a poet than Swift himself. In contrast with Pope, who was infinitely careful of his poetical fame, Swift frequently tossed his verses aside, or allowed them to reach the public in a haphazard fashion. If Pope rarely left one of his poems alone, but was always seeking to bring it to a final perfection, Swift seems to have been one of those poets who throw off a set of verses while the fit is on them, and by the very act of expression lose further interest in what they have written. His lines are not unfinished; they are firmly and competently fitted together, and hammered down hard. But they have an air of finality that comes from their very force rather than from delicate adjustment and repeated polishing. It is clear, in fact, that much of Swift's verse was an immediate relief for his feelings. Once the poem was written it had served its purpose; Swift was even with the world again. His attitude towards publication is peculiar to him. When George Faulkner was preparing his 1735 edition of the *Works*, he used to take the proof-sheets to the Deanery and read them aloud to Swift. But not to Swift only: two of Swift's manservants were present, who had been instructed by the author to listen to the reading, 'which, if they did not comprehend', Faulkner notes, 'he would alter and amend, until they understood it perfectly well, and then would say, *This will do; for I write to the Vulgar, more than to the Learned*'. This anecdote (noted by Mr Williams in his Introduction) is oddly characteristic of Swift. One suspects that the two servants were introduced, not so much to provide posterity with a clean and intelligible text of his poems, as to let Faulkner know what Swift thought of this solemn business of preparing his poetical trifles for publication.

For the editor of Swift, such facts as those present considerable problems, the most serious of which is the determination of the Swift

canon. His habit of anonymity, joined to his notoriety, made him the prey of dishonest booksellers, who cheerfully foisted upon him all sorts of verses that he never acknowledged, and had probably never written. In his handling of the problems of authorship Mr Williams is admirably judicious. It is not the least of his many services to Swift studies that he has determined with authority what we may reasonably ascribe to Swift, and what must be rejected or treated with the gravest suspicion. In the case of doubtful ascriptions, the second-hand bookseller will, very naturally, continue to throw in his weight on the side of certainty; but the scholar has now an authority to which he can appeal.

As to the text of the poems (printed here in chronological order), Mr Williams has made it pretty clear that Faulkner's edition of 1735 must be given far more serious consideration than it has ever yet received. He himself has gone upon the principle of printing 'from manuscript, from a first edition, or from an authoritative early text'. There is one exception, 'Verses on the Death of Dr Swift', where, owing to the special nature of the problems involved, he has attempted to reconstruct the full text, using Faulkner's edition of 1739 as the basis. Each poem is introduced to the reader with a full bibliographical description, and, wherever possible, the editor has tried to determine the date of composition, and to explain the circumstances in which the poem was written. Taken along with the annotations of the text, these introductory descriptions throw a great deal of light on Swift's career, on his quarrels and friendships, and on the peculiar cast of his mind. Future biographers will do well to take full advantage of Mr Williams's scholarship.

Mr Williams seems not to have examined the Chancery Bill which Motte filed in 1735 against Faulkner and others (C 11/2249/4). By doing so he might have supplemented slightly his account of Faulkner's Irish edition of the Works. According to Motte, Faulkner had announced his intention about December 1733 'in a common news paper Called the generall Evening post' of publishing an edition of Swift's works in Dublin. Motte charges Faulkner with confederating with A. Bettsworth and Charles Hitch of London, partners, Charles Davis of London (Mr Williams suggests that Davis may have been working in conjunction with Motte and Gulliver), and John Hopkins of Preston. Faulkner, it appears, gave out that 'he and others his said Confederates intended to make presents of the said Works printed by him as aforesaid among his friends and Acquaintance, and not to sell or expose them to Sale'. From the joint answer of Bettsworth, Hitch, and Davis, however, the fact emerges that Faulkner had left with each of them one hundred sets of the Works; and they expressed their belief that another parcel had been sent to Thomas Woodward.

It need hardly be added that in an edition of this scope the editor has collated the various early editions and provided a full apparatus of textual variants. The thing obviously had to be done, and it may seem ungracious, in view of the heavy editorial labours involved, to question the value of such a minute examination of the various editions. The fact

remains, however, that the result of all this labour is for the most part a listing of the aberrations and eccentricities of Swift's first printers. Where a poet like Pope is concerned, an examination of the early editions reveals frequent revision by the author, but with Swift there is little to be learnt from a comparison of variant readings for which he had almost invariably no responsibility. In his annotation of the text Mr Williams carries on the succinct and scholarly tradition of Elrington Ball and Nichol Smith with Swift's Correspondence. His notes are admirably disciplined and to the point; they serve constantly for illumination, and never for display.

JAMES R. SUTHERLAND.

LONDON.

Carlyle et la Pensée Latine. By ALAN CAREY TAYLOR. (*Études de Littérature Étrangère et Comparée.* 8.) Paris. Boivin. 1937. viii+437 pp. 60 fr.

Carlyle's Fusion of Poetry, History, and Religion by 1834. By HILL SHINE. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1938. viii+85 pp. 7s.

Carlyle und das Puritanertum. By WILHELM GREY. Würzburg. Richard Mayr. 1937. xvi+107 pp.

These books on Carlyle are part of the evidence that Carlyle is once more under discussion. Anybody might have foretold, even in the hour of its deepest depression, that his mere artistry would secure a revival of his fame, and that despite the deepening dislike of his ideas in democratic countries. In a way it is Carlyle's misfortune to have been taken up heartily by the totalitarian states and appreciated in his own country merely as a forceful writer.

In his *Carlyle et la Pensée Latine*, Dr Taylor presents us with the detailed story of the reaction of the Latin peoples to Carlyle's style and gospel. If his plan had allowed of the inclusion of the German reaction, we would have had the complete history of the repercussions of Carlyle's doctrines in Europe down to our own day, and that at the present moment would have been a valuable contribution to political ideology. As it is, we are glad to have this limited survey which indicates with conscientious thoroughness the changing attitude to the Sage in the three great Latin countries.

Among the French, who had the immense difficulty of struggling with an author whose style was barbaric and whose ideas were Germanic, Carlyle has on the whole fared better than might have been expected. Dr Taylor describes three waves of interest in his works: in the year of revolutions, 1848, and a year or two after; in the years following the publication of *Frederick the Great*, 1865; and in the first decade of our century. The second wave subsided on the discovery in the Franco-German war of 1870 that Carlyle was inveterately German in his sympathies, and the

third subsided when his beloved Germans again broke into France in 1914. One would say of these years that the French were more anxious to be interested in Carlyle than his countrymen were, if only his friends across the border would allow them.

When French interest in Carlyle disappeared in 1914, the other Latin peoples began to take notice of him. In Italy the theory of the Hero attracted attention in the years when Fascism was preparing its bolt. But though he was greatly read—as new editions and translations into Italian witness—the new régime was a decade old before the professors began the active exploitation of the Scotch calvinist in the interests of Fascism. Then, after 1931 or so, came a stream of inspired commentaries of the kind we are familiar with in Germany, of which Licciardelli's *Benito Mussolini e Tommaso Carlyle* is typical. Mussolini it seems is the modern Abbot Samson!

Dr Taylor has gone into all this matter with admirable patience and understanding. His scholarly book should be treasure-trove for some more journalistic pen which would write up the story with all its possibilities of humour and tragedy.

The fusion Mr Hill Shine has in view in his *Carlyle's Fusion of Poetry, History, and Religion* is in effect the religious interpretation of history presented with all the glamour of poetry for which *The Diamond Necklace* was a trial flight and *The French Revolution* the splendid example. These three chapters or essays (they originally appeared as such in *Studies in Philology*) describe Carlyle's tentative seeking after this synthesis. *The French Revolution* showed, in Mr C. F. Harrold's words, "a belief in the transcendent sovereignty of Right in a world of immanent divine law". To reveal the supernatural in the natural was for him realism, and in Reality alone existed Romance. Perhaps the most interesting section of the book is the second essay, where the author shows the younger Carlyle groping towards a new conception of art. He would like to have been a creative artist, but early nineteenth-century ideas of poetry aroused all his puritan instincts against mere amusive fiction. The Germans revealed a new world to him (had he no Wordsworth?) in which the poet discarded the old fictions and dealt with 'purest truth'. One would like to have had more space to follow Mr Shine in his account of the great writer's spiritual Odyssey. The reader can at least be assured that here is no dead matter, but the material from which 'Preludes' are made. And if a little comic relief is wanted, the spectacle of the early Carlyle trying to persuade himself that he was, after Goethe, the sponsor of a new tolerant morality, may serve.

Dr Grey's thesis runs true to its German type of scholarship. Whence the present rage in Germany for digging up the roots of English puritanism? May it be that the Nazi régime finds its own reflexion in that glass? Personal purity, the glorification of labour, race segregation and race pride leading to power politics—these are the elements in Carlyle's inherited puritanism which inspire official German life today. Dr Grey sometimes strains the facts, especially in the section which identifies puritanism with English Imperialism (e.g. p. 100, 'Denselben puritanisch-

imperialistischen Glauben finden wir bei dem Staatsmann Gladstone (!'), but his book is a creditable piece of research in the manner of Schücking and his disciples.

GEORGE KITCHIN.

EDINBURGH.

Three Rossettis Unpublished Letters to and from Dante Gabriel, Christina, William. Collected and edited by JANET CAMP TROXELL. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1937. 216 pp. 15s.

Of the letters in this somewhat miscellaneous collection, the most interesting series are those from D. G. Rossetti to Howell relating to the exhumation of Mrs Rossetti (previously published in *The Colophon*) and those from D. G. Rossetti to the elderly and somewhat eccentric Miss Losh whose heart and purse Rossetti captured at Penkill in 1868. These latter, surprisingly, contain interesting comments by Rossetti upon his own poems. Single letters of interest, first published here, are Ruskin's first letter to D. G. Rossetti; an invitation from Owen's College, Manchester, to D. G. Rossetti, to lecture (declined); one from George Meredith commenting upon *Evan Harrington*; one from Mrs Gaskell telling an amusing tale of Wordsworth's anxiety for the *mot juste*; one from Holman Hunt throwing new light upon the Pre-Raphaelite illustrations to Tennyson's *Poems* of 1857, and one from D. G. Rossetti to the painter Sandys, showing, despite their quarrel, unusual affection. The remainder of the letters here collected (some of which are neither to nor from the Rossettis) are of but minor (often indeed of very minor) worth.

The editorial commentary, consisting chiefly of matter drawn from some of the best-known sources of Rossettian biography and largely anecdotal in kind, does not entirely satisfy the critical reader. With most of it the readers of such a volume as this may be presumed to be already acquainted. On the other hand, many details demanding editorial elucidation are inadequately treated or entirely ignored. For example, no date is suggested for Munro's letter on p. 19 which, alluding as it does to D. G. Rossetti's being prevented by illness from occupying his new rooms, is obviously of November 1852. Similarly, the extraordinarily apologetic tone of Ruskin's first letter (pp. 25-6) fails to receive its explanation, i.e. that it is due to Gabriel's previous indignant refusal to allow McCracken to make Ruskin's approval of his pictures a condition of purchase. Nor are we informed that Sir Sidney Colvin was author of the article on D. G. Rossetti in the *Westminster Review* (pp. 99 and 102), nor that Isa Craig (p. 142 footnote) was editor of *An Offering to Lancashire* (1863), an anthology of poems (issued to assist sufferers in the cotton famine) to which both Gabriel and Christina contributed. Nor, when Christina refers to this same volume as 'The Lancashire Cotton Famine Collection' (p. 177), does the remark receive editorial elucidation. Similarly, Emily Faithful deserves, if not a detailed note, at least a reference to Hardman's diary. Gabriel's 'Good Teakey' (to his mother) for

'Antique' is unexplained. The two Henriettas (Polydore and Rintoul) vainly demand differentiation on p. 145, and the latter fails to receive identification with William Rossetti's unnamed first fiancée who on p. 182 is considered to be unidentified and unidentifiable.

Rossetti authorities, particularly unpublished passages of F. M. Brown's diary and portions published in Hueffer's *Ancient Lights*, negative the suggestion (p. 34) that D. G. Rossetti refrained from adverse criticism of his friends, nor can we agree that until 1871 he did not yield to indulgence in spirits (p. 108). In 1869 he told Shields he 'had for a year and a half fallen into the constant habit of resorting to them at night to secure sleep'. Nor could D. G. Rossetti, who was in Scotland from June to the end of September 1872, have been at Kelmscott on 8 August, as suggested (p. 186 footnote). The most important of D. G. Rossetti's notes on W. B. Scott's *Life* of his brother David are not, as the editor appears to believe, unobtainable (pp. 206-7), but were published in the 1911 edition of D. G. Rossetti's *Works*.

The exhumation of Rossetti's manuscript took place apparently on 5 or 6 October 1869. Gabriel did not, as here stated, inform William Rossetti of it on the 5th, but on the 13th. It was Miss Boyd who burned Rossetti's I.O.U.s to Miss Losh.

For 'Girvon' read 'Girvan' (p. 50) and for 'Lecomte de Lisle' read 'Leconte de Lisle' (p. 190). There is no bibliography and the illustration entitled 'Lizzie Siddal from a drawing by Rossetti' (facing p. 4), which does not resemble Lizzie, has been declared by a correspondent in *The Times Literary Supplement* of 9 July 1938 to be not of Miss Siddal, but a study by Burne-Jones for the Queen in *Laus Veneris*, of which a water-colour version is dated 1861-2.

Despite these and other flaws, Mrs Troxell's volume undoubtedly takes its place amongst desirable Rossettiana.

OSWALD DOUGHTY.

CAPE TOWN.

Thomas Hardy: a Study of his Writings and their Background. By WILLIAM R. RUTLAND. Oxford: Blackwell. 1938. ix+365 pp. 21s.

Dr Rutland has put together a miscellany of information, not all to be found in the huge Hardy literature already existing, some of it trivial but some worth having on record. From the library at Max Gate he has been able to glean facts about Hardy's reading, particularly from pencilled notes and underlinings. Thus he thinks that such ideas as of Omnipotence willing human misery and of conscious mind as the product of some unconscious process may be traced to J. S. Mill's *Three Essays on Religion* (1874). The detailed account of the early and forgotten works, of cancelled passages in the novels, of contemporary reviews, and of the circumstances in which individual works were produced, throw some light on Hardy's development. Why did he send Jude to Oxford? Dr Rutland urges that the Jowett case made him regard this as the peculiar lair of obscurantism, and that the Parnell affair was one of the things which prompted this and other studies of sexual irregularities. Admittedly, both *Tess* and *Jude*

are too fiercely argumentative, but is it quite fair to call them didactic? *The Woodlanders*, also, had touched on such matters, and Dr Rutland declares that 'the *historical* significance of this part has been almost wholly ignored hitherto'. He is rather addicted to such claims of priority. It is nothing new that *Desperate Remedies* was an effort in the Wilkie Collins vein. At the time everyone recognized it. 'A plot-novel of the Wilkie Collins brand' is a printed note of the present reviewer's dating from 1899, and still extant in later editions of *A Guide to the Best Fiction*.

ERNEST E. BAKER.

LONDON.

York Minster Screen a Specimen of the North Riding Dialect (1833).

Yorkshire Dialect Society Reprint I. Edited by W. J. HALLIDAY. Kendal. 1937. 16 pp. 1s.

First published in 1833, the *York Minster Screen* contains some 215 lines of doggerel verse written in Yorkshire dialect by a (? Yorkshire) lawyer named G. N. Brown. As explained in one of several notes by Professor Dickins, the poem is one of a series of pamphlets and flysheets called forth by a proposal to move the Minster choir-screen. This proposal was made by the architect employed to repair the damage caused by the fire in the Minster in 1829. The present edition is a page for page and line for line reprint of the original.

A note upon the dialect of the poem is contributed by the Society's energetic Editorial Secretary, Mr Halliday, who identifies the piece with the Northallerton dialect and links up (not wholly convincingly) various words and orthographical conventions with certain features of the existing dialect. He concludes with a phonetic rendering of 16 lines showing the writer's probable pronunciation. But this contains several questionable forms, including [tku: ntri] (query [u:]), [Minsθə] (why the capital M?), [makz] (l. 6; why [z]?), and [auə] (l. 9; Brown's *owr* seems to mean 'where', not 'over').

A study of the orthography of the poem would throw much light upon the contemporary pronunciation. Yet, as Mr Halliday points out, the author sometimes lapses into Standard English. For example, in none of the seven possible cases is the *g* dropped in *-ing*. Moreover, there are two or three forms that are extremely dubious, e.g. *neavesful* (query, a hyper-literary form for *neavefuls*, i.e. 'fistfuls'), *caredn't* (i.e. 'cared not'), *two'alve* (i.e. 'twelve'; *a* for *e* in this word is Scotch, but not evidenced in England, cf. Wright, *E.D.D.* s.v.) and *bedoot*, 'without'. The words *neavesful* and *bedoot* are specially interesting. According to the *E.D.D.*, each is found only in Yorkshire, and in each case the informant was the same person, viz. M. C. F. Morris. But, still more curious, the latter's illustrative sentences there quoted too closely resemble the corresponding passages in this poem. Perhaps the Society would confirm the authenticity of these words?

Students of dialect will be grateful to the Society for making the poem more generally accessible in this new edition.

HAROLD ORTON.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

The Old French Lives of Saint Agnes, and other vernacular Versions of the Middle Ages. Edited with an Introduction by ALEXANDER JOSEPH DENOMY. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1938. xi+283 pp. 17s.

This is a work of very considerable erudition, especially on the hagiographical side. The author has read a great number of manuscripts in several languages, and the five Old French Lives here given are all published for the first time in full.

The book is divided into three parts, followed by five appendices, the nucleus being Part II, which was apparently the original doctoral thesis. Part I traces the origin and growth of the legend of St Agnes, dealing more particularly with the Pseudo-Ambrosian *Gesta Sanctae Agnetis*, a Latin work of probably the sixth century, on which most of the subsequent Lives appear to have been based. Part II, as already indicated, is devoted to the *pièce de résistance*, the *De Sancta Agnes* (here called A) of the MS. Bib. Nat. fr. 1553, written in the middle of the thirteenth century. The poem is in rhyming decasyllabic quatrains, with the Latin prose Life intercalated. Dr Denomy places his study of the language of the manuscript before the text, and concludes that the poet was a native of the Northern part of France (since the forms are often Picard), but one educated in the literary dialect of Central French. On p. 39, 'the North-west territory' is surely a misprint, p. 63 refers in the same connection to the North-east. After the text A come Notes, in some cases of a somewhat obvious and elementary character, e.g. l. 303, 'renie', imperative 2nd person singular; l. 729, 'quis, i.e. qui les', and there are repeated observations on the neglect of the *s* of declension in the manuscript. The impression made by a reading of the poem is that, if without the lyric beauty of, say, *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, it has graphic and dramatic vividness, and is worthy of study. The author was probably a cleric, perhaps a minstrel, to judge by the frequent use of 'oiés', 'vous dirai', etc. He has made of a heavy narrative a simple, touching story, 'ki por oir est molt et bonne et biele'.

The heading of Part III, 'Other Vernacular Lives of Saint Agnes in the Middle Ages', is rather curious, seeing that fifteen pages are devoted to a further examination of A (the subject of Part II), and that it includes a four-page notice of an Irish version of the legend found in a manuscript dated 1800. As for the mediaeval Lives here treated, they include four Old French versions. *Le Martire de Sainte Agnes* (here called B and given in Appendix I) is found only in the Carpentras MS. 106. It is a poem in stanzas of ten alexandrines, and contains many traits peculiar to Northern dialects. On p. 192, note 1, 'veclus' is surely meant to be, as in the *Appendix Probi*, a popular form of 'vetulus', and not vice versa. *La Vie Seinte Angneys* (here C) is from B.M. Cotton Domitian XI. (This manuscript, for some reason which enquiry at the Department of MSS. at the British Museum failed to elucidate, is here given the number B.M. 29,384.) The *Vie Seinte Angneys* is in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, with the usual Anglo-Norman irregularities in versification; it purports to be by Bozun, identified by Paul Meyer, who printed the first 105 verses, with

Nicole Bozon, the Franciscan friar of the early fourteenth century. Dr Denomy does not agree with Paul Meyer's reading of vv. 13-14. 'Agniel lete et ele letout, De Dieu la dulceur ke bien la pout', conjecturing 'Agniel lece et ele le tout' he translates 'The lamb is a joyful creature, and she (Agnes) obtained it (this joy) from the sweetness of God who could easily impart it'! I think, however, that Meyer was right, and that the meaning is 'The lamb drinks (milk), and she (Agnes) drank this sweetness from God. . ' etc., the word 'letout' being the especially Anglo-Norman form of the imperfect indicative of the first conjugation. Comparison with the manuscript reveals other points which may need revision, and on p. 220, note 2, the reference to v. 183 should apparently be to v. 163, while note 3 on p. 221 seems to refer to vv. 116-17, and not to vv. 118-19. There is repeated reference to 'a curious orthographic sign—', 'a double b-shaped figure apparently . . only used as a hiatus-breaker', 'the orthographical curlcue'. This is merely the *w* often found in dialects of the East of France, especially in Hainault and Lorraine, for example in the Lorraine Psalter, Ps. 57. 11, 'lowierr', and frequently in the Edinburgh *Tristan* (National Library of Scotland 19.1.3, *Le Bret.*), to obviate a hiatus. This *w* is found in several other places in the MS. of C, where Dr Denomy has not transcribed it.

In addition to these poems, the work under review contains two Old French prose translations of the Life of Saint Agnes, from B.N. fr. 412 and 23,114 respectively. There are also notes on the Provençal miracle play, *Sancta Agnes* (published by M. Jeanroy), one of the few dramatic productions of Provence, combining lyrics, music and drama, on an Italian prose translation of the fifteenth century edited by G. Batelli, and on other published Lives of the Saint, in Old English, Frankish and Irish.

The Glossary at the end of the book relates only to A, and gives modern French translations. It would have been an advantage to have had the English equivalents, since the work is in English. Some slips in the French have escaped the eye of the proof corrector. It would have been convenient to have adopted the usual practice, in editing Old French texts, of putting an acute accent on the final accented *e*, to distinguish it from feminine *e*. In the Bibliography, p. 268, 'Paris, Gaston, *Histoire de la littérature française*, vol. 33' presumably refers to the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 33, where the article on Legendaries is by Paul Meyer, not by Paris. On p. 120 Gaston Paris is given as the author of the article on Legendaries in '*Histoire de la littérature française*, xxxiii', and this is repeated on p. 175, note 2, though Paul Meyer is there given as the author. The correct title of the *Histoire littéraire de la France* appears on p. 269.

There is a great deal of valuable matter in this work; the Index is useful and the Bibliography impressive.

F. C. JOHNSON.

Frankreichs Literatur im XVI. Jahrhundert. Eine nationalpolitische Geistesgeschichte der französischen Renaissance. By WALTER MONCH. (*Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, begründet von G. Grober. Neue Folge. Geschichte der franz. Lit. V.*) Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1938. xiii + 333 pp. M. 14.

Dr Monch is to be congratulated upon a very scholarly and well-informed survey of French thought and literature from Farel to St Francis of Sales, from Marot to Malherbe and from Rabelais to Honoré d'Urfé. It is true that, in these days, the subtitle of the work is a little alarming, but the alarm is dispersed by the work itself. The three parts into which the volume is divided correspond to the three generations of the French Renaissance: that of Francis I and Margaret of Navarre; that of Henry II and Ronsard, and that of Henry IV and Agrippa d'Aubigné. Within each of these chapters an introductory section deals with the political, cultural, philosophical and religious background, succeeding sections, each methodically subdivided, summarize the contribution of writers and thinkers of the most diverse and varied kinds. A most admirable conciseness and continuity is maintained in spite of the wide casting of the author's net and the introduction of some names of relative obscurity.

The Renaissance period is perhaps unparalleled for the conflict of incompatible or contradictory ideas that run through it in complicated confusion; Dr Monch has steered his craft with sure hand from the maelstrom of the early period, with its rapidly growing and transforming protestantism, nationalism and platonism, through the religious, political and supremely important aesthetic turmoils of the middle period to the religious and political pessimism of the end of the century, itself leading towards the reconstitution of thought and letters in the following age. No essential detail is omitted from the development, and a clear index of names, combined with a bibliography arranged in parallel to the divisions of the book, make the work useful as a work of reference. But its chief value is rather as a synthesis. However disturbing the *leitmotiv* of the book may appear from the subtitle, it ensures a striking unity in the handling of matter so difficult to regiment. This unity is largely produced by the skilful and harmonious welding of the chronological and the topical methods, without the attendant danger of the establishment of too-watertight compartments between one generation and another, one group and another.

The book is well printed and contains few misprints. Some readers will miss from the bibliography (which in a work of this nature must clearly be far from exhaustive) such important recent studies as Naef's *Origines de la Réforme à Genève*, Polman's *L'élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVIIe siècle*, Lebègue's articles on Horace in France, and Billeskov-Janssen's *Sources vives de la pensée de Montaigne*. If, as the work deserves, it runs into a second edition, an expansion of the bibliography would increase the value of what is already a most necessary tenant of the bookshelves of any 'seizié-

miste' and, indeed, of any serious student of French literature and history.

H. W. LAWTON.

SOUTHAMPTON.

The Works of Guillaume de Salluste Sieur du Bartas. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Commentary, and Variants. In three volumes. By URBAN TIGNER HOLMES, JR., JOHN CORIDEN LYONS, ROBERT WHITE LINKER, with the assistance of others. Vol II. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1938. vi + 440 pp. 23s

Le second volume de cette édition des œuvres complètes de du Bartas justifie pleinement les espérances que le premier nous avait fait concevoir (cf. vol. xxxii, p. 108). Il se divise en deux parties d'inégal intérêt: la première donne les poèmes qui forment *La Muse Chrestienne*, c'est-à-dire *La Judit*, *Le Triomphe de la Foi*, *L'Uranie* et quelques sonnets, la seconde, de beaucoup la plus importante, est constituée par le texte de *La Création du Monde ou Première Sepmaine*. Nous ne dirons ici que quelques mots de la poésie de du Bartas; le troisième volume nous fournira, avant longtemps, nous l'espérons, l'occasion d'examiner rapidement le sujet dans son ensemble. Nous ne pouvons cependant nous empêcher de faire remarquer maintenant combien, dès *La Première Sepmaine*, l'auteur a élargi l'idéal de la Pléiade et le champ même de la poésie française. Ce poème en effet, qui s'apparente beaucoup plus au *De rerum natura* de Lucrèce et, chose assez remarquable, aux *Sommes* du moyen âge qu'au *Paradise Lost*, est une vaste encyclopédie que pénètre et vivifie un profond sentiment religieux. Que nous nous sentions loin ici de la *Franciade* et des *Hymnes* de Ronsard, à ne considérer que la conception, mais non malheureusement pour l'exécution. Ce sont les défauts de l'exécution qui expliquent la défaveur imméritée qui en France n'a cessé de poursuivre du Bartas. Ses défauts, qui répugnent si vivement aux Français: son mauvais goût, son exubérance, les libertés excessives qu'il prend avec la langue, ne devraient cependant pas leur faire fermer les yeux sur les mérites admirables d'un grand poète qui leur fait le plus grand honneur.

Voici quelques remarques sur le texte, assez peu importantes, comme on le verra. Dans *La Judit*, je relève quelques corrections des éditeurs ou inutiles ou un peu arbitraires:

- I, v. 247: *imiton[s]*: l's est superflue, la forme sigmatique est la règle dans du B., mais il a pu aussi connaître l'autre forme.
- II, v. 399: *bla[s]phemante*: (aucune variante de A, B). L's devant consonne a pu s'amuir.
- III, v. 4: *ta[m]bour*: *tabour* est très régulier (la leçon de A, B n'est pas donnée).
- v. 240: *ondoient deus grand[e]s plumes*, *grandes* est vraisemblable, mais *ondoient* (3 syll.) est possible.
- IV, v. 40: *ose[s]-tu*; même remarque que pour I, 247; cf. d'ailleurs *d'où vien-tu* IV, 332 et autres exemples *passim*.

Dans *Le Triomphe de la Foi*, on lit:

III, v. 98 *a[r]bres*. *a[r]bre*, *abre*, forme donnée aussi par A, B, est assez commun au XVI^e siècle et avant.

Dans un petit nombre de cas, il serait peut-être possible d'améliorer le texte de la *Première Semaine*:

Le Premier Jour, v. 211: à l'arbre un arbre voue. Voue ici ne semble pas offrir de sens, on aurait pu suggérer en note noue qui convient assez bien ou roue avec le sens de 'tourner', 'faire tourner', rouer est commun dans du B.. I, 747, II, 332, 875, etc.

v. 496: imprimer *caystrius* avec trois syllabes.

v. 547: vers court, il faut probablement lire [*de*] *plusieurs jours*.

Le Second Jour, v. 367. lire *au tour*.

v. 716: vers court. Lire *arbres*; noter les pluriels *fleurs...herbes...fructs*.

v. 942: *repas*. Lire *repos*.

Le Sixiesme Jour, v. 195. omettre la virgule après *talons*.

v. 204: omettre la virgule après *jugement*.

Le Septiesme Jour, note du v. 26. Le sens est très clair: font une course dont le prix est une cage

F. J. TANQUEREY.

LONDON.

L'esthétique de Calvin. By LÉON WENCELIUS. Paris. Belles Lettres. 428 pp. 50 fr.

Calvin et Rembrandt By LÉON WENCELIUS. Paris: Belles Lettres. 239 pp. 25 fr.

It may be regarded as a legitimate function of the researcher to provide an erudite public with chapter and verse for what has already been ably and accurately summarized. The gist of these two volumes is given in some hundred-odd words by A. Bossert in his *Calvin* (Paris, Hachette, 1906, pp. 203-4), but there is real value in the expansions effected here by M. Wencelius. The author perhaps exaggerates the extent of the prejudice against Calvin's claim to have an aesthetic at all; anyone who thinks will admit that the founder of an '-ism' of the magnitude of Calvinism is unlikely to leave beauty out of account. So far as the prejudice exists, Calvin's portraits must be largely to blame, they have helped to create an impression of a hard-headed, cold-blooded ascetic from whom one would not expect much appreciation of beauty, much less something approaching a system. Further, the rich chiaroscuro of Rembrandt would, at first sight, appear the very contrary of anything to be compared and related to the spirit of predestinarianism.

L'esthétique de Calvin is a full and systematic study of the Reformer's attitude to *le beau* and *le vrai*. God is the source of all beauty, and Man, before the Fall, could freely participate in the enjoyment of the divine gift, after the Fall, evil took on a deceitful beauty to entrap the human race, but the Redemption operated a further change and henceforward all beauty must have a spiritual quality, leading to the untarnished beauty of the Kingdom of God and culminating in the splendour of the

Beatific Vision. Contrasts with the Aristotelian, the Thomistic and the Platonist aesthetics are clearly drawn. The section dealing with Art and General Grace shows that art must now conform to the word and the spirit of God, must be conscientiously developed, used with moderation and humility to the glory of God. Some special applications are passed in review: dress, dancing, the theatre (Calvin adopts an attitude of reserve, recognizing its educational value), architecture (harmony, moderation and suitability are emphasized), painting and sculpture (images of God were proscribed, but Calvin was no iconoclast). A third part deals with Art and Special Grace, traces the adumbrations in the Old Testament of the splendour of the coming Christ, condemns in an unnecessarily long chapter the ceremonial of the Roman Church, repeating, without due consideration of the spiritual values concerned, the atrabiliary fulminations of the Reformer, and emphasizes Calvin's enthusiasm for music and singing. The last part deals with literature and revelation, summarizing and illustrating Calvin's views on the art of thinking, on style and on poetry. Here and in the general conclusions Calvin's aesthetic is rightly shown to be more akin to the classicism of the seventeenth century than to the individualism of either the Renaissance or of the nineteenth century. The work is somewhat repetitive and on occasions the author protests overmuch; there is insufficient criticism as distinct from exposition of Calvin's views. The style is marred by a predilection for certain terms, like *œuvrer*, which occurs far too frequently. There are curious constructions like 'Quelles que belles que soient nos œuvres, quels que nombreux que soient les applaudissements' (p. 109), and a number of misprints easily emended at sight (with the possible exception of 'Sans' for 'Dans' introducing the final paragraph on p. 163).

Calvin et Rembrandt has similar qualities and defects ('Rembrandt comme Calvin ont compris...', p. 148) and some symbolical interpretation of the painter's work which, while no doubt inseparable from such a study, frequently begs question. On the whole, however, M. Wencelius makes his point and the book offers a useful and for the most part interesting illustration of the principles outlined in parts of the *Esthétique* and proof of the justness of vision that sees in Rembrandt the supreme realization in pictorial art of the Calvinistic spirit.

H. W. LAWTON.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Racine and the 'Art Poétique' of Boileau. By Sister MARIE PHILIP HALEY. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; London. Humphrey Milford. 1938. 245 pp. 11s. 6d.

In a great part of her book on Racine and Boileau, Sister Marie Haley beats down a door which has been open for some years. She proves that Racine was in no sense a pupil of Boileau, and that—on the other hand—Boileau's idea of Tragedy is not particularly Racinian. In spite of the familiarity of these positions, her labour is not vain: at least she gives us in an English book what was hitherto concealed in French periodicals;

and, what is more, she establishes her case with more dignity, documentation and balance than were found in the earlier statements of it. Her enquiry proceeds along two parallel lines, the literary and the personal.

On the literary side, she has two distinct tasks to perform: one of historical research and interpretation, the other of analysis. In the field of literary history, her account of the dispute between Racine and Nicole (in which there is no Demeure for her to follow) is exceptionally lucid and convincing. Her analyses of literary doctrines are for the most part irreproachable, though she seems once or twice to have mistaken the direction or the range of certain passages in the *Art Poétique*. She omits from her bibliography Demeure's article in *Mercur de France*, vol. cci, and Hunter's edition of Chapelain.

She follows tradition in attempting to define the precise degree of indifference or warmth in the personal relationships of her authors at particular times—an attempt which is frustrated, inevitably, by sheer lack of evidence. Such relationships are so notoriously liable to frequent and drastic change, that only a continuous series of *lettres intimes* could justify it. Besides, we often find authors personally at enmity, but professionally in agreement, and vice versa. For example, Segrais was an enemy of Boileau, but he (alone, I think, in the seventeenth century) anticipated Boileau's own view of the aesthetic superiority of pagan mythology over *le merveilleux chrétien*.

The author's account (pp. 95 *et seq.*) of 'Lamoignon's academy' is valuable and interesting. In this connexion, we may add to her note of the points of contact between Rapin and Boileau the very remarkable similarities of content and structure between the *Réflexions sur la Poétique* and the *Art Poétique*, in the passages which treat of the minor *genres*, Eclogue, Ode, Elegy, etc. This parallel, which seems to have escaped the commentators, is best explained by the hypothesis of a common origin, for which Sister Marie Haley provides satisfactory ground.

The most exciting part of the book is that in which the author alludes to (rather than explains) her own understanding of Racine's dramatic technique. Her hints promise very fairly an original and distinguished contribution to French Classical studies in her forthcoming work on Racine himself (in spite of a certain *naïveté* which makes her slow to recognize Racine's *blague* in the Prefaces).

NIGEL ABERCROMBIE.

EXETER.

Le Lyrisme de Rimbaud. By C. A. HACKETT. Paris: Nizet et Bastard. 1938. 234 pp.

It is an agreeable change to find a literary thesis in French which is not a study of influences or accessories, but of the actual work of a poet. When the poet is so fascinating a mystery as Rimbaud and the method of approach sufficiently subtle and intelligent, the result will almost certainly be refreshing, even if it does not always convince. So many

interpretations have appeared recently, each ingenious and persuasive, yet each differing from the last, that the uninitiated may well be puzzled. To advise him that the truth lies somewhere between the most satisfying might seem the appropriate solution. But Dr Hackett, who has supplied a novel clue, predicts an entire renovation of Rimbaudian studies as a result of the efforts of future commentators. The *embarras du choix* is to remain. One assumes that the strength of all such interpretations will depend on the premises from which they start, the kind of evidence adduced and the cogency of the argument erected. For Dr Hackett the problems of Rimbaud's poetry are best dealt with in relation to those of Rimbaud's childhood. He makes, on the whole, a persuasive contribution to the reduction of the mystery, or at least to the removal of difficulties in the work of this 'enfant incompris'. Even after Jacques Rivière's emphasis on the *innocence* of Rimbaud, it seems necessary to insist on the childhood as a special factor in the interpretation of the poems. For this reason it might have helped the ordinary reader, had the ninth chapter, especially the parts dealing with 'la mère et l'enfant', come earlier in the book. Definite premises are naturally hard to obtain in work of this kind. Elucidations are largely the result of assiduous reading of the poems which produces the sort of clue that leads to hypothesis rather than to proof. The obvious danger of this method is its uncertainty. Why, for instance, the 'Grande Ourse' in the fragment explained in Chapter IV is an image of Madame Rimbaud, may become clearer in the sequel. But the only immediate 'proof' is a reference to 'Madame Trois-Étoiles' in *Après le Déluge*, where what we find is 'Madame *** établit un piano dans les Alpes.'

Dr Hackett's thesis turns on the analysis of three poems. Two of them, the one just mentioned and the sonnet on the Vowels, most readers would willingly entrust to the elaborate methods of the commentators. But when a piece which yields so satisfying a surface value as *Les Effarés* is involved like a crystal in cobwebs of refined exegesis, one follows the process with almost petulant attention. The argument begins by insisting on a brusque change of tone in the course of the poem. This is not self-evident. It proceeds with a comparison between *Les Effarés* and the *Noël* of Gautier, which strikes us as gratuitous; while a disarming credulity is displayed in the note on p. 95, where, after a reference to the prolonged absence from home of Rimbaud's father, we read 'et nous croyons que son absence continue aurait pu faire croire au poète qu'il était né de façon miraculeuse'. Occasionally there is more than a matter of interpretation at stake. On p. 107 we find: 'Et nous savons que pour le poète cette activité n'est point la vie elle-même, mais un moyen de gâcher la vie.' This refers to a phrase from *Délire II*, which is quoted as 'l'action n'est pas la vie mais une façon de gâcher quelque chose', which differs in one essential from the above. Both differ from what Rimbaud appears to have written: 'une façon de gâcher quelque force' (ed. Mercure de France, 1937. An earlier, more elaborate version, is given in Rivière's *Rimbaud*, p. 206).

Such points as these do not invalidate an interesting thesis; but they

seem to indicate some lack of vigilance or caution in its conduct. The following slips should also be noticed: p. 94, l. 11, voit (?); p. 122. (4) for (11); p. 183, the punctuation of the line from *Nuit de l'Enfer*.

P. MANSELL JONES.

BANGOR.

Four French Novelists. By GEORGES LEMAITRE. London. Oxford University Press. 1938. xx+419 pp. 15s.

This book offers an interesting and courageous study of four French contemporary novelists, one of whom, Proust, is no longer living. If we were tempted to regret that in each case too much attention is paid to the outer, at the expense of the inner man, Mr Lemaître would probably reply that it was his aim to record external reality, not to launch out into the sea of hypotheses, and that moreover he was complying with the public demand.

The most important study in the book, from our point of view, is that of Proust. Proust has been misrepresented, and always will be, so long as his private life is mixed up with the man of letters. Mr Lemaître's first chapter dwells too much on certain intimate details of Proust's private life, and the portrait is thereby distorted. The admirable thing about Proust is, that in spite of his wretched health, his sound sense and his incredible good humour enabled him to produce masterpieces. He never forgot the rule he learnt from Bergson: look for the mechanical in mortals and see how funny it is. He wrote immortal pages on social life as a source of comedy. If Mr Lemaître had dwelt upon the tortuous deviations in the character of the arch-snob Legrandin, or the stupidity of the diplomat Norpois, he would have shown that Proust was another Sainte-Beuve, equally learned but even more physiological. Following the trend of his age Proust, like M. Siegfried, seeks physical stable laws to explain what may seem symptomatic of the death throes of a worn-out universe. His marvellous energy in spite of his 'attacks' was sustained by his penetrating study of human foolishness, in particular of Parisian failings, what Léon Daudet calls 'les feuilles de vigne jetées sur les vices de la société'. His social sense has been admirably defined and exposed by M. Lucien Daudet. There certainly entered into his work something of the essence of the great French memoirs, so that comparison with Saint-Simon is justified. We are told on the jacket of this book that the essay on Proust 'should be the last word in criticism for a very long time'. I should like to believe that Mr Lemaître blushed when he read that. The last word on Proust is far from being said. But if the public insists upon being offered all the gossip current about Proust, then it is surely high time we got back to the good old criticism which expected us to read the books of a writer we admired and to refrain from rummaging in his writing desk.

The other novelists Mr Lemaître studies are vigorous and famous, and do not need defending. Giraudoux and Morand share a common hatred of old-time rhetoric and a common love of sublimated pictures. Both

keep open house for fantasy, but fantasy as she comes in at their door is accompanied by a natural very French spirit, and by an irony which is scarcely veiled in their presentation of life's melancholy. Both are amused at what they see, and wish to communicate their amusement to others.

The best part of the book is the chapter on Gide, though here again we should have liked to see more importance attached to the part played by the unconscious. Gide's 'behaviour' is obviously an interesting study for psychologist or psychiatrist. Zola seems to have been the only man of letters who claimed the vindictory examination of medical men. And since Zola had the gift for stirring up political passions, his action was interpreted as self-advertisement, and his example has not been followed. Which is perhaps as well. It seems, however, to have been proved that pornography, so called, exists only in the minds of the insane. M Gide is extremely 'all there' and has himself very well in hand. So much depends on the way things are put, on the twinkle in a man's eye or witty phrase. Gide can create life with certain words and phrases just as Racine could. He is so greedy, however, for every form and manifestation of life that he sets himself up as the prophet of restlessness and disquiet. If he had his way, the good fairies of modesty and decency would not be invited to the christening party of a genius.

It is impossible to imagine any of these four writers living in any other country but France. Mr Lemaitre calls them 'striking examples of some of the main trends of French civilization', and he is right to insist upon their importance for the student of French thought.

GLADYS M. TURQUET.

LONDON.

De Quelques Affinités Phonétiques entre l'Aragonais et le Béarnais. By W. D. ELCOCK. Paris: Droz. 1938. 226 pp. and 29 maps.

Mr Elcock is to be congratulated on carrying through a close and highly skilful geographical study of a territory, approximately 100 × 70 miles, astride of the Franco-Spanish border in the central Pyrenees. Béarnese is the dialect used on the French side, Aragonese on the Spanish. The Basque race is a common denominator, since Béarnese is a fragment of Gascon and Menéndez Pidal has proved that Upper Aragón was a region of tardy romanization with a specifically Basque population. The men of the Pyrenean valleys are linked by common interests as highlanders, and their dialect differences from French and Spanish tend to be bounded by the feet of the hills. The growth of modern states since the sixteenth century, however, has been an influence towards fixing the frontier on the crest of the Pyrenees. The two dialects have reacted differently. The men of Béarn are robust *patoisants*, and when they correct their local pronunciation it is to adopt the norms of Pau. The Aragonese are supported by no local centre of culture, but when they wish to speak *fino* they take up standard Castilian. (There is a similar difference between French and Spanish Basque areas.) Mr Elcock has gone to this frontier to study not the separation of the standard languages, but the community of certain phenomena to the frontier dialects of both sides.

The greater part of his book is given up to the exact description of the facts, made precise by twenty-nine excellent maps. The collection of facts is remarkably instructive, since one sees the philologist's generalizations as they actually appear—surprisingly patchy—upon the ground. A common feature of Aragonese and Béarnese is the preservation of -P- -T- -K- between vowels. But the preservation of -P- is much less complete than that of -T- and -K-; the area occupied by each single word showing this preservation differs from that of every other instance; an example may be limited to a village, or to a person, or may have disappeared save for some proverb or derivative. 'Aragonese' is thus not a homogeneous dialect talked in the Pyrenean valleys, but a number of non-Castilian phenomena encountered more or less easily in that region, but chiefly at Sercué. Similarly 'Béarnese' phenomena are irregularly distributed over the ground, but most of them can be encountered at Lescun, where Mme Hourcadette was Mr Elcock's chief informant. There is evidence that in former times these phenomena were wider spread. Aragonese, particularly, is suffering a rapid decline. In addition to the feature already mentioned, there is the sonorization of the voiceless occlusives after a nasal or liquid (and the two developments form the two main parts of Mr Elcock's thesis), but there are other matters incidentally discussed, such as the history of F-, the reduction of -MB- -ND- -LD-, the development of -LL-, etc.

Mr Elcock recognizes the importance of the issues that might be raised by his facts, but himself practises the *ars difficillima nesciendi*. The agreement between Béarnese and Aragonese is fully proved. It might be accounted for (he explains) by a common ethnic substratum, by a common experience during romanization, or by a common highland evolution and mutual borrowings. He discusses particularly the first two possibilities. To the Iberian theory he shows considerable coldness. It is reduced now, when one has discounted later borrowings from Basque, to the single case of F- > h- in Castilian and Gascon. These upper Aragonese, proved by their place-names to have been Basque-speakers at a relatively late period, conserve the F- consistently; but also they have lost the F- in a typically Castilian manner in the place-name *Ongotituero*—which is disconcerting! One would really wish to know a good deal about the history of this name before basing on it any inference: Mr Elcock merely remarks that it is 'd'allure si ancienne', and so presumably not open to Castilian or Gascon revision. He is impressed by the fact of aspiration in France and Southern Italy also. I suppose the Iberian theory is more closely qualified than it used to be. The aspiration of F- in Spanish is not due to the Iberian speech as such, wherever found, but to a specific group of isolated mountaineers, tardily romanized and living in close alliance with the Basques, viz. the Cantabrians. The phonetic possibilities of change are the same in Cantabria and Calabria, but the precipitants of change may have been different. *Ongotituero* is certainly awkward in its present location, but we know too little about its history and it seems unsupported.

The other phenomena are to be encountered also, in the same or similar

forms, in Calabria, and to account for these coincidences there is Menéndez Pidal's Oscan theory of Aragonese. Mr Elcock treats this theory at considerable length and with much sympathy, though he avoids committing himself. There is this difference between the Iberian and the Oscan theories, that one knows for certain there were Iberians of the Basque sort in these regions, but we have no external evidence for Oscans. The name of *Huesca* < *OSCA* is all the evidence that has been offered to us, and it is quite inconclusive. We are thus reduced to arguing from the language to establish a historical conclusion—a process recognized as highly dangerous. The changes involved may all have been purely mechanical. Even if there were Oscans in the region of Huesca, schoolmasters from the days of Sertorius and onwards would have discouraged their use of dialect. To the phenomena used by Menéndez Pidal in arguing his case, Mr Elcock aggregates the evolution of -LL- to -r- in Béarn and Gascony, and to -t- or -č- (*ch*) in Upper Aragon, comparing it to the cacuminal -dd- of Calabria, Sicily and Sardinia. He mentions also the development -š- of the Asturias and also -d-. In some parts of Calabria there are developments to -j- and cacuminal -r-. The case seems to be one which will not be cleared up on the basis of linguistic geography only, since the coincidence between Aragon and Calabria might be shown to be due to other causes. In Castilian -LI- and -CL- became -j-, a voiced palatal affricate corresponding to the voiceless -č- of Aragonese. -LL- seems to have been a long dental at the time of the evolution, and so escaped change; though it has suffered it more recently in the Argentine. Assuming that the order of change in Upper Aragon was from the voiced palatal affricate to the unvoiced one, all the other Spanish changes seem to follow: the palatal -t- involves a further shift from affricate to occlusive, and the dental -t- would follow thereon; the Asturian affricate -š- involves a shift from the palate to the alveoli. The comparison with the South Italian cacuminal -dd- is strictly relevant only if its previous history involves palatalization and affrication; but the -dd- seems better explained in the original dento-alveolar position of -LL-, without involving palatalization.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

El Español en Méjico, los Estados Unidos y la América Central. By P. HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA and others. (Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamericana, IV.) Buenos Aires: Instituto de Filología. 1938. lxi+526 pp.

El Lenguaje Peruano. By P. M. BENVENUTTO MURRIETA. Lima: Sanmartí. xi+226 pp.

Ollantay. Edited by HIPPOLYTUS GALANTE. (Monumenta Linguae Incaicae, I.) Lima: Univ. de San Marcos. 1938. 235 pp.

Sr Henríquez Ureña's book forms a complement to the *Estudios sobre el Español de Nuevo Méjico*, which was the first volume of the same collection. That book was an annotated translation of Professor A. M.

Espinosa's classic account of New Mexican Spanish. The new volume contains a translation of Professor E. C. Hills's briefer essay on the same subject (1906), followed by F. Semeleder (1890) and Professor C. C. Marden (1896), in translation, on Mexican Spanish and M. G. Revilla in extracts (1910); then comes Professor A. R. Nykl (1930) on the language used in Yucatán, Veracruz and Tlaxcala, K. Léntzner (1892) on Guatemalan Spanish, C. Gagini and R. J. Cuervo on the Spanish of Costa Rica (1919), and then the collector's own annotations. The articles mentioned are of unequal value, but they are hard to come by, and their collection in one volume is a great convenience. They bear chiefly on phonology, and the transposition of all signs into the one alphabet (Sr Navarro Tomás's) makes comparison easy. In footnotes the collector has drawn on his stores of reading and personal knowledge: there is no man who knows his America better than Sr. Henríquez Ureña in all the distance from New York to Buenos Aires. For the reader already acquainted with previous work, the interest of this book lies in the editor's articles. 'Datos sobre el habla popular en Méjico' is a summary of a great deal of matter drawn from many sources (specified in the 'Bibliografía general' and 'Bibliografías particulares' on pp. xxvii-lxi). In 'Mutaciones articulatorias en el habla popular' the editor discusses the general conditions of Spanish sound-shifts in this sub-continent, basing himself carefully on the common phonetic system of all forms of Spanish, he discusses also regional diversity and combined changes. There are some smaller notes, further additions and corrections, and copious indexes. The two volumes thus comprise not a definitive treatise on Mexican Spanish, but the entire materials and the outline of a definitive statement.

Cuba and the Antilles form, in language as in nature, a prolongation of the Andes. Panamá looks to the south. Excluding these two regions, Spanish north of Panamá forms one vast dialectal region divided into seven parts. The greater portion is Mexican, in conflict with English in New Mexico and Arizona, but enjoying a certain social prestige in California. The line of division from Central America is made by the *voseo*, and runs to the north of the Mexican state of Chiapas, which is linguistically one with Guatemala. Then the various small states continue to show local variations. The dominance of Náhuatl is a leading characteristic of the whole region. It reduces all other Indian languages to a merely local range, though Mayan is important in the Spanish of former Mayan lands. A kind of Hispano-Náhuatl lingua franca is used by the Indians of Honduras who are accursed with a multiplicity of tongues. This is confirmation of the expansion given to Náhuatl by the Spanish conquerors. An Indian intonation—the falling cadence of sentences—is stated to be the most permanent gift of Náhuatl to regional Spanish. The vocabulary of *nahuatlismos* is naturally large, much larger than in the Spanish of other lands; and the continued existence of the language has given cause for the reintroduction into Spanish speech of characteristic sounds (*tl*, *tz*, *š*) which had formerly been simplified. Mexico city and environs are an important focus for changes which are less marked in the local speech-habits of surrounding districts.

The importance of Quechua for Peru and for standard Spanish stands next to that of Náhuatl. A very able thesis by Sr Benvenuto Murrieta describes the anteclassical Spanish of the conquerors and the Indian languages of the sixteenth century, together with the propagation of Castilian and the foreign element in Peru; then, turning to a more analytical manner, the author gives an account of changes effected in the Castilian stock of words and phrases, the Indian and foreign elements, slang, and a justification of Peruvian peculiarities. There is no index, which is a serious loss in a book one must often refer to, but the author promises in time a *Diccionario de Peruanismos* to supersede the work of Arona (1883). Two maps are of interest, since they show how Castilian has quite superseded the Yunga languages of the arid coastal belt, while Quechua has (with the support of the conquerors) eliminated the Aymará of Central Peru. The maps, of course, show area and not population. The greater part of the coast is dry sand in which actual speakers of Castilian (or the previous Yunga dialects) would appear as islets. Also the vast splash of colour representing Indian Forest dialects corresponds to a fact of no numerical or cultural importance. The author's attention has been attracted chiefly by divergences from standard Castilian. In his prefatory remarks he speaks of the surprise and pleasure with which he first discovered the wealth of Creole vocabulary. That is the more natural since the speech of the average educated *limeño* can scarcely be distinguished from standard Castilian in phonetics or vocabulary; *peruanismos* are a matter of surprise to such a one.

The third publication lies outside our range of interests. The text of the Quechua play is given in photograph of the Pastor Justiniani manuscript and a printed reproduction of the inferior Codex Sahuarensis of the National Library of Peru. Then the Pastor Justiniani text is printed, with the words analysed by means of inserted points, and a complete Latin translation (or rather, crib). There is a grammatical analysis, and a Quechua and Latin practice sermon dated 1560. The Latin translation serves less well than a Spanish one would have done to mark the resemblance of *Ollantay* to a three-act pre-romantic *comedia* in *redondillas*.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

Philosophie und Sprache. By R. HÖNIGSWALD. Basel: Haus zum Falken. 1937. x + 462 pp. 56 Sw. frs.

The author of this formidable treatise is known to linguists chiefly by his suggestive article on the problem of 'losing the thread' (*Grundlagen der Denkpsychologie*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1925, pp. 3-76) and his work on rhythm (*Vom Problem des Rhythmus. Eine analytische Betrachtung über den Begriff der Psychologie*, Leipzig, 1926). Only a philosopher could do full justice to the present volume, and a linguist must be content with pointing to certain topics of more specific interest to language studies.

The subtitle (*Problemkritik und System*) indicates the scope and purpose of Dr Hönigswald's sustained investigation, which falls into two

complementary and interlocking parts, an analytical (pp. 3-330) and a synthetic (pp. 331-461). The author introduces his subject by defining the philosophy of language as the science of the concept of language or the scientific discussion and methodical characterization of the fact that language and languages exist at all. He is thus concerned with the essential nature of speech and language, their place in the experience of the individual and the community and their function in the organization of our mental life in the domain of both logical and artistic expression. In passing he is bound to touch upon a number of topics of a baffling character like the problem of origins, but everywhere he shows a thorough conversance with linguistic literature and a marked propensity to think out anew the implications of the data. In the virtual absence of concrete examples, the work demands close and concentrated attention, which it repays by many illuminating observations and an impression of balance as well as profundity. It constantly brings to light certain tacit assumptions made by linguists and philologists, e.g. that all languages show development and some show retrogression, that each one is at a stage of development different from that of the others, but that each and all constitute a peculiar 'community' of languages living and dead. In regard to the act of speech in the speaker-hearer situation, Dr Hönigswald holds that there is not a simple 'causal' relation of stimulus-response, for the observer is confronted with the fact that there is always a possibility of the respondent 'misunderstanding' the stimulus and on the other hand of his 'understanding' the purport of the utterance before it is completed. Also, in view of the 'monadic' (i.e. individual and inter-individual) character of speech, it carries a large irrational contingent of personal shades and moods. Another point he emphasizes is the close correlation between adequate linguistic expression and the 'determinateness' of the objects of an experience, a point fully borne out empirically by Weisgerber's observations of war-patients suffering from colour-name amnesia. Altogether the author is much concerned with the relation of language to thought and to imagery, with its transcendence of the specific sense-fields and especially with its establishment of a continuity and community of all that is disparate and discontinuous in perception, a *κοινωνία* constituted by 'ego', 'object' and 'language'. An impressive passage is devoted to the interrelations of language with history and tradition, which could not exist without language. In view of this insistence upon the importance of tradition, it is not surprising that Dr Hönigswald is considerably exercised by the problem of 'artificial'—or to use a less question-begging epithet 'constructed'—languages. He distinguishes between a language invented throughout in accordance with a preconceived plan and a 'lingua franca' arising in fortuitous, but immutable conditions. He is not impressed by the argument of inter-linguistic apologists that ethnic languages frequently take up new ready-made elements, but indicates the difference between sporadic adoptions and systematic elaboration. On the other hand, he admits that ethnic languages carry a mass of ballast which a planned language could discard and that a planned language might evolve more adequate modes of

expression for fresh and unhackneyed experiences. Finally he propounds the dilemma the more the constructed language is adapted to meet changing needs, the more it becomes alienated from the historical backgrounds of its speakers, and the less it evolves, the more impossibly rigid it becomes. The interlinguist might, however, claim that in an *a posteriori* language age-long traditions of culture and history are embedded in the international stems which in fact constitute the root vocabulary, and that once adopted effectively for general use the language chosen could be made subject to continuous, but carefully guided and guarded evolution. Dr Honigswald is not an enemy of a 'Verständigungsbehelf' or aid to mutual understanding, and no interlinguist to-day aims at a 'universal' language to supersede ethnic languages, but simply an accessory instrument of communication available for all peoples in their international dealings.

There are many other topics of interest to the linguist. As the book contains no index it is perhaps not superfluous to give references to a few of them, arranged in alphabetical order as follows: 'Aktionsart' (p. 419), animal cries (17 f, 275), aphasia (309), behaviourism (305), 'borrowing' of foreign elements (139), child-speech (193), context (214), dialect (161), exegesis (222), gesture (227), mixed languages (189), number (425), onomatopoeia (318), particles (152), personal pronouns (404), proper nouns (96), rhythm (424), 'Schallanalyse' (416), semantic change (153), sentence (108), sound-laws (197), sources (221), style (261), synaesthesia (401), synonyms (151), translation (136, 141, 149), writing (177). These samples give some idea of the scope and variety of a remarkable piece of work.

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

Der Text des 'Ackermanns aus Böhmen'. By L. L. HAMMERICH. (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser* XXVI, 4.) Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard. 1938. 48 pp. 2.25 Kr.

This little treatise begins with a well-deserved tribute to the work of the late Arthur Hubner who was the first seriously to challenge the fundamental tenets of Konrad Burdach. With brilliant scholarship and prodigious learning Konrad Burdach had defended the overwhelming Italian and Renaissance influence on Johan von Saaz. The case was never proved satisfactorily though Burdach, an expert Special Pleader, rounded fiercely on every scholar who voiced objections. Hammerich puts the achievement of Hübner clearly and justly when he writes (p. 3):

Hubner hat die Bodenständigkeit des Ackermann-Dichters nachgewiesen. Johan von Saaz ist nunmehr nicht in erster Linie ein vom Fremden her bestimmter Scholast, sondern steht fest verwurzelt da neben deutschen Meistersängern, in der klar erfassbaren Welt der bürgerlichen (nicht adligen und nicht geistlichen!) deutschen Dichtung. Das ist der ganz grosse und bleibende Gewinn dieser Arbeiten Hubners.

Hübner's text of the *Ackermann aus Böhmen*, published posthumously in 1937, forms the starting-point of Hammerich's investigations, which

are concerned almost entirely with minute matters of textual criticism, frequently directed against Hubner's conclusions. Such criticism leads, among other things, to a new and tentative theory regarding the relationship of the manuscripts (p. 26). The main point is that Hammerich no longer believes, with Burdach and Bernt, in a group HE, but would like to look upon H, undoubtedly a good and early text, as on the whole a fairly faithful reflexion of the archetype. He suggests further that the other manuscripts may go back to a later recension, made by Johan von Saaz himself. The main external prop in this structure is the phrase *cum libello Ackermann de novo dictato* in the famous and certainly genuine letter discovered a few years ago at Freiburg. Hammerich, with Beer, thinks *de novo dictato* may well mean 'neu redigiert' rather than 'eben verfasst'. The Latin can obviously mean either. The main argument against Hammerich's theory would appear to be that H is sometimes curiously corrupt. However, that may well be due to thoughtless transcribing. Further detailed research is needed to test out these fascinating suggestions, and the author will, it is to be hoped, justify his views on those important points more fully. In the meantime, one must suspend judgment.

In all, Hammerich discusses well over 200 readings, and an excellent Index (p. 47f.) gives full references and cross-references. It would fall outside the scope of a review to discuss in detail any of the suggestions put forward, and a summary discussion cannot help in the argument. No student of the *Ackermann aus Bohmen*, however, can afford to neglect Hammerich's contribution to the study of the text.

Finally, an unimportant matter. Hammerich calls his treatise *Der Text des 'Ackermanns aus Bohmen'*. Even without the inverted commas the genitival -s is unnecessary, and with them it is odder still.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

Grimmelshausens Simplicissimus Teutsch. Abdruck der editio princeps (1669). Edited by J. H. SCHOLTE. (*Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Nr. 302-309.) Halle: Niemeyer. 1938. 463 pp. 3 M. 20.

If it is possible to make restitution to a writer for lack of recognition among his cultured contemporaries, Grimmelshausen has received ample posthumous compensation. Eight years after the accepted date of his death came the first of those editions of 'Der aus dem Grab der Vergessenheit wiedererstandene Simplicissimus'. In 1713 appeared another, which was galvanized into a semblance of life by an editor of 1785; and further facets of the 'Lebenswandel' were presented in the 1790's and at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But to the second half of last century was reserved the task of establishing scholarly interest in a work which had been combated or passed over in silence by the courtiers and university poets of Grimmelshausen's day. Holland's 'Versuch einer Ausgabe nach den vier Ältesten Drucken' appeared in 1851, A. von Keller's Stuttgart edition in 1854, twenty years later that of Tittmann, and in 1880, among the earliest 'Neudrucke', the edition of Kögel.

But the anomalous feature of much of this editing is that 'Simplicissimus' is presented, not as it left the pen of Grimmelshausen, but in a doctored form devised by a publisher in league with men of more formal education than the self-tutored bailiff of Renchen. Thus, for the most part unwittingly, we have accepted a compromise, and even some of the most recent eulogists who acclaim the work of the writer of Baden as 'bodenständig' quote from editions which in orthography and grammar show uniformity in keeping with the theories of Schottelius of Brunswick or Harsdorffer of Nuremberg. The re-presentation of *Simplicissimus Teutsch* has at last been carried through by one who can rightly be called the doyen of Grimmelshausen scholars. For Scholte has devoted over a quarter of a century to productive research on Grimmelshausen and prepared the way for the present work by exemplary editions of *Courasche*, *Springinsfeld* and the *Wunderbarliches Vogelnest*.

From the maze of speculation about the 'lost' first edition and from the complex group of 'authentic' and revised versions with their misleading nomenclature (from the time of W. L. Holland), Scholte has produced a masterly edition, which, in accordance with his conviction of 1913, corroborated by Törnvall, follows most closely the method of Keller, but avoids even his occasional compromise with the grammarians. Such standardizations as those of Borchardt (*Grimmelshausens Werke*, Bong, 1921) are of course avoided and 'dappfer' and 'verduscht' are preferred to the 'corrections' where the fortis is substituted, and the characteristic apocope of Grimmelshausen is retained. Conscious effort has been made to treat the text in the most conservative way; arbitrary revision of misprints has been minimized—though it is difficult to see what philological purpose is served by the curious form 'der j enseit dem See stunde' on p. 412.

With this edition Scholte can claim to have counteracted what he once harshly called the dilettantism of Holland and Kurz and to have provided us with a more serviceable 'Neudruck' than his predecessor Kögel. It is only to be regretted that the typography fails to reach the same high level as Scholte's scholarship: it should be possible nowadays to produce a page of print which, while retaining the obsolete method of punctuation, is no more trying to the eyes than the editions of the seventeenth century.

A seasonable word might be added against recent French criticism of this 'Neudruck' made on the grounds that the 'Continuatio' is not included. Quite apart from the express wish of the publisher (*vide* Einleitung, p. xi), it would have been illogical to edit the sixth book as part of the *Simplicissimus Teutsch*.

W. F. MAINLAND.

LONDON.

The German Popular Play 'Atis' and the Venetian Opera. By MARY BEARE. Cambridge University Press. 1938. 81 pp. 7s. 6d.

This valuable study takes us into a sphere of literary history which is normally too much ignored. Miss Beare follows the history of a 'Volks-schauspiel', *Atis*, and shows its derivation from the libretto of an Italian

opera performed in Vienna. The relationships here revealed represent a general process at the end of the seventeenth century, so that new light is thrown on the origins and forms of the popular Viennese plays of the eighteenth century, and interesting connexions are made with the drama of Nestroy in the nineteenth century.

In dealing with plays it is evident that the general conditions of production, the position of actors and librettists, etc., must be taken into account. Miss Beare gives considerable space to these matters, showing illuminatingly how much the opera and even the grandiose Jesuit drama at Vienna were Court functions, and how different a function was fulfilled by the popular players, dependent on public support, short of 'machines', driven to burlesque, and so on. The detailed comparison of *Atis* with its original shows how largely the comic scenes bulk in the German versions of this theme, how full of local allusions they are, though the popular plays are, in imitation of the Court opera, constructed still with an eye to the spectacular effects of 'State-scenes'. Interesting reproductions of operatic settings show the magnificence of the productions at the Court.

Miss Beare's conclusion is that to the Venetian opera are due many of the elements of the 'Haupt- und Staatsaktionen'. This study shows how justified is her conclusion, based as it is on an extensive knowledge of the theatre in that period. The precision of Miss Beare's book makes it a little uncertain, however, whether she does not claim too much for the Venetian opera and the period she has taken. Operatic texts were of importance from a much earlier period, assuming, of course, a growing importance with the close of the Thirty Years' War. Thus the adaptation of *Twelfth Night*, the *Tugend- und Liebesstreit*, has an abundance of pastoral and allegorical elements, all of which are connected with the operatic tradition. The 'Freudenspiele', such as Schottel's *Friedenssieg*, are similarly based on the operatic form, already in the 'forties. Further, comic interludes in high-sounding and religious plays were common after the first visits of the 'Englische Komodianten'. There is quite certain evidence of comic interludes in Benedictine plays provided in the 'Perioche' of a *Holofernes* of 1640, published by Sommerfeld in *Judith-Dramen des 16/17ten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1933), which should eliminate Miss Beare's doubts (p. 27) that similar interludes occurred in Jesuit plays of the time, for the Jesuits were in closer touch with the masses of the population than were the Benedictines. It is surely not correct to imply (p. 71) that Gottsched succeeded in banishing Hanswurst from the stage, for Harlequinades did go on; also, on the Vienna stage, the 'Haupt- und Staatsaktion' continued after 1770, and the Heufeld adaptations of Shakespeare were very much in the old tradition of alternation of 'Staatsszene' and burlesque. I am not sure, though this is a debatable point, whether the burlesque of courtly forms that is found in the comic scenes of seventeenth-century plays is really a satire on the Court (p. 32). It seems to me that normally it is much more a satire on those who would dare to assume the manners of those above them, and fits in very naturally with the admiration of the Court which is a general feature of contemporary plays.

Three small points: the *Acolastus* of Gnaphaeus is 1529, not 1560; does

Miss Beare mean (p. 23) that it was *performed* in Vienna in 1560? On p. 56 Miss Beare mentions the prominence of disguises in the *Jud von Venedig*, but the reference should surely be to the Prince's disguise, not the Jew's! On p. 35 'dumb' should be 'deaf'

R. PASCAL.

CAMBRIDGE.

The Genius of the German Lyric. An Historic Survey of its Formal and Metaphysical Values. By A. CLOSS. London: Allen and Unwin. 1938. 478 pp. 18s.

Now that the Germans have purged their literature with a view to preserving its essentially 'German' quality, it would be interesting to analyse objectively the various intellectual, emotional and racial strains that have gone to swell the rich vein of lyric poetry for which German literature is justly famed. If we consider the ten or a dozen lyric poets of the first rank who have written in the German tongue—four of whom, at least, have been our contemporaries—we find that the borderlands, with their mingling of Slav, Magyar and Latin blood, to say nothing of the Jews, have all contributed their quota. A study of the genius of the English lyric might have to take into account whether a poet was born in Cumberland or within sound of Bow Bells, but the fact that Heine was a Jew from the Rhineland or Rilke a Catholic from Prague is of fundamental significance for an understanding of their poetry, however universal the appeal of that poetry may be. Even if we exclude Switzerland and Austria, those who speak the German tongue to-day are still sufficiently differentiated for regional characteristics of thought and feeling to be strongly marked.

Dr Closs is not concerned, however, to separate the threads which form the weave of the colourful tissue. It is true that he speaks of 'the intuitive esthetic conscience of the poet, and his social, religious, and racial attitude as child of his age', but he relates these solely to the question of form, and whether he is discussing form or content he rarely penetrates beneath the surface. With a wealth of factual, though not always wholly relevant, detail he records the stages through which German lyric poetry passed from generation to generation, but has little to say of the deep emotional and psychological stimuli, whether transitory or permanent, that have invested German poetry with its peculiar quality. His approach is that of the philologically minded literary historian, and for long stretches his book reads like an accumulation of erudite but disjointed footnotes to an anthology—without the anthology. It may provide a useful text-book for the undergraduate with an adequate German academic library at his disposal, but neither the scholar nor a wider cultured circle, to whom Dr Closs in his preface hopes his work will appeal, is likely to find enlightenment on the problems implicit in the title. The genius of the German lyric is not explained, since no clear picture emerges either of any individual poet or of German lyric poetry as a whole, and instead of analysing the sources and nature of inspiration Dr Closs is frequently content with observations that throw light only

on his own attitude to literature. In a reference to Goethe, for example, we are informed that, 'gradually... German poetry was prepared to receive the divine inspiration which rained from heaven on the supreme poet of the classic era', and that both Goethe and Schiller 'seek truth as far as epigrammatic acumen and rhetoric is concerned'. Sometimes it is a little difficult to follow his train of thought, as in his chapter on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. 'The Germany of the Middle Ages was fast disappearing. The towns were attaining importance as centres of culture in place of the monasteries. Laymen were becoming the rivals of the monks in administration. This new light-hearted spirit is reflected in the pages of Boccaccio's *Decameron*'.

Since Dr Closs, in his sub-title, stresses metaphysical values, a more analytical treatment of the love element in the German lyric might have been expected. We are told, however, with reference to the most famous of the Minnesingers: 'How far Walther's love-poems are founded on fact cannot be ascertained. To spy into private secrets is but a misuse of time.' Nevertheless, the erotic factor is not entirely ignored, as is evident from the intriguing comment on Schiller's *Die Würde der Frauen* and *Das weibliche Ideal*. It is remarkable to note that in the above poems Schiller, though once a medical student, does not enter into the question of sex at all.

Dr Closs has a warm place in his heart for Klopstock (who, he says, 'betrays a decided partiality for noble thoughts'), compares him with Stefan George in his yearning for the sublime, and suggests that his lack of attraction for the modern reader may in some measure be due to the want of a really worthy anthology of the odes and hymns. Perhaps Dr Closs will himself provide the required anthology and thus enable Klopstock to take his rightful place in the modern world?

Dr Closs is evidently at home in the literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but he should know better than to talk of Heine's 'hatred of Germany', thus marring an otherwise sympathetic and even warm appreciation. Heine was homesick for Germany throughout the long years of his exile, as is indeed indicated later in this book, and what he hated was chiefly the political tyranny and obscurantism which ruled his native land. The influence of Nietzsche both on the Naturalist movement and on the Expressionists is much overestimated, and the reader will be puzzled at the apparent suggestion that Wagner was influenced by the theories of Freud—'From out an unfathomable flood of reality and dream, of superhuman heroism and modern psycho-analysis, arose the gigantic musical myths of Richard Wagner.' There will be little agreement with the dictum that the Naturalist drama only mirrored 'that petty verisimilitude which the imperfect lineaments of nature itself display', but we wish that Dr Closs could have spared the space to tell us in what way the lineaments of nature are imperfect, and to what they display verisimilitude. Rilke and George furnish material for two of the more lucid chapters, but the final section on 'volkhafte Dichtung' of the present day suffers somewhat from historical incoherence. We are told that 'the following summary aims at tracing the radical changes

German poetry has undergone since 1933. Talents hitherto pushed into the background were now given a chance of full development.' Dr Closs then proceeds to discuss the ballad-writers Borries von Münchhausen, Agnes Miegel and Lulu von Strauss und Torney, whose ages in 1933 were respectively fifty-nine, fifty-four and sixty and who had been recognized as distinguished poets for years. A catalogue of poems and anthologies produced by 'witnesses and fiery prophets of the "Third Realm"' after 1933 is followed immediately by the information that 'the working-class song has not died out, on the contrary it is full of robust life since workers have been writing poetry for workers'. Dr Closs cites as examples Engelke and Petzold. Engelke died in 1918 and Petzold in 1923. Two poems by Lersch and Broger are then quoted, both of which were written at the outbreak of the Great War. This failure to distinguish clearly between one literary movement and another would perhaps be less serious if it did not convey a misleading impression both as to the recognition given to these poets and the sources from which they drew their inspiration. There is a short survey of National Socialist poetry which would have been more useful if the subject had been approached with less naivety. In the marching choruses of the Storm Troops Dr Closs discovers a revival of the religious song, and among the poems he selects for special mention is one called *Hitler* by Baldur von Schirach.

WILLIAM ROSE.

LONDON.

Holderlin. By RONALD PEACOCK. London: Methuen. 1938. 175 pp 10s. 6d.

Mr Peacock's important and distinguished monograph on Hölderlin is another milestone on that road of German studies in English-speaking lands which was opened up by Barker Fairley's study of Goethe as revealed in his poetry. Not only is Hölderlin a supremely great poet who has hitherto had no adequate interpreter in this country, but Mr Peacock's method of approach shows the same grasp of essentials and disregard of irrelevancies which made Fairley's book so revealing. His interpretation of Hölderlin explicitly ignores, not only the biographical structure, but also the spiritual development underlying the works, believing that this 'constantly deflects attention from the poetry as something living to the process as history'. His aim is to free the absolute value of poetry from its temporal aspects, for (to quote Mr Peacock again) 'an author and his development are only interesting because each of his works has values in itself'.

No interpretative method is, or ever will be, ideal, since it is never an equivalent of the poetical work itself; but the direct method has great and obvious advantages when used by such critics as Fairley and the present author. The strongest plea for the indirect or evolutionary method is that it is organic, and its consequent presentation of the work as a whole cannot be arbitrary, whereas there is something a little arbitrary to my mind in such cross-sections as *Nature and Life*, *Nature and Culture*,

Nature and Myth; not to mention the inevitable repetitions and overlappings of which the author himself is aware.

The book suffers slightly too from Mr Peacock's desire 'to guide through Holderlin's thought', as well as 'to try to grasp the fundamental traits of his genius as it presents itself in his work; to see and know him vividly as he is and expresses himself'. The second and more important aim is sometimes obscured by the first, to which, in my opinion, too much space is given. And, although the intellectual depth and solidity of the author are manifest throughout, the indissoluble union of thought and expression in poetry has occasionally been too much for him in those passages which scrutinize Holderlin's philosophical ideas and his religious beliefs. Translated into everyday language, they lose their profundity and mystery, for the vital essence of spiritual poetry escapes analysis; it evaporates in the process, the residuum coheres, it has volume and weight, but that is all.

So much for the negative side of this monograph. It would be difficult to exaggerate its positive value. Mr Peacock's critical ability places him in the first rank of contemporary writers on German literature. He knows what poetry is (a rarer knowledge than is generally supposed), and he combines with this heady gift the complete intellectual sincerity which makes it valuable to others as well as a source of delight to himself. To admire Holderlin intensely is perhaps no great feat, for he is above all things admirable, to understand him as sensitively and sagely as the author of this book is more remarkable; but to assess him in so penetrating a fashion is striking indeed. The chapter entitled *Personality and Fame* shows Mr Peacock's quality; *Prophetic Poetry and Characteristics* carry Holderlin-criticism a step beyond the stage where Hellingrath's magnificent critical edition left it. Mr Peacock sees farther than most fervent admirers of Holderlin have been able to do. Under the spell cast by the prophetic nature of the last hymns they have not contemplated them with that dispassionate, although compassionate, respect which the present author brings to bear on them, nor yet with that feeling for reality without which enthusiasm and worship are equally vain:

The ideal became master of Holderlin, because he could not control his own age. . . . I suggest this impotence is a further secret influence helping to produce that terrific emotional tension in him which finds expression in the oppressed atmosphere of much of his poetry. . . . For there is something devastatingly hopeless in his position, arising from the demand he made on a whole epoch, complicated still further by the nature of the ideal demanded. He runs his head into a noose, so to speak, and in more than one respect; for by demanding from reality something reality could not give him, and making that the subject of his poetry, he deflected attention from poetry and from the reality that poetry gives. In other poets, in Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, the only reality is their vision, and in face of that the other reality does not matter. This is one reason why *Der Archipelagus* is a more satisfying poem, as a whole, than any of the later ones; the vision, for the most part, is complete and vivid, it is the only thing that matters. In the later poems the reality is too often the emotional tension caused by hope, by longing, by the conquest of confidence in the future; all of which, however, cannot hide a certain ineffectiveness of the poet, since the future is uncertain, and indeed improbable.

This is a crucial point in assessing the poetical value, not only of

Holderlin in particular, but of prophetic poets in general and of poets as a whole—the validity and reality *to themselves* of their visions and dreams. Mr Peacock sees a wavering in Holderlin where others have seen only a greater and a more inspired certainty. His interpretation throws a new light on the last hymns, in saying which I am paying him one of the highest compliments which a student and lover of Holderlin can pay.

E. M. BUTLER

MANCHESTER.

SHORT NOTICES

To the Shakespeare Association series of facsimiles, of books illustrating various aspects of Elizabethan life, is now added the first volume on music—*A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, by Thomas Morley (Shakespeare Association Facsimiles, 14. London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1937. xiii + 218 pp 21s.). The choice is as obvious as it is excellent. Thomas Morley was not only the most learned musician of his day, but also the leader of the English madrigal school. There were, indeed, few kinds of music that he did not attempt successfully in his short but brilliant career. If he had not the grandeur of Byrd or the boldness of Weelkes, he had a melodic inventiveness and a rhythmic ingenuity all his own, and he occupies a central position in sixteenth-century style. His book on composition is the most complete statement in English of contemporary practice, and its ease and naturalness keep it fresh when more modern text-books have become unreadable. For the literary student it contains valuable suggestions about the methods of treating lyrics as texts of madrigals. The facsimile is preceded by an introduction, in which Dr Edmund H. Fellowes provides some useful notes on Morley and on the contents of his book. Altogether this issue is to be commended both for its intrinsic merit and as a reminder that music was one of the most important elements in Shakespeare's environment.

BRUCE PATTISON.

LONDON.

Mr D. J. McGinn indicates by the subtitle of his book (*Shakespeare's Influence on the Drama of his Age. Studied in Hamlet*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1938. xiii + 241 pp. \$3) that he is confining his examination to the effect of the one play. He is aware of the difficulties and dangers that beset an investigation of this type, and has not been without a corresponding sense of caution. Of the verbal allusions—representing 'the most delicate part' of his enquiry—he has admitted after full consideration only a fraction of the number originally collected: and these, he says, 'I have weighed so carefully that I might decide on Monday to incorporate certain of them in my study, on Wednesday to remove them, and on Saturday to replace them'. The four hundred and

seventy-four which have been allowed to remain form an interesting list (however debatable some of the 'echoes' may seem), and make up Part II of the book.

But Mr McGinn's task in Part I, where the wider issues have to be pronounced upon, was really just as delicate, and it may be doubted whether in general he has shown a sufficient rigour in defining his conclusions here, a sufficient precision in selecting his terms. His theme makes him too ready to see *Hamlet*, not merely as leaving an 'enduring impression', but as providing a 'model' in the full sense of the word, or conversely, as presenting a 'challenge' to which this or that play comes as a 'pointed reply'. Such words are dangerous. The chapters on 'Imitations of Individual Scenes' and 'Burlesques of *Hamlet*' strike me as more reasonable. The book will not materially alter received opinions, but is valuable for its collection of suggestive parallels, whether of phrase, scene or character.

A. J. A. WALDOCK.

SYDNEY

In *Some Observations on Eighteenth Century Poetry* (Oxford: University Press, 1937. 82 pp. 6s.), Professor D. Nichol Smith has followed up his memorable preface to the *Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century Verse* with three lectures (the Alexander Lectures at the University of Toronto) on Pope, Johnson (as poet), Thomson and Burns, and on the more general themes of Poetic Diction and the Heroic Couplet. Particularly welcome are the twenty pages on Johnson and the ten on Burns. Johnson's poetry has been sadly neglected by the critics—before Professor Nichol Smith, only T. S. Eliot has given it the attention it deserves. In these thirty pages, and in the rest of the book, the reader is aware of a quiet unhurried authority of judgment. And since two of the poets are Scots, that judgment has additional authority. English critics have not always realized that both the English and Scottish style of Scots writers are, in varying degrees, foreign.

G. TILLOTSON.

LONDON.

Miss J. M. S. Tompkins has always cared for the 'small talents and half-smothered voices of the past'. In *The Polite Marriage* (Cambridge: University Press, 1938. vii+209 pp. 10s. 6d.) she returns to some of the people who 'made brief appearances' in her survey of the popular novel in England at the end of the eighteenth century, lingering over them and allowing them 'to expand their personalities and to display their experiences'. The first of the six essays, the one from which the book takes its name, tells of the courtship and married life of Richard and Elizabeth Griffith; it is based mainly on their *Genuine Letters of Henry and Frances* (whose genuineness in the main Miss Tompkins is able to reaffirm), supplemented and checked wherever possible by other contemporary sources. Other novelists dealt with include Mary Hays, the disciple of Godwin and friend of Mary Wollstonecraft, Ann Yearsley, the Bristol

milkwoman, James White, the humourist, and 'John Ramble'—possibly John Carter—whose one autobiographical novel gives a lively picture of one class of London life; there is also an essay on Hugh Downman, the Exeter doctor who thought to make his medical advice more acceptable by clothing it in verse. In each case, whether she is writing of the quarrel of Ann Yearsley with her patroness Hannah More, the loves of Mary Hays or her appearances in the pages of *The Anti-Jacobin*, *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers*, and *Edmund Oliver*, Miss Tompkins shows her sympathy, insight, and understanding. The book is well-documented and scholarly, with all Miss Tompkins's feeling for the right phrase. Only one misprint has been noted: James White could not suggest, in one of his characters, 'the future William III' (p. 137), it must be William IV.

H. WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

LONDON.

In editing *The Unpublished Letters of Bayard Taylor in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library. 1937. xxvi+231 pp. \$3), John Richie Schultz makes available a body of material throwing fresh light on the man and on his work in all its various aspects; 128 letters are printed in full, while an Appendix lists and summarizes the rest of the 400 letters in the Huntington Library collection. They cover almost the whole of Taylor's working life, from the publication of *Ximena* in 1844 to his arrival in Berlin as Ambassador from the United States. It is interesting, by the way, to note the reason for that appointment: 'The Pres't said to me. "I was determined to appoint you from the first. I want you to stay until your Life of Goethe is finished, and not allow your official duties to prevent you from working upon it. You must come back to us with the work complete."' Death prevented the fulfilment of that wish, but one wonders how many ambassadors of the present day have time for literary work or are chosen to that end?

H. WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

LONDON.

Mr Bhawani Shankar has obviously read widely and found satisfaction in a great variety of modern poets. In *Studies in Modern English Poetry* (Allahabad: Students' Friends. 1936. x+277 pp. 6s.) he examines briefly poetry that 'seems to be moderately modern', endeavouring to 'mention some of the main tendencies of twentieth-century poetry' and 'to steer clear of the eddies and cross-currents of modern caprice and theory in order to show that there are deeper springs of poetry as vital and as perennial as ever'. One disadvantage of his catholicity is that almost all poets who have secured any reputation appear equally important in his survey; and his renunciation of contemporary theories leads to a stress on poets commonly recognized as traditional in style and subject-matter. The size of the book does not permit of more than general statements, supported by quotations, and there is little indication of how the quality, as distinct from the content, of the poet's experience illuminates and controls his technique. 'The modern urge...for coming to grips with

life' appears a little vague without this deeper analysis, and general mood is more certainly outlined than actual achievement. The ease of the author's style and his appreciation of quite recent poetry suggest that further training in critical methods would produce some useful study of English poetry.

BRUCE PATTISON

LONDON

The attitude to Shakespeare has been taken as the touchstone of moral and aesthetic criteria in the leading German writers. Hence the value of Mr R. Pascal's book (*Shakespeare in Germany, 1740-1815*. Cambridge: University Press. 1937. 199 pp. 7s. 6d.) which quotes just sufficient of these writers to enable us to view the transformation of critical values in the period under consideration. The author indeed would extend the range of interest to include the changing social and moral outlook of the German people. But for the student of Shakespeare it will be enough that here, for the first time, we have the story told by means of relevant extracts from Gottsched to A. W. Schlegel, and the capital survey which forms the introduction to the book. A welcome feature, also, is the brief section of translations of Shakespeare texts into German. Read in chronological sequence, these to an understanding reader should reveal as much concerning the contemporary attitude to Shakespeare as the critiques themselves. Altogether a book to recommend.

G. KITCHIN.

EDINBURGH.

Preparations for a Study of Metropolitan Scots of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century as exemplified in 'Mansie Wauch', by David Macbeth Moir, the 'Delta' of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, by Elizabeth H. A. Robson (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1937. 35 pp.) is rather a curious publication, whose usefulness may seriously be questioned because of its fragmentary and 'scrambled' nature. It seems to have a double aim—first, to show the growing Anglicization in successive editions of *Mansie Wauch*, and secondly, to show to the ear and eye what Moir intended to be the pronunciation in his book. Neither aim is achieved; the comparison of the chapter headings of the early versions of *Mansie* which occupy pp. 15-27 is not accurate; editions of 1839 (presumed to be the second edition) consulted in London and Edinburgh show very considerable differences in spelling, and more particularly in pagination, from those given by Miss Robson. What this research did bring out was the necessity for a long bibliographical note on the various editions of *Mansie Wauch*; even the British Museum Printed Guide is inconsistent in its treatment of those, and Miss Robson's bibliography is not nearly detailed enough. It omits, for instance, the widely known edition of 1905.

The second aim is attempted by giving in phonetic transcript a passage from Chapter XVII of *Mansie Wauch*; an accompanying gramophone record (H.M.V., TTP. 919) gives the same passage read by Miss Robson. (There

is also a page of photographs, which may be meant as a further illustration of the passage, but do not serve this purpose) But this record differs in pronunciation in at least a dozen instances from the version given in the phonetic transcript; while the word *moment*, which figures in both versions, does not occur in the normal printed version at all.

ANGUS MACDONALD.

EDINBURGH.

A third volume completes W. Gottschalk's *Die bildhaften Sprichwörter der Romanen* (Heidelberg: Winter. 1938. vii + 468 pp. 15 M.). There are twenty chapters in this volume, mostly short. The arrangement of proverbs is by topics. The indexes are very full, and include both words and things. Lexicographers will welcome the former for giving authentic examples defining the sense of archaisms and idioms.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

The second edition of W. von Wartburg's *Évolution et Structure de la Langue Française* (Leipzig: Teubner. 290 pp. 5 M. 40) contains a short additional chapter on the nineteenth century. It is a period in which literary models have a special importance for current speech: 'la langue ne touche presque pas aux sons, mais elle transforme le vocabulaire et elle développe d'une façon extraordinaire les possibilités stylistiques'. The *Préface de Cromwell* is of great importance as marking a turning-point in Hugo's conception of language, and therefore in his practice. The language has been enriched by bringing into use archaisms and localisms (Romantics), real names of things (Realists), and a vast number of scientific and commercial terms. Anglicisms have constituted a veritable invasion, though limited to sport, finance and social terms. From the Goncourts and onwards slang has found a ready acceptance in literature. Style has been modified by the use of abstract nouns for concrete (Flaubert), the avoidance of relatives and *que*, compensated by an extended use of the present participle and 'discours indirect libre' (Flaubert), the aggrandisement of nouns at the expense of verbs (Goncourts and later) and even at the expense of adjectives, the rhythm of the phrase has become abrupt (Goncourts). The language has drawn close to the masses, but that tendency has provoked a reaction, and Mallarmé and Verlaine 'ont trouvé pour leurs œuvres une langue à part, une espèce de langue secrète, mystérieusement fermée aux profanes'. The new chapter is all the more welcome since it deals with the period that enjoys the greatest number of readers; readers who are not accustomed to submit their authors to an exact linguistic analysis, though without such there can hardly be any scholarly criticism of style.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

That the rather tiresome and unlovable Louise Colet of tradition should have been the confidant, even the counsellor, of so many illustrious men

has always been baffling. Professor Jackson has set out (in *Louise Colet et ses amis littéraires*. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1937. 388 pp 14s.) not so much to justify her as to explain her—a creature of moods, of exuberant fancy, excessive vanity and dazzling beauty, a victim of her own indiscretion and of men's flattery.

In support of his interpretation of this vehement character, the author has quoted abundantly from original documents and brought to light much unedited material.

He has added interest to his biography by dealing fully with the literary contacts of the poetess—Victor Cousin, Gustave Flaubert, Alfred de Musset and Alfred de Vigny were intimately associated with her. Victor Hugo and Mme Récamier befriended her. Leconte de Lisle and many other celebrities frequented her salon. George Sand, however, held aloof, fearing perhaps, like Sainte-Beuve, her troublesome pertinacity.

To all those interested in the social and literary history of the nineteenth century, this book offers a wealth of novel side-lights on that agitated and eventful period. Copious notes and an extensive bibliography add to the value of the work

M. SILVER.

GLASGOW.

Les Écrivains diaboliques de France, by Maximilien Rudwin (Paris: Figuière. 1937. 183 pp.), consists of an introduction of twenty-nine pages, a body of ninety and a conclusion of seven. In the introduction Dr Rudwin expounds a theory of the diabolical origin of all literature in this way: Christianity is concerned with the things of the spirit and eschews the things of this world as the snares of the devil. Now since literature habitually deals with the things of this world, literature must come from the devil. As a happy people has no history, so a virtuous people would have no literature, or at any rate no novel. Evil, or the fight against it (which for Dr Rudwin comes to the same thing), is the essence of all literature.

The main body of the book is a list of French writers who may be described as diabolical, and in this list, with the exception of Baudelaire, Verlaine and one or two others, no writer receives more than a few lines. Readers may at first sight be inclined to ask what, for instance, Calvin, Boileau, J. de Maistre, Lamennais and Eugénie de Guérin are doing in this 'galère'. The answer seems to be that anybody about whom any critic or adversary has ever used such words as 'diabolique', 'Lucifer', 'Satan' and so on is a diabolical writer. Thus Edmond About (five lines) was referred to in such terms by the Catholic press, Boileau (two lines) has been styled the father of evil by anti-classical writers. But Zola (six lines) qualifies for admission into the infernal choir by dint of having alleged that 'c'est dans l'enfer du travail que je suis descendu'.

But lest his readers should suspect him of naivety Dr Rudwin tells us in his conclusion that we must not take all this too seriously because 'les hommes se sont de tout temps appelés réciproquement diables à

cause des différences religieuses, raciales et nationales qui les séparaient'. This is reassuring, but it leaves us wondering why the book was compiled

L. W. TANCOCK.

LONDON.

Mr R. D. Abrahams' palaeographic edition and linguistic study of *A Portuguese Version of the Life of Barlaam and Josaphat* (University of Pennsylvania Press. 1938. xiv + 144 pp. \$2) is a most welcome piece of precise and detailed work. The text of the Torre do Tombo MS. 266 had been edited inaccurately by G. de Vasconcellos-Abreu (1898), a fact which has led to false inferences. The codex is older than 1424, Mr Abrahams assigns it to the last third of the fourteenth century. By offering the text in all the severity of a palaeographic edition (errors corrected in the notes) Mr Abrahams shows that he has not in any way tampered with the materials on which his linguistic study is based. The literary merits are small, and do not deserve a more readable presentation. Features of the language are the preservation of *-d-* in the second person plural of verbs, the confusion of *-am* and *-om*, long vowels written double, some tendency to simplify the diphthong *-ou*. This last peculiarity suggests the Algarve, as also the *ê* in words like *alhea* (as against *alhera*). The other two, in view of the fairly accurate dating of the manuscript, are interesting evidence for the chronology of certain changes occurring between early medieval and classical Portuguese. Mr Abrahams has given a full and scrupulous grammar and vocabulary of the text, which is thus a grammar of Portuguese about the year 1400.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD

The first literary number among the *Boletins* of the Faculty of Philosophy, Science and Letters of São Paulo (Brazil) is a monograph by Sr Fidelino de Figueiredo on *A Épica Portuguesa do Século XVI* (1938. 81 pp.). The author calls attention to his appendices as containing the marrow of his argument. They are (1) correspondence between Angelo Poliziano and João II with regard to the humanist's offer to write a chronicle-panegyric on the king's reign, (2) extracts from António Ferreira urging various friends to compose heroic poems, (3) Diogo Bernardes on the necessity for a Maecenas, (4) documents relative to tapestries 'in the Indian style', and (5) an extract from Osório concerning Gama's departure from Belem, which resembles the episode of the 'velho de Restelo' more closely than the passage previously cited from João de Barros. The documents prove that in the sixteenth century intellectual leaders expected a new Vergil, so that *Os Lusíadas* fulfils a common desire rather than expresses an individual standpoint, and they show that this expectancy extended to form also. The heroic poem would summarize Portuguese history (with or without allegory and machinery), it would be conceived as a triumph, but there might also be some admixture of the pride of suffering. In respect of the Belem episode, Barros merely

remarks that the bystanders commented each according to his way of thinking ('lançar juízos segundo o que quada hum sentia d'aquella partida'). Damião de Goes had said nothing about them, but Osorio, turning Goes into elegant Latin, appears to have taken Barros's hint: the bystanders break out into laments and forebodings of evil ('En quo miseros mortales prouexit cupiditas et ambitio' etc.) So he wrote in 1571, and Camões published his poem in 1572. But these forebodings were common form, and Osorio, if he needed a source, may have had in mind the same ode of Horace as Camões (and later, Góngora). These documents, therefore, are interesting, but lead to strictly limited conclusions. It is doubtless true that 'Epopêa é a glosa poetica dum mytho, é portanto a coroação individual da obra colectiva pelo poder de expressão do poeta. . . . Portanto, o mytho é a condição previa da epopêa' (p. 13), but we cannot give to the word 'myth' a precise sense in this connexion. It may amount to no more than an air of expectancy, some common ideas, and common form. The attempt to extend the rule to the *Cid*, the *Nibelungenlied*, the *Kalevala*, Ariosto, Dante, Vergil and Homer merely exemplifies the vagueness of the whole conception. All these authors doubtless worked on a basis of agreement with their public, though that agreement would not be the same in any two cases.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

In *Huit Mois au Brésil* (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg*. Paris: Belles Lettres. 1938. 184 pp. 25 fr.) Dr Henri Tronchon, one of the 'ten French professors put at the disposal of Brazil by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Board of Education' to collaborate with Brazilians in the newly-founded University of Rio de Janeiro, has condensed into very narrow compass the impressions of one whose desire it is to strengthen the bonds of sympathy and intellectual co-operation between his own country and Brazil. Because his style is so concise, he succeeds in evoking scenes in few words, in giving succinctly main points of a problem, in tersely summing up situations. And so, after a preliminary critical analysis of certain modern works on Brazil, its traditions and formative influences, its racial development and the mixed strains which have been the constitutive elements of Brazilian society and which give rise to special traits in the character of the people, we get the only purely descriptive part of the work: the beauty of forest and sea, which latter calls forth all the enthusiasm of the Naval Reserve Officer in the author. Education, religion, political currents, the army, public services, garden cities, factories, industries, literature, the press art, the special problems of coffee, cotton, tobacco, cocoa, sugar growing—there is hardly any aspect of life in the country neglected by this sympathetic and discriminating observer who utilized to the full the unparalleled opportunities afforded the delegation to get firsthand knowledge.

MINA J. MOORE.

LIVERPOOL.

Die Stellungstypen des finiten Verbs im urgermanischen Haupt- und Nebensatz, by Karl Schneider (*Germanische Bibliothek*, 2te Abteilung, 41ster Band. Heidelberg Carl Winter. 1938. x+74 pp. 4.20 RM), is a useful contribution to the study of a problem hotly debated from the time of Delbruck onwards. Working from Indian, Delbruck claimed that in Indo-European the sentence opened with the subject and closed with the verb, having the object, etc in between. In regard to Germanic Braune held that the order was completely free, as Zimmer had already posited for Indo-European, at least in recognizing that the verb could stand initially, medially or finally. On the other hand, John Ries adapted Delbruck's theory to Germanic with the reservation that auxiliary and modal verbs were moved forward from the end position and subsequently even 'full' verbs, except in the subordinate clause. These and other theories are stated in the introductory section. The author then sets forth his own line of investigation, justifying his exclusion of prose texts as likely to be contaminated by foreign influences and his concentration on early alliterative verse. He rebuts in anticipation the criticisms (1) that alliterative verse is metrically constrained, by showing that the metrical schemes arise from the very nature of Germanic rhythm with its dynamic stress and weighting of the stem-syllable and (2) that the exigencies of alliteration itself limit the choice of words, by arguing that stave-rhymes are much easier to find than end-rhymes. On these grounds he selects for investigation the following texts: in Old High German *Hildebrandslied* and *Muspilli*, in Old Saxon the *Heland*, ll. 1-200, in Old English the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Byrhtnoth's Death*, and in Old Norse *Völuspá* and *Völundar kviða*. From these he is able to extract six types of word-order in the main sentence, viz. three with 'inversion' (verb + subject; stressed word + verb + subject; particle + verb + subject), two with 'direct order' (noun subject + verb + ...; pronoun subject + verb + ...), one with 'relegation' (subject + ...verb). He thinks that all these orders are Indo-European except those with the initial particle and the initial pronoun. 'Logical' order is exemplified especially where the noun-subject or a stressed word occupies the initial position, but rhythmic conditions account for the order with preposed particle and preposed pronoun. The subordinate clause in Primitive Germanic, which developed out of a main clause felt to be logically connected with but dependent on another main clause, shows fewer types, viz. one with 'relegation' (subject + ...verb), one with 'direct order' (subject + verb + ...) and one with 'inversion' (verb + subject), the last being the earliest type of an asyndetic protasis in conditions. The investigation concludes with two synoptic pedigrees of the constructions treated. Within its self-imposed limitations it is a piece of work of considerable clarifying value to the student of Germanic syntax.

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

The John Rylands Germ. MS. 11 was written at some time during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, probably by two Bavarian nuns of

the diocese of Eichstatt and it contains thirteen items, all of a mystical character, which vary considerably in scope and interest. A critical study of this MS. (*A German Mystic Miscellany of the Late Fifteenth Century in the John Rylands Library*. Manchester: University Press. 40 pp 1s. 6d.), by Dr F. P. Pickering, is now available in reprint from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol XXII, No. 2, October, 1938. Dr Pickering provides a Foreword, of great value to the 'non-specialist' in mystic literature, then discusses the items of the MS in turn. A tabulation of these items would be of help, and a footnote on p. 40, reminding the reader that a discussion of Item 13 is to be found on pp. 24 ff., might have been added. The transcriptions from the MS. give an impression of unusual care and accuracy; indeed, they are so good that one might wish to see them encroach a little more upon the footnotes, e.g. room might have been found for Item 9. In view of the unavailability of the text, the assessment of the literary values of the items has in most cases been compelled to yield place to factual summaries, and the aesthetic effects of bilingual passages (e.g. p. 39) could hardly be avoided. Critical treatment of several items must await further publications from the MS (e.g. the *Karthauserbrief*), and a promise of more is made on p. 24, Note 2. The store of industrious research on every page is more than adequate excuse for such small errors as have escaped the eye, but Item 2 surely begins on f. 146^r, *dicke fruchper* (last line but one of Note 2 of pp. 20-21) is clear enough, the abbreviation *St.* (line 4, p. 10) needs explanation. Note 1, p. 20, requires expansion. A number of phrases which might arouse objection could easily have been excluded, e.g. Note 1, p. 12, and the allusion to the scribe on p. 33, lines 3-4.

W. L. WARDALE.

ST ANDREWS.

Volume x of *Studies in German* (The Catholic University of America, Washington. 1938) consists of a study of *Angelus Silesius' Personality through his Ecclesiologia* by Sister Mary Hilda Godecker. The writer's avowed aim is to 'round out the portrait of Scheffler' which—despite Professor Ellinger's standard work—is still incomplete, in her opinion, owing to the universal neglect of his *Ecclesiologia*. Had Sister Godecker been able to give a 'correct and complete view' of this interesting man, as she hoped to do, by means of deductions made from his theological tracts, modern scholarship would have owed her a considerable debt.

It is questionable whether an attempt to illuminate the personality of a poet-scholar by such means can hope for a great measure of success. But if so, the method employed must be entirely different. Chapter I, covering forty of the ninety-two pages of this publication, is occupied with a recital of the acknowledgedly inadequate references to Scheffler in both little-known and well-known histories of literature and in the writers of Church History. The treatment of the *Ecclesiologia*, which follows in chapter II, is quite inadequate, since no real analysis is attempted, and the final chapter and Conclusion are negligibly slight. The average

of a misprint to every third page is unduly high. The bibliography is useful but not exhaustive.

It is to be regretted that the writer did not, apparently, know the able little study by E. Eilert entitled *Angelus Silesius als Streithologe seiner Zeit* (Dresden: M. Dittert and Co. 1936. 64 pp.), nor R. Neuwinger's treatise, *Die deutsche Mystik, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des „Cherubinischen Wandersmannes“ Johann Schefflers* (Bleicherode am Harz: Carl Nieft. 1937. 216 pp.). The former, elucidating Scheffler's method of controversy by a close analysis of one of the thirty-nine Tracts (No. XXXVI, *Gerechtfertigter Gewissens-Zwang*) and distinguishing with nice judgment between what was peculiar in style and feeling to Angelus himself and what belonged to his age, might have suggested a suitable method for the present work; whilst the introductory chapter of Neuwinger's useful book would have shown how the process of summarizing previous opinion may be employed successfully in constructive criticism.

G. CRAIG HOUSTON.

DURHAM.

Fancy has played strange tricks with Gunther's reputation, and the task of sifting fact from fiction is no easy one. This Heidelberg dissertation by Alan J. P. Crick, *Die Persönlichkeit Johann Christian Günthers* (Heidelberg-Handschuhsheim: Fahrer. 1938. 135 pp.), written in the wake of Krämer's authoritative edition, is therefore all the more welcome. It strives to construct, from a direct study of Gunther's poetry, a picture of his personality and outlook; it does not aim at stating, or re-stating, Gunther's position in the history of literature. The author, after a rather awkward start, proceeds to give a clear and straightforward account of the poet's sufferings, resulting from his inability to fit in with his age, his lack of resolute self-discipline, his depressions and excesses; he shows how these sufferings are revealed in his poetry and how poetry, so far from being the longed-for source of consolation, actually added to his bitterness, through its inescapable baroque tradition, which hampered the immediacy of expression that alone would have helped. There are some superfluities, but as an instance of what can be achieved by discerning, if unspectacular, study of the text, this work is to be highly commended.

A. GILLIES.

HULL.

In her *Salon Sketches. Biographical Studies of Berlin Salons of the Emancipation* (New York. Bloch Publishing Company. 1938. 207 pp. \$2), Miss Bertha Meyer of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literature of McGill University addresses herself to a general public rather than to specialists in the period, as is obvious at the outset from the words of the Preface: 'To German readers they [these brave and earnest women] are probably familiar names, possibly old acquaintances,

but I believe there may be many English readers who would be glad of an opportunity of adding them to their list of People worth Knowing.'

The three women who form the subject of the study are Rahel Levin, Henriette Herz and Dorothea Mendelssohn. The parents of all three were symbols of the Emancipation, and they were themselves typical products of their particular age. The chief interest is in their personal life and fate, and their contacts with the great figures of their day, and there is hardly any attempt at a critical approach to the great literary movement in which they played a part. Rahel, 'the outstanding figure of the Salon period', is the author's heroine. We are told of 'the blasts of extravagant praise' accorded her. 'Rahel was acclaimed as the greatest woman of her time, the greatest Jewess of all time, as the centre of literary and artistic Berlin—nay, of all intellectual life of Germany and of Europe.' We are given a good account of her life and of her romantic love-affairs, of her Goethe Cult, and of that poetic sensibility which could foster the genius of others for all her own lack of creative literary power. On her letters the author quotes Carlyle's criticism, which is as characteristic of the critic as of Rahel herself. 'Her very mode of writing is complex, nay, is careless, incondite; with dashes and splashes, with notes of admiration, of interrogation (nay both together sometimes) with involutions, abruptnesses, whirls and tortuosities, so that even the grammatical meaning is altogether burdensome to seize.'

What adds piquancy to all three stories is the contrast constantly suggesting itself to the mind of the reader with the state of affairs to-day; as when we read, for instance, that 'on the calling-list [of Rahel] was an imposing array of names glittering with the orders and titles of nobility' (p. 87), or that Henriette 'had a soirée, at which ambassadors, ministers and even a princess were present' (p. 184), or that Henriette was invited in 1806 to become governess to Princess Charlotte, the eldest daughter of the King—on condition of her conversion to Christianity.

Miss Meyer has succeeded in her object of writing a readable story of these three famous Jewesses, and it will doubtless be much enjoyed by those readers to whom she expressly appeals.

H. G. ATKINS.

LONDON.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

October—December 1938

With the collaboration of MARY S. SERJEANTSON (English),
A. T. HATTO and W. F. MAINLAND (German)

GENERAL

- Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania). (Royal Institute of International Affairs.) Oxford Univ. Press 7s. 6d.
- BERIGER, L., Die literarische Wertung. Halle, Niemeyer. 3 M. 80.
- BOUDA, K., Die Beziehungen des Sumerischen zum Baskischen, Westkaukasischen, und Tibetischen. Leipzig, Harrassowitz. 3 M.
- CAOMHÁNACH, S., R. HERTZ, V. E. HULL and G. LEHMACHER, Hessens Irish Lexicon Vol. II, Part 2. Halle, Niemeyer 4 M.
- CAZAMIAN. Essais en deux Langues offerts à M. Louis Cazamian. Paris, Didier. 40 fr.
- DANCKERT, W., Das europäische Volkshied. Berlin, Hahnefeld. 20 M.
- GRÉGOIRE, A., La Linguistique. Paris, Delagrave. 12 fr.
- HALLYNCK, P. et M. BRUNET, Le Moyen Âge Paris, Masson. 25 fr.
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- MAUCLÈRE, J., Littérature lithuanienne. Paris, Sagittaire. 20 fr.
- MÜLLER, A., Betrachtungen zur neuen deutschen Sprachphilosophie (Giessener Beiträge). Giessen, von Munchow. 2 M. 80.
- NEESER, R. W., American Naval Songs and Ballads. Yale and Oxford Univ. Presses. 11s. 6d.
- OLSCHKI, L., Storia letteraria delle Scoperte geografiche. Florence, Olschki. L. 50.
- PÉPIN, E., Le Panaméricanisme. Paris, Colin. 15 fr.
- Roustem et Sohrab, trsl. A. Briceux. Paris, Droz. 30 fr.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

- DEUTSCHMANN, O., Untersuchungen zum volkstümlichen Ausdruck der Mengenvorstellungen im Romanischen. Diss. Hamburg, Preilipper.
- STRAUSS, F., Vulgarlatein und Vulgarsprache im Zusammenhang der Sprachenfrage im 16. Jh. (Marburger Beiträge, 21) Marburg, Michaelis-Braun.

Mediaeval Latin.

- DU CANGE, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis. 10 vols. Paris, Libr. des Sciences et des Arts. 1900 fr.
- ÉGINHARD, Vie de Charlemagne, ed. trsl. L. Halphen. Paris, Belles Lettres. 15 fr.
- ERASMUS, Douze Lettres, éd. R. Crahay et Marie Delcourt. Paris, Droz. 32 fr.
- FLAD, Le Latin de l'Église. Paris, Desclée de Brouwer. 30 fr.
- JURET, A. C., La Phonétique latine. Paris, Belles Lettres. 16 fr.
- RICHARD, T., Comment étudier et situer Saint-Thomas. Paris, Alcan. 15 fr.
- SAMARAN, C., et Æ. A. VAN MOE, Auctarium Chartularii universitatis parisiensis, iv. Paris, Didier. 300 fr.

THOMAS, F., *Recherches sur le developpement du préverbe latin* AD. Paris, Klincksieck. 40 fr.

THOMAS, F., *Recherches sur le subjonctif latin*. Paris, Klincksieck. 80 fr.

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(Incorporating the American Transactions for the Period to 27 September 1938)

Dr. 1937	EXPENDITURE	£	s.	d.	1937	INCOME	£	s.	d.	('
33	To Printing, Stationery, Postages and Travelling Expenses	...	...	24 18 11	102	By Subscriptions General	107	1	0	
6	Do. (American Expenses)	...	...	8 1 5	2	Proportion of Life Membership subscriptions	1	15	0	
69	Secretarial Assistance and Audit Fee	...	...	73 13 6	53	American Members	44	14	10	
--	Do. (American Expenses)	...	...	4 8 10						153 10 10
200	Bibliography	...	...		103	" Bibliography Sales	183	13	2	
	Printing Literature, etc. Volume 1937-38 estimate	...	...	200 0 0	9	Advertisements	7	10	0	
4	Do. Volume 1936-37	202	2	6	34	American Sales	39	5	5	
	Less Provided in last account	...	...	200 0 0						230 8 7
						" Year's Work in Modern Language Studies				
					60	Sales	65	10	0	
					5	Advertisements				
					14	American Sales	10	5	3	
					--	Donation, Prof H. G. Friedler	10	0	0	
238	Year's Work in Modern Language Studies	...	...	202 2 6						85 15 3
	Printing, etc.	...	...	199 15 6						
14	Bulletins and Indexes	...	...	22 5 7	8	" Bulletins and Indexes Sales and Advertisements	5	6	10	
	Printing, etc.	...	...			" Modern Language Review				
66	Modern Language Review (Deficit last year)	...	...	--	--	Surplus, per Account attached	48	8	3	
					6	Bank Interest	6	7	9	
					396		529	17	6	
					234	" Deficit for year Carried to Balance Sheet	5	8	9	
					£630		£535	6	3	

MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

BALANCE SHEET 30 SEPTEMBER 1938

LIABILITIES				ASSETS			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
<i>Capital Account</i>				<i>Cash at Bank (England)</i>			
As at 30 September 1937	..	..	488 18 1	On Deposit Account	.	.	467 4 5
Add Donations received during year			15 0	On Current Account	...	...	14 6 3
Life Membership subscription	5	5	0				511 10 8
Less Proportion transferred to subscriptions	1	15	0	<i>Cash at Bank (America) at 27 September 1938</i>			17 6 7
				<i>Sundry Debtors</i>	.	..	103 0 0
<i>Sundry Creditors</i>				<i>Income and Expenditure Account</i>			
Cambridge University Press			3 10 0	Accumulated Deficit as at 30 September 1937			263 18 4
For printing Bibliography, etc., 1937-38 estimate				Add Deficit for year, per Account			5 8 9
			200 0 0				269 7 1
Cambridge University Press							
For printing <i>Modern Language Review</i> , Vol. 1938 estimate	..	..	200 0 0				
Audit Fee	..	..	3 13 6				
Postages, etc. (Hon. Secretary)	..	..	4 7 9				
			408 1 3				
			£901 4 4				£901 4 4

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE AND REPORT

I have prepared the above Balance Sheet after examination of the books, records and vouchers relating thereto, and certify that, in my opinion, it shows the true and correct position of the Modern Humanities Research Association as at 30 September 1938. The Cash at Bank in America and the American Receipts and Payments for the period to 27 September 1938 are in accordance with the certified statement of the Treasurer in America.

(Signed) W. ARMSTRONG
Chartered Accountant.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE
7 November 1938.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The July number of the *Modern Language Review* will include a Special Article by Alexander Bell on 'The Munich *Brut* and the *Estovre des Bretuns*'.

We hope also to print in the near future a Special Article by Margaret Galway on 'Chaucer's Shipman in Real Life'.

CHARLES SISSON,
General Editor.

THE MUNICH 'BRUT' AND THE 'ESTOIRE
DES BRETUNS'¹

WE know from the epilogue to his extant work that this is only a portion of the much larger chronicle which Gaimar wrote for the instruction of his patroness. If we accept at its face value the statement that he 'comencat la u Jasun/Ala conquere la tuisun' (vv. 6527-8), then his complete work would be divisible into three, not necessarily equal, parts, of which the contents would be approximately as follows:

A. *Estoire des Troiens*—relating the course of events from the expedition of the Argonauts to the downfall of Troy;

B. *Estoire des Bretuns*—relating the course of events from the flight of Æneas to the death of Arthur;

C. *Estoire des Engleis*—relating the course of events from the arrival of Cerdic to the death of William Rufus.

Only the third part of this vast design has come down to us in the form in which it left its author's hands; to the first there is no other allusion in the whole of his extant work and its existence is a mere supposition. With the second part we are in better case; we do know quite definitely from the evidence of the epilogue that it covered the same ground as the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, from which it was in the main translated. In 1877 Hofmann and Vollmoller published, from a Munich MS., an early Old French rimed translation of Geoffrey's *Historia*, unfortunately incomplete, which they attributed to the first half of the twelfth century and which it has become the custom to call the Munich Brut. Later, in his *Grundriss* (II, 1, 473), Gröber suggested that this fragment might represent the lost *Estoire des Bretuns*. Still later, in 1906, Imelmann (*Lazamon, Versuch über seine Quellen*) claimed to have shown that the English poet translated from a reworking of a conflation of Gaimar and Wace and thought that the connexion between the Munich Brut and Lazamon advanced by him might go some way to support the contention of his predecessor. Since then it has generally been assumed that the beginning of the *Estoire des Bretuns* is preserved in the Munich Brut (Matter, *Englische Gründungssagen*, p. 108) or, at any rate, that they must have been closely connected (Vising, *A.-N. Language and Literature*, p. 49). Quite recently, however, the connexion between the two texts has been denied on grounds of content and date (P. A. Becker, *Der gepaarte Achtsilbler in der fr. Dichtung*, p. 42), but the question can

¹ Published with the aid of a grant from the University of Sheffield

hardly be said to have received full consideration, and the time seems ripe for a fresh investigation of the relationship of the two texts.

In his epilogue Gaimar gives us various details about the inception and composition of his work and refers specifically to four books which he claims to have used. One of them—*l'estoire de Wincestre* (v. 6467)—is to be identified with the A.S. Chronicles and is the main source of his *Estoire des Engleis*; another—*le liure Walter Espac* (v. 6448)—is almost certainly the *Historia* of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the main source of the lost *Estoire des Bretuns*. The other two are unknown but were used by Gaimar to supplement the information derived from his main sources. The arrangement, in pairs, of the references to these four books seems to be intentional and we are justified in the conclusion that in the *Estoire des Bretuns*, as in the *Estoire des Engleis*, he did not slavishly follow one source but introduced material from elsewhere as seemed good to him. Further, an allusion in the epilogue to 'tuz les emperurs/Ke de Rome furent seignurs' (vv. 6471-2) suggests that some account of them may not have been foreign to his lost work.

If we consult the opening lines of his extant work, we find certain allusions to what Gaimar had related towards the end of his *Estoire des Bretuns*—most noteworthy are the kinship of Hengist and Cerdic and the confused identification of the latter with the Cheldrics who figure in Geoffrey of Monmouth's narrative—and a vague indication of his intention to explain how Britain came to lose its name. The other allusions in the *Estoire des Engleis* to the earlier course of events are few; those to the imperial claims of Belin and Brennus (vv. 5972-4) and to the road-making activities of the former (vv. 4375-6) throw no light on Gaimar's earlier treatment of these matters, and that to the foundation of Bamburgh by Ebrauc (vv. 934-6), which is unknown from any previous source, does not prove that Gaimar included it in his account of that king's activities in the *Estoire des Bretuns*. Thus we have very little material indeed on which to base a reconstruction of his lost work.

On the other hand, two facts induce us to consider the possibility that a fragment of the lost *Estoire des Bretuns* is preserved in the incomplete Munich Brut: there is included in what survives of it the beginning of a history of Rome (vv. 3691 to end), and the author of the Munich Brut appears to supplement his translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth with material drawn from other sources. Even thus early, however, there is a need for a clearing of the ground because the view has been expressed that the Roman section may be the work of an interpolator and not of the original translator. To me the manner in which the section is intro-

duced suggests that we have to do with an addition to the Galfridian story by the author himself and there seem to be no compelling reasons, linguistic or stylistic, to favour the opposing view. Rather, indeed, does the balance of evidence¹ support the unity of authorship, though certain divergences cannot be denied.²

The general structure of the Munich Brut, so far as we can perceive it, being thus compatible with that deduced for the *Estoire des Bretuns*, the possibility of Gaimar's authorship must be conceded. Certain other conditions remain to be satisfied before the substantial identity of the two texts can be accepted. It is a reasonable supposition that Gaimar wrote his *Estoire des Bretuns* before his *Estoire des Engleis* and therefore, in order to establish any connexion between the former and the Munich Brut, it will be necessary to show that the latter text can be ascribed to a period not later than c. 1140. Further, since the epilogue to the *Estoire des Engleis* indicates that Gaimar's immense history was compiled for one person—and she resident in England, it is reasonable to suppose that the whole of it was written there, and so it will also be necessary to show that the Munich Brut was written in England, in order to establish a connexion between it and the *Estoire des Bretuns*. We do not know enough about Gaimar's antecedents to say whether he was born in England, and thus spoke and wrote Anglo-Norman naturally, or whether he was an immigrant from the Continent, who only gradually shed his native dialect and acquired that of his new surroundings. Consequently the absence of Anglo-Norman features in the language of the Munich Brut, even if coupled with traces of another dialect, would not in itself be fatal to Gaimar's authorship of it.

It would be of great advantage to our enquiry to be able to date the Munich Brut without recourse to linguistic evidence, but unfortunately it is not possible to do so and we have only one fixed point of departure—the appearance of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* in 1136. In their introduction (p. xviii) the editors of the former text suggested the unlikelihood of anyone tackling the same subject-matter after Wace had completed his *Roman de Brut* in 1155, but subsequent discoveries have not altogether strengthened this argument. We now have traces of a number of verse renderings of Geoffrey's work: (a) the long fragment of c. 7000 lines in MS. Reg. 13, A, xxi; (b) the short fragments contained in MS. Harley 4733, published by Imelmann (*op. cit.*); (c) the fragment

¹ In both sections we have the rimes *noise : aquoise* and *ans : tans*; in both the reduction of *-ivus* to *-ius*, in both the words *riu* and *pasteor*; in both the unusual locution *dent en apres*.

² In the British section non-enclisis is fairly frequent, in the Roman almost non-existent; on the other hand, one or two of the less usual enclises are only found in the former section.

discovered by Dr Arnold in the Durham MS of Wace and Gaimar.¹ The relationships, if any, of these three texts among themselves and to Gaimar have not yet been worked out, but there are undoubted affinities between the Harley fragments and the *Estoire des Engleis*. There are, however, indications that the author of the Munich Brut used an early text of the *Historia*. Thus, at v. 70, the MS. reads 'et les Normanz ki puis i vindrent', which the editors qualify as 'Schreibfehler' and correct to *Romanz* in order to bring the line into agreement with the text of Geoffrey (I, 2), 'Postremo quinque inhabitatur populus: Romanis videlicet atque Britannis, Saxonibus, Pictis et Scotis', accessible to them. The publication of earlier and more reliable texts of the *Historia* (I have used Griscom's edition throughout this study) shows that *Normannis* is the original reading and *Romanis* a later corruption and that the editors' correction is unnecessary.

Three possible indications of the date are to be found in the Munich Brut which it will be useful to discuss, even though no positive result accrue. (i) In his account of the defeat of Goffarius by Brutus we read how the former 'guerpist Petou sin vait en France' (v. 1512); Wace in his account uses a similar phrase which Waldner (*Wace's Brut und seine Quellen*, Jena dissertation, 1914) discusses in some detail (pp. 88 *et seq.*). In both texts the question of the interpretation of *France* arises: if it is used in the restricted sense of the royal domains then, in both instances, the implication is that Poitou is not a part of them, which would be true at any time during the first half of the twelfth century except for the period of the marriage of Louis VII of France and Eleanor of Aquitaine (1137-52). Tempting as it is to adopt this interpretation, it does not seem possible to do so because other uses of *France* in both texts imply the wider geographical acceptance found, for example, already in the *Chanson de Guillaume*: 'Cist vait en France' (v. 1791), which Suchier (ed. p. xl) equates with 'das innere Frankreich'. (ii) In his account of the campaign of Brutus in Aquitania the king of this region is consistently referred to as Guaifier, a divergence in name which is the more noteworthy, in that our author usually adheres very closely to his Latin original in this respect. As the name occurs a number of times, both in the rimes and in the body of the line, we must assume that the substitution is intentional. The name is not uncommon in the *chansons de geste*, and two at least of the epic Guaifiers are well known: (a) one, mentioned in the *Chanson de Roland*, who is generally held to represent the historical

¹ Actually the number is greater, cf. Arnold, *Le Roman de Brut de Wace* (S.A.T.F., 1938), p. xviii, n. 1.

Waifarius of Aquitania and had a long life in epic traditions; and (b) one who figures in the *Couronnement de Louis* and is generally considered to derive from the historical Waifarius of Salerno. Most probably it was the name Aquitania which evoked memories of the epic character and led to the substitution of names, so we must assume it was the former Guaifier who was present in the mind of the author of the Munich Brut. We have evidence that the name was known in England in the first half of the twelfth century because it is introduced casually by Gaimar into his Haveloc episode, but, until we are able to say that our author derived it from a particular poem or story, the substitution he has made does not, after all, further our immediate purpose. One other possibility remains, which deserves mention, even though it contribute little to our enquiry. In his *Englische Grundungssagen* (p. 80) Matter suggested that the story of Goffarius might have some foundation in tradition and not be an entire invention on the part of Geoffrey. The starting point would be the etymologizing story of the foundation of Tours, to which Geoffrey had given further content by attaching to it traditions concerning the historical Waifarius of Aquitania. Assuming the truth of this speculation, the further question would arise: Did the author of the Munich Brut recognize the origin of this addition and revert intentionally to the traditional name? (iii) In his account of the partition of Britain between the sons of Brutus the boundaries of Lochrine's share are indicated more precisely than in the *Historia*. Whereas Geoffrey (II, 1) merely says, 'Locrinus, qui primogenitus fuerat, possedit partem insule, quæ postea de nomine suo appellata est Loegria', the author of the Munich Brut (vv. 2101-2) defines more closely, 'Suz la main Locrin fu la terre/Des Scotewad desqu'a Saverne', thus assigning as the northern limit the boundary between England and Scotland which was still traditional in the early twelfth century.¹ *Scotewad* represents the old English name for the Firth of Forth and is found sporadically in chronicles as late as the thirteenth century but seems to have been supplanted by *Scotewatre*, which is found rather more frequently. It is interesting to note that Wace used the latter name when describing Lochrine's campaign against Humber and that in both the addition appears to be made from common knowledge rather than from a particular source. Thus, in this use of what is apparently the older name, we may possibly have an indication of the priority of the Munich Brut over the more popular work of Wace.

Whatever be the value of *Scotewad* in determining the date of the Munich Brut there can be no doubt of its importance as an indication of

¹ Cf. Plummer's note to the *A.S. Chr.*, s. a. 1072

the provenance of the text. As we have just seen, the line in which it occurs is an addition by the author and one not likely to have been made by a writer unfamiliar with English conditions. Nor is it isolated; there are other additions which suggest derivation from the author's local knowledge. When he describes the grant of land to Corineus, he adds details to the account in the *Historia*. Whereas Geoffrey (I, xvi) contents himself with saying, 'At Corineus portionem regni, quæ sorti sue cesserat, ab appellatione sui nomine Corineam vocat', our author expands (vv. 1911-14), 'Corineus dona grant part/La u lui plot al sun esgart/Des Thamer a la mer galeise/En bois en plain et en faleise.' Again, in describing the foundation of York, our author adds to the details in the *Historia* the Anglo-Norman name of the city—Everwic—and the information, 'u seveli gist Severic' (v. 2547). On other occasions, too, he adds to the account of the foundation of a city the Anglo-Norman form of its name, e.g. 'La citei fist de Kaerguent/Si l'apelerent nostre ancestre/Nos l'apelum ore Wincestre' (vv. 2667-9), and 'Et puis refist altre citei---/Si l'a Kaerkein apeleie/Si est dite Kent la cuntreie/Or l'apeluns nos Kantorbire/Maint saint i unt reciut martyre' (vv. 2670-5). It is true that the mere bringing up to date of the names of well-known cities does not prove that the author resided in England, but the phrases *nos l'apelum*, etc., do suggest this, and the other details make it extremely probable. Hence the results obtained from a comparison of the first ninety odd lines of the Munich Brut with the second chapter of the *Historia*, on which they are based, gain in importance. Throughout this passage there are little additions, e.g. metals found in the country (vv. 15-16), kinds of grain (v. 22), kinds of game (vv. 25-6), etc., which suggest that they are due to the author's real interest and pride in the country rather than to mere display of erudition. They reinforce the conclusion to which the other additions had led us—the author wrote his translation of the *Historia* in England.

Little positive evidence of the date of the Munich Brut having emerged from our enquiry so far, we are compelled to turn to the linguistic data bearing on this point. Here our task is complicated by the question of dialect. The editors pointed out (p. li) that their text was written in a mixed dialect and refrained from further definition. In his *Altfranzösisches Elementarbuch* Jordan uses passages from the Munich Brut as illustrative material and makes numerous isolated references—some of which appear contradictory—to its linguistic problems. On two occasions he ventures on more general statements, viz. (p. 69): 'Nun ist [M.B.] wohl ursprünglich von einem Anglonormannen geschrieben, dann aber von

einem Wallonen redigiert worden': and (p. 100): 'Die Schreibung M.B. 63 *cleirs* (*clericos*, die Ausgabe falschlich *clers*) zeigt, dass der Abschreiber *clers* der Vorlage für *claros* hielt und *cleirs* schrieb; so dürfte die ganze Hs. erst sekundär wallonisiert worden sein'. There seems little doubt that the MS. is Walloon in character, but, in the absence of a second MS., we are unable to say how far the work was revised as well as copied though more subjective reasons suggest there was some rewriting. The Anglo-Norman character of the original, on the other hand, is not so apparent, and only after considering all the evidence can we hope to arrive at any conclusion. I shall content myself with adducing relevant data from the morphology and syntax of the text, but shall give the phonology in greater detail; of the two methods of presentation, that using the C. French sounds as the basis of comparison and that using the Vulgar Latin as a starting point, I adopt the former as more suitable to the immediate purposes of our enquiry. Further, in order to facilitate the later stages of this investigation and to avoid needless repetition, I shall incorporate in each section of the phonology a succinct statement of Gaimar's treatment of the same sound.

PHONOLOGY

§ 1. French *A*.

(a) The rimes in the Munich Brut (M.B.) show only *-al* as the outcome of *-ahis*: *vassal* : *roial* 379; *roiaus* : *estaus* 1503; *vassaus* : *taus* 1687; and also three rimes involving *mal* (1799, 2491, 3263). In the body of the text there is a preponderance of forms in *-el*, either written thus or as *-eil*, but, with the exception of *taus* 1688, those words which have *-al* do not appear with *-el* and vice versa.

(b) There is no rime in Gaimar (G.) which shows *-al* as the outcome of *-ahis*, this termination appearing only in interrime under the form *-el*, but his use of *mal* is attested by rime, e.g. 3129, 5537. The rime *Orgar* : *loar* 3639 is an interesting parallel to Philip de Thaun's *Cesar* : *guardar* (*Cumpoz* 775).

§ 2. French *Ā*.

(a) There is in M.B. no real confusion with *Ē*. We have *tans* : *ans* 2085, 3747, 3767, 3777, but *tens* : *sens* 1033, 2651; also *covenant* : *devant* 3043, but *covenent* : *gent* 1857, which latter word rimes regularly here with adverbs in *-ment*. Otherwise in this group of alternating words M.B. prefers the forms in *Ē*, thus *exemple* : *temple* 1143, 2647. Another instructive rime is *dame* : *roame* 133, 299. Side by side in O.Fr. existed *rèemme*,

the normal outcome of *regimen*, and *realme*, the product of blending with *regols*. The former develops its tonic vowel like *femme* and *gemme* which are found already in Chrestien de Troyes riming with *dame*, and this explains the rimes in our text and in other texts where there is no trace of vocalization or effacement of *L*.

(b) There is no rime in *G*. suggesting confusion with *Ê*. *Tens* never rimes with words in *Ā*. We have *dame* in rime once only and that, normally, with *ame*.

§ 3. French *E*¹ (< Latin free *A*).

(a) The development in M B. is normal and the only points of interest are: the treatment of *regner* and its cognates, which rime only with *E*¹; the presence of *ere* (= *erat*) in rime with *pere* 399, 3725, and with *mateire* 205; and the two rimes *mueie*: *Gauleie* 2107 and *feie*: *espeie* 1405. These are to be regarded as instances of the tendency of *E*¹ to diphthongize before final atonic *E*, a fairly common feature of W. and S.W. dialects but found sporadically in the later twelfth century in A.N. and N.E. texts (cf. Baker, 'St Osith', *M.L.R.*, vii, 83). Stimming (*Boeve*, p. 238) distinguishes clearly between forms like *ayé* (= *ætatem*), in which the intrusive *I* precedes the tonic vowel, and forms like *espeie*, in which it follows; in the former he speaks of the *I* as 'hiatustilgend', for the latter he accepts a diphthong (*op. cit.* p. 175). Miss Pope (*From Latin to Modern French*, § 1171) makes no distinction and regards both types as examples of intervocalic glides breaking the hiatus and common to A.N. and N.E.Fr. The first rime, which involves a place-name, should not be pressed too far, but the second calls for further comment. We seem to have an unusual development of *feiee* (= **vicata*), a reduction to *feie* and then a contraction similar to that in *abeie* > *abeie*, but this is a late change and contamination with *feiz* (= *vicem*) cannot be excluded as an explanation of the form under discussion.

(b) The development in *G*. is normal with signs of opening before *R* (cf. § 13). We note: *regner* and cognates in rime with *E*¹ and with *IE*; *ere* (= *erat*) riming with *amere* 4693 and *erent* (= *erant*) with 3. pl. preterites in *-er* and also with one in *-ier* 4359; and the rime *agreie*: *veie* 2517, which is found only in the Royal MS., though the context shows that the couplet is genuine in substance. Unfortunately, as the line does not translate anything in the source (*A.S. Chr.*, s.a. 855) and is not quite clear in meaning, the interpretation of the rime is doubtful. The line reads: 'puis apres feit son aire agreie'; the last word might represent *a gree* (= *ad gratam*), in which case we should have an example of *E*¹

diphthongizing before final atonic *E*. The context seems to require a reference to preparations, so that we may have the noun *agreie* (cf. Waters. *Brendan* 1498 note), in which case the rime is a normal one in *-eie*. On this latter assumption the construction is rather more awkward and no final decision seems possible. One other rime calls for comment: at 4539 R. has the rime *mere* : *pere*. D.L. read *mere* : *empire*, H. has *mere* : *emperere*. As it stands the line in R. is doubly incorrect—the metre is very faulty and the context shows that *pere* is the wrong word. The reading of H. must also be rejected for the context does not support *emperere*. At the same time these two point the way to the correct reading which underlies that of D.L. and there can be little doubt that we must read the second line of the couplet as: ‘od le rei Knut tint sun empere’. It is true that G., while preferring *Knut*, occasionally uses the dissyllabic form *Kenut* but R. and H. agree in the monosyllable and the line in R. is best explained on the assumption that *sun* appeared in the original. In view of G.’s use of another less usual form of *empire* (cf. § 17 (b) viii) it is natural to suppose that we have here another Latinism, though the presence of one or two other isolated W.Fr. traits suggests that we may have here $\ddot{e} + \dot{i} > \text{e}$ as found in the *Vie de St Eustace* (C.F.M.A., 58).

§ 4. French *E*² (<Latin checked *E*).

(a) There are very few rimes in this vowel in M.B.; we note *viellece* : *esdrece* 2777 and *radrece* : *trece* 3905. Although the Latin suffixes *-illus*, *-illa* should develop this vowel, they are early found in rime with the outcome of *-ellus*, *-ella* and this stage is represented by *eles* : *pulceles* 2929 and *massele* : *damoisele* 3907.

(b) This vowel occurs more frequently in rime in G. and calls for some discussion. Though there is no instance of *-illus*, *-illa* in rime with *-ellus*, *-ella*—the suffix being found once only, in interrime, at 6353—there is some evidence that the vowel has opened before other consonants. Beside *arcevesque* : *englesche* 3947 we have *evesque* : *Westsexe* 1395, 1573; the history of the English name makes the open sound acceptable here. Beside *fichlesce* : *teche* 2667 we have *esnecches* : *breches* 5459; there is some uncertainty about the derivation of these loan-words and consequently about the quality of the rime-vowel. Finally, there are a number of rimes between *et* (<ittum) and O.E. personal names together with *luette* (*-itta*) : *Sumersete* 4005. The vowel in the place-name is undoubtedly open but in the personal names the quality is not so certain; moreover, these same names also rime in *E*¹ though there is no instance

of *et* (<ittum) riming in that vowel. That the quality of E^2 was not well defined for G. is further shown by his rime *Paskerez : beneerz* 1201. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that this uncertainty should be present in the termination in which the special quality of E^2 was normally longest maintained.

§ 5. French E^3 (<Latin checked \tilde{E}).

(a) The rimes give no evidence of the development of the glide A before L ; the rime *aignel : cembel* 1787 is normal, suffix substitution having early taken place in the latter word. We note the rimes *est : prest* 725 : *forest* 2503 and *beste : meste* 501. Those in *-erre* are furnished by *guerre, -querre, terre* and their derivatives.

(b) The rimes again give no evidence of the development of the glide. The rime *pres : portices* 1757 is to be noted. Those in *-erre* are normal and call for no further comment.

§ 6. French \tilde{E} .

(a) The rimes are normal and call for little comment; we note *femme : gemme* 979 and *venge : challenge* 3487.

(b) There is no unimpeachable instance of confusion with \tilde{A} , but from the group of alternating words (cf. § 2) we find *talent : savant* 349 : *-ment* 3867 and *gengle : Estengle* 3359; we note *reparens* (: *tens*) 2463 side by side with the more usual *repairant* (: *manant*) 3361. We have the regular and typical *femme : gemme* 4647 but also the dialectal development of NM (cf. Pope, *op. cit.*, § 371; Jordan, *op. cit.* p. 175) as shown by *femme : regne* 2531, 3601,¹ and confirmed by *femme : Mercenne* 2507; in the critical text another rime of this type should appear—*regne : sene* (<synodum) 1379.

§ 7. French I .

(a) The rimes are all pure and include the outcome of $\check{e} + \text{z}$. Only the derivatives of *-ivus* call for comment: before the flexional S we have effacement of the labial—*pais : nais* 2251 : *posters* 3773; *vis : assis* 3199 : *lis* 889—but in the forms without S we find on the one hand the normal C.Fr. development in *vif : estrif* 899, 1725, 2465 and on the other the N.Fr. outcome in *furtiu : liu* 4167 (cf. § 19).

(b) In G. the development is normal and includes the outcome of $\check{e} + \text{z}$, but one rime showing possible W.Fr. development occurs (cf. § 3). There is no trace of the N.Fr. treatment of *-ivus*.

¹ In the Royal MS., and consequently in the Rolls edition, we have the reading *realme*; the other MSS. read *regne* which is metrically more satisfactory and belongs in the critical text.

§ 8. French *Ī*.

Both in M B. and in G. we have the normal development, and the only rimes to note occur in the latter: *engin* : *enclīn* 4547, *pais* : *Belins* 5973

§ 9. French *Q*.

(a) The rimes are pure and call for little comment; we note *or* : *sor* 1619 : *Numitor* 3837; *enclore* . *Sore* 2765; *chose* . *rose* 2571; *los* . *desclos* 1773.

(b) The rimes attest a certain number of undiphthongized forms: *Haveloc* : *avoc* 359, 2085; *avoc* . *iloc* 3443, 5109, and *fillol* : *Sudsexerol* 1367, where the latter is an unusual coinage by G. to secure a rime. We note also *repos* : *ros* 4049 : *los* 4133 : *Ellecros* 2833; *chose* : *enclose* 857; *flote* : *cote* 2569.

§ 10. French *Q*.

(a) There arises here the question whether the vowel has diphthongized in free position. Before *R* there is little doubt of the persistence of the simple vowel for we have a number of rimes of the type *dolor* : *jor* 2009 and the rime *hure* : *aventure* 1739 also points in the same direction. On the other hand, the evidence with respect to its treatment before *S* and *Z* is scanty and ambiguous: the two rimes—*perillous* : *sous* (< *solus*) 809 and *estuz* : *pruz* 2413—which involve this group only serve to show that, if the diphthong had developed, it had not yet been differentiated to *EU*, and the preference for the spelling *ou* in the terminations *-osus*, *-osa* may reflect the author's usage in this respect. One other rime calls for comment, *curucent* : *s'embrucent* 507. In their note to the line the editors propose the reading *s'embuscent*, but this seems unnecessary; semantically, *s'embrucier* would be parallel in formation to *s'embuscier* (cf. *Dermot* 715 : *en la bruce erent tapez*; also 695–6) and *Erec* 3745 (*corroce* : *broce*) shows that the rime in our text is quite possible.

(b) The persistence of the simple vowel before *R* is attested by rimes of the type *seignur* : *jur* 319, and the rimes *encore* : *Certicesore* 823, *murne* : *Schireburne* 2539 tend in the same sense. Before *S* we also appear to have the simple vowel: the one rime which might be alleged in support of diphthongization—*dous* : *vus* 4331—is rather to be taken as proof of the reduction of the diphthong (cf. Pope, *op. cit.* p. 502, § v) and we note a similar state of affairs in Denis Pyramus with his one rime *andous* : *vus* 1085 (cf. Kjellmann, *La vie seint Edmund le rei*, p. lxxx).

§ 11. French *Ō*.

In both texts the rimes call for little comment. We note in M.B. *menzonie* (: *tesmonie*) 193, 261 as well as the analogical form (: *sunge*) 1227, 3927 which G. also has (: *sunge*) 265, 2157. Both rime *Humbre* correctly; M.B. with *encumbre* 2175, G. with *nombre* 2297, but the former is also content with assonance—*encontre* : *Humbre* 2159.

§ 12. French *U* and *Ū*.

(a) The rimes, both oral and nasal, are mostly pure: a few call for extended comment. First, we have *eissuz* : *trestuz* 1695 and *aventure* : *hure* 1739 showing *u* : *o* as frequently in A.N. and N.Fr.; with these we must consider *hure* : *Esture* 2369. Kjellmann (*op. cit.*, p. lxxxii), quoting from his text *pure* : *Esture* 1777, where the reference is to East Anglia, adduces in support Wace, *Brut* 1423 (*sëure* : *Esture*), where, as in M.B., the West-Country river is meant. The English development of the name, which is not uncommon, leads us to expect a rime in *o*, and the evident interest displayed in the passage (1909–16) of our text which describes the allotment of territory to Corineus makes it seem possible that the author was not unacquainted with that part of England and consequently was not ignorant of the English pronunciation of the name. For this reason I regard the rime in M.B. as one in *o* and therefore, in view of Denis Pyramus's familiarity with the Suffolk countryside (cf. Kjellmann, *op. cit.*, pp. cxxviii–cxxxix), I should prefer to regard his rime as a further instance of *u* : *o*. Secondly, there are the rimes *fus* : *surplus* 1173 and *sarchu* : *arcevolu* 1819 which show the widespread reduction *ueu* > *u*. Walberg (Philip de Thaun, *Bestiaire*, p. xlvii) quotes examples of this from A.N., Norman and Picard, and Jordan (*op. cit.*, p. 96) seems hardly justified in claiming the second rime as proof of early monophthongization in E.Fr. Thirdly, we note the rime *aperciurent* : *cururent* 1699. In N.Fr., and also in E.Fr., strong perfects with *iu* are regularly found, but they only occur sporadically, and late, in A.N. It would be possible to dismiss the rime as a normal one in *u* and to attribute the *iu* to the copyist, were it not for the participles *reciut* 2675 and *recrute* 2348, which the metre shows to be original. It is probable, then, that the author knew this development and that some of the other verb forms showing *iu* in our text reflect his usage. Unfortunately, the one other rime in M.B. which apparently shows *u* : *iu*—*Liul* : *Kaerliul* 2635—cannot safely be adduced in support because of the uncertain metrical value of the names.

(b) There is no example of *fu* < *focum* in rime in G., neither are any verb forms in *iu* attested, but we have a number of rimes showing

u : *o*. We find *seur* : *pour* 3741, *plus* : *vertuus* 1935 · *espus* (< *espundre*) 3237 and, before nasal, *un* : *encarnatiun* 1397, and also a series of rimes involving O.E. *ū*. Rathmann (*Die lautliche Gestaltung englischer Personennamen*. ., § 10) quotes two rimes before nasal—*Edelhun* · *saison* 1791 : *baron* 1795—and specifies French *o* as the value of the rime-vowel. Though he quotes the name (*op. cit.*, p. 62) he does not adduce the rime *Hude* : *ajude* 2499, which is to be interpreted as *u* : *o*. Two other rimes with O.E. names may also show this confusion—*Portesmue* : *venue* 2025, *Brunesmue* : *cunfundue* 5169, both contain O.E. *muða* and both occur in passages showing Gaimar's local knowledge. From his usual treatment of O.E. *u* we should incline to regard these as showing *u* : *o*, but the, for him, abnormal treatment of the dental (§ 32) suggests that we have here substitution forms and therefore we should probably do well to regard the rimes as pure rimes in *u*. In continental texts which offer rimes involving O.E. *muða*, e.g. *Gernemue* (: *issue* Chrestien de Troyes, *Guillaume* 1485 : *mue* Gerbert de Montreuil, *Perceval* 6507, *Adam de la Halle*, *Jeu de la Feuillée* 930), this must be the value, and the rimes possibly indicate that the names derive from a written source rather than from personal knowledge.

§ 13. French *AI*.

(a) With one exception—*naistre* : *estre* 3943—the rimes in this sound are all pure; we note *vaine* (: *faire*) 3183, as normally in O.Fr., as well as the less usual doublet *viere* (: *maniere*) 1205.

(b) There is ample evidence in G. of the reduction of the diphthong not only before a consonant group as shown by the five-times recurring rime of *maistre* with the outcome of O.E. *ceaster* (1067, 1137, 1505, 2551, 3241), but also before a single consonant in *mais* : *apres* 1403, before *R* the reduced diphthong rimes with *E*¹—*frere* : *ere* (= *aire*) 1755 and : *here* (= *haire*) 987, and probably again with this same word at 2545, though the meaning is not quite so satisfactory—and with *E*³—*faire* : *terre* 4499. These rimes, though not sufficient to prove complete identity of *E*¹ and *E*³ before *R* in our text, do serve to show that the consonant is already exercising its opening influence. On the other hand, we have two cases of *ai* : *ei*, though as place-names are involved they should not be pressed too far; they are *manaie* : *Bardeneie* 2107 : *Escepeie* 2359.

§ 14. French *ÄI*.

(a) In masculine rimes we have only two examples of confusion with *ei*—*maint* : *destraint* 3185; *estaint* : *remaint* 4009—but in feminine rimes the confusion is much more frequent. Thus we have, among others,

paine saine 2273; *plainte : enchainte* 221, 3763; *remanindre : achaindre* 1079, 1859. There is no clear-cut evidence of the development of the diphthong before *N*-moullé, hence we must accept the recognized doublet with the palatal nasal in the rimes involving *plaine* (subs.). The rime *vane : Diane* 1839 is best regarded as a Latinism.

(b) There are a number of examples of confusion with *ei* in G.—*plain : serein* 767; *grifaine : quinzaine* 3007, *Cunversaine : meine* 5771 (though the place-name invites caution); also *plein* (: *pain* 449 : *main* 4033), but it is possible, especially in the second instance, that the outcome of *planum* is the word really involved.

§ 15. French *EI*.

(a) The rimes in M.B. are mostly pure but a few are rather important. The five-times recurring rime *cunseil : fedeil* (541, 707, 1295, 2450 and, plural, 941) which is the only one involving an *-iclum* word, is ambiguous: *fedeil* was early exposed to analogical influences but the *-iclum* words also developed a diphthong over a fairly wide area (cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. xlix); the rimes *otroie . Troie* 2053; *gore : voie* 3991; *noise : aquoise* 761, 3983 and *voiz : foiz* 2793 show the differentiation of *ei* and the confusion of the two *oi* sounds. This last did not take place in C.Fr. until towards the end of the twelfth century, but in N Fr. the early opening of *oi* permitted rime with *oi* as early as the middle twelfth century, whereas in A.N. *ei* was not differentiated and rimes of the type *gore : voie* only appear late, and sporadically, under continental influence.

(b) There is no example of the differentiation of *ei* but some slight evidence of its reduction. In addition to the rime *Paskerez : benéeiz* 1201 already mentioned (cf. § 4) we have a similar rime *esches : Daneis* 3655; in both *ei : e*, which suggests the reduction of the diphthong. Further we have a number of rimes involving words in *-iclum*: *cunseil : fedeil* 3183, *soleil : fedeil* 5551, *fedeil : apareil* 6029; which suggest the development of a diphthong in these words, a conclusion to which the rime *drancheil : sumeil* 3811 lends some support. The rimes *fel : cunseil* 517, *Oschetel : cunseil* 3071 are not, I think, contradictory to this but should rather be regarded as further instances of *ei : e* and therefore as evidence that the diphthong is reducing but that the change is not yet complete.

§ 16. French *ÊI*.

(a) The confusion with *œ* has already been referred to (§ 14) and there remains only one other rime for discussion, viz. *acainte : enchainte* 3989. There is no doubt that the first rime-word represents **adcognitat*, of which the more usual outcome is *acunte* (e.g. 3987). It is noteworthy

that two of the five rimes *ei* or *oi* listed above (§ 15) occur in the short passage of sixteen lines in which is described the visit of Mars to the sleeping Silvia. Jordan (*op. cit.*, p. 69) discusses these rimes at some length and, after alluding to their late occurrence in A.N., continues: 'So sind also die Verse [3979-94] mit ihren durchaus ostlichen Reimen eher von einer fremden östlichen Hand als etwa Franzisismen.' If, however, which is not clear, he implies that these lines are interpolated, then I think he is wrong, for the passage is necessary in its context and the rime *noise*: *aquoise* also occurs in the earlier part of our text. Then Jordan adds: 'der seltene Reim [*ucainte*: *enchainte*] ist im XII. Jahrh. wohl nur im Osten möglich.' But how are we to interpret this statement? Subsequent remarks would suggest that for him the rime-value is $u\tilde{e}$: \tilde{e} , but this development apparently did not begin until the thirteenth century and the earliest attesting rimes (e.g. *Roman de la Rose* 2203—*essonne*: *saine*) appear in the more central regions. The N. and E. which were to the fore in the differentiation of oral *ei*, are on the whole much more conservative in their treatment of the nasal diphthongs and tend rather to reduce them to their first component (e.g. $\tilde{o}i > \tilde{o}$). Nor is Jordan quite correct when he states that the editors of our text overlooked this rime for a brief note to the line shows that they explained it differently. It is well known that the adjective *cointe* and its associated forms, including *acountier*, show a double development in A.N.: (i) a series agreeing with the continental forms, (ii) a series showing the diphthong $\tilde{e}i$. The latter have prevailed in Mod. English, and by their reference to this the editors indicated their belief that *acainte* (3989) was an early instance of this special A.N. development. Suchier (*Altfranzösische Grammatik*, § 48) held that the tonic vowel in *cognitum* behaved in the same way as the tonic *o* in other words and postulated the series *cuointe* > *cointe* for the continent, but in A.N. *cuointe* > *cueinte* with the retention of $\tilde{e}i$ owing to the combination of the labial triphthong-component with the initial consonant. Miss Pope, on the other hand (*op. cit.* § 426), says: 'this closing influence [of nasals] appears to have been exercised early enough in French to prevent the breaking of tonic *o* by following *y*', and quotes *cointe* as an example. Still another explanation was advanced long ago by Behrens (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der frz. Sprache in England*, p. 15), who maintained that these A.N. forms in $\tilde{e}i$ were analogical formations on the model of past participles like *feint*. Unfortunately, the chronology of the two developments has not yet been worked out satisfactorily. In A.N. the earliest texts seem to employ the first only, e.g. Philip de Thaur, *Bestiaire* 1617, Oxford Psalter 118, 98,

Cambridge Psalter 57, 5, Samsun de Nantuil 1113 and the form *quointes* in Matthew Paris, *St Edmund Rich* 421 should be included here and not regarded as an instance of surviving triphthong. The earliest example of the second appears to be Denis Pyramus, *St Edmund* 936 and later instances are *Boeve* 314 and Bozon, *St Richard* 504. In English, too, the same sequence appears to hold good: *cwointe* and *comte* are found already in *Anceren Riwle* (first quarter, thirteenth century), whereas the earliest examples of *ẽi* forms do not appear until towards the end of the thirteenth century. If, however, we bear in mind the confusion of *ãi* and *ẽi* in M B., which, at an early date, is insular rather than continental, and if we remember that a copyist is less likely to alter spelling in the rime than in the body of the line, then we must concede the possibility of the rime under discussion being A.N. unless other evidence shows that our text is late enough for *uẽ*: *ẽ*.

(b) Apart from the slight confusion with *ãi*, to which reference has already been made (§ 14), very few rimes remain to discuss. We have *meins*: *tens* 1811, an early reduction of which further evidence is provided by the rimes from Samsun de Nantuil—*nient*: *veint* 6137: *desteint* 11771—quoted by Suchier (*op. cit.*, § 45 d) without line numbers. Twice we have in rime the rendering of the O.E. name *Streona*—*Estreine*: *meine* 4475: *terriene* 4848; but in the second instance the MSS. vary in their readings, D.L. keeping *Estreine* but R. writing *Estriene*. The latter is in harmony with the representation of O.E. *eo* frequently, though not invariably, found in G., and in particular with his rendering of *Streones-halh* 1474. Therefore we must, I think, regard the rime as normal in *ie* for G. We note further the rime *demeine* (< *dominium*): *chaerne* 2337, which shows the diphthong developed by attraction rather than before *n'*.

§ 17. French *IE*.

(a) The reduction of *ée* to *ie* is amply attested by the rimes but is too widespread a phenomenon to be of value for the determination of date or dialect. Otherwise the rimes are pure with one doubtful exception: we find *chevaleirs*: *batcheirs* 1811, though elsewhere the two words rime in *ié* and *e¹* respectively. The editors (p. xxvii), who point out that only here do we have a departure from the spelling *chevaliers*, state that *-arem* is the basis of the rime. This orthographical peculiarity rather tells against the explanation advanced by Jordan (*op. cit.*, p. 104), who compares with the *cavalleyr* of the Alexander fragment (v. 76) and suggests possible E.Fr. development and extension of *-iarium*. Jenkins admits

chevalier in E^1 -assonances of the *Chanson de Roland* (vv. 359, 2861), and in his footnote to the first instance accepts the possibility of its being an earlier form than *chevalier*. As, on the other hand, *bacheliers* may equally well be an analogical form, it would be hazardous on the strength of this one rime to give M.B. as a text showing confusion of the two sounds. The verbs in $i + (\text{palatal}) + \text{are}$ rime always in $ié$. those in $i + (\text{dental}) + \text{are}$ in e^1 . Of the variables listed by Suchier (*op. cit.*, § 29) we find *deschurer* (2007), *deserter* (passim), *jeter* (2001) riming in e^1 . and *vié* (passim), *aproismier* (2507), *respitier* (2979), *amistié* (531, 3727), *pitué* (3431) in $ié$. We note further *brisier* (175) riming in $ié$, as also *esparmier* (187, 3481), here counted as three syllables: *regner* and cognates have already been referred to (§ 3).

(b) There is no evidence of the reduction of $iée$ to ie , but a certain number of rimes attest the confusion of $ié$ and e^1 , though the absence of a critical text makes it difficult to specify them exactly. It is true that Vising ('Die E-Laute im Reime. .', *Z.F.S.L.*, xxxix, 1) lists G. among those authors who keep the two sounds separate, but I find myself unable to accept this view and propose to discuss briefly those rimes which seem to me to controvert it.

(i) 361 *muller: aresuner*. [There is no variant reading. Waters (*Brendan*, p. 98) suggested tentatively, and Vising (*loc. cit.*, p. 11) definitely, the substitution of *a araisnier*, which would normalize both syntax and rime. The same construction occurs in *Voyage de Charlemagne* (v. 8): *De sa pleine parole la prist areisuner*. Here we have only the one MS.—a late A.N. copy of a C.Fr. text—and the word occurs in an *IE*-lapse, so that the editor had reasonable grounds for a correction. In our text the reading is fully supported by the MSS. and there is no compelling reason to correct.]

(ii) 693 *damagier: nafrer*. [There is one variant reading (L. *dampner*) but the agreement of D. and R., belonging to different families, is against accepting the variant in the critical text as Vising (*loc. cit.*, p. 11) proposes.]

(iii) 1293 *porté: herbergé*. [There is one variant reading (R. has a different second line which gives the rime-word *enterré*). The passage seems to be an obscure allusion to the refusal of the monks of Bardney to admit the body of Oswald on its translation there. To judge by certain other alterations in this passage, this tradition was unknown to R., hence his change of 1294. Therefore the reading of the other MSS. must appear in the critical text and with it quite definitely the rime $ié: e^1$.]

(iv) 2027 *quiderent : encontrerent*. [There is no variant reading so the rime must be accepted in the critical text.]

(v) 4729 *apariller demorer*. [There is no variant reading so the rime must be accepted in the critical text.]

(vi) 4893 *overé : preisé*. [There are two variant readings (D. *pesez*, H. a different line ending with *posez*). The context rather requires an estimate of value, which reinforces the agreement of L.R., belonging to different families, in determining the reading to admit into the critical text.]

(vii) 6511 *dosnauer : gaber*. [The epilogue, in which this rime occurs, though authentic, is found only in one MS. It is tempting to interchange the verbs in the second line, as proposed by Vising (*loc. cit.*, p. 11), and thus obtain the rime *dosnauer : boscheier* but there is no compelling reason to do so.]

A few other rimes, which have from time to time been adduced as examples of this confusion, are either pure rimes in *ié* or *e¹* respectively or else are suspect on other grounds. A list, with brief comments, follows.

(viii) 3255 *mer : emper*. [Vising (*loc. cit.*, p. 11) regards *emper* as a Latinism and this seems to me probable.]

(ix) 3765 *pensé : engané*. [This is a normal rime in *e¹*, for *enganer* is found side by side with *engugner*.]

(x) 4627 *entier : encentier*. [This is to be regarded as a pure rime since the verb is found elsewhere riming in *ié*.]

(xi) 4837 *aler : deramer*. [This is the reading of D.L.H., which gives as good sense as that of R. (*derainer*) and also a correct rime.]

(xii) 6225 *mestier : recoverer*. [This couplet, found only in R., is metrically faulty, not necessary to the context, and is to be rejected from the critical text.]

The verbs in *i* + (palatal) + *are* rime always in *ié*, those in *i* + (dental) + *are* in *e¹*. Of the variables (Suchier, *op. cit.*, § 29) we find *adիրer* (3178), *cliner* (passim), *deseriter* (passim), *deviser* (5763), *jeter* (5709) riming in *e¹*, and *aproismier* (185) in *ié*. We note further *brasier* (535) riming in *ié* as also *esparnier* (4827, 6233), here counted as four syllables; *regner* and cognates rime both in *ié* and *e¹*, as pointed out already (§ 3), where also the riming of L. *erant* in *ié* was noted.

§ 18. French *īĒ*.

(a) The only rimes which call for comment are *Troïens : tens* 487 and *Troïens : siens* 1509. The former shows apparent confusion of *īē* and *ē*, but even authors who normally avoid any such rimes occasionally admit

them where the outcome of *-ianus* is involved; indeed, some texts show considerable variety in the rimes in which this termination occurs. The second rime is more difficult to interpret, as a chronological factor enters: the analogical form *siens* only arose towards the end of the twelfth century. Without prejudging the issue we may find that M.B. is too early for this and have to look for an alternative explanation. This would be that we have an example of *iē : uē*, instances of which are found sporadically in the twelfth century (cf. Waters, *Brendan*, p. cxlviii, and Pope, *op. cit.*, § 478).

(b) The only rimes in G. which call for comment are those involving *-ianus*. We have *ancien : mien* 4319, then *Westsexiens* 1759 and *paiens* 3397 (both : *tens*) and finally *ancian* 1681 (: *an*) and *ancianz* 1785 (: *anz*).

§ 19. French *IEU*.

(a) We have in M.B. a twofold development indicated by the few rimes in which this sound is involved. On the one hand, some which conform to C.Fr. usage—*Phylisteu : Damnedeu* 2069, *Judeus : Euristeus* 2517, *leus : Deus* 1171; on the other certain rimes which show that the N.Fr. treatment of the sound was also known to the author (cf. § 7)—*lu : antu* 57 : *fuitu* 4167. Two rimes—*liu : Griu* 951, *lius : Grius* 973—are compatible with either development, but it is noteworthy that the latter word, which is spelt some nineteen times with *iu*, is found three times with *eu*; this may indicate the form used in the original text.

(b) Even fewer rimes in this sound occur in G., but none gives any indication of N.Fr. development. They are: *Des : remes* 3603 and *Deu : leu* 1409 : *feu* (= *fief*) 4321. The latter is of interest because the MSS. diverge in their readings. Three (D.L.H.) omit *Deu*, so making the rime-word *chief* and in the second line use *fie* (L.H.) and *sied* (D.), which suggests the rime *chief : fief* in their common ancestor. As *feffer* is found already in G. (3608), the rime in itself is quite possible for him, but the variants show that R. preserves the correct reading and thus confirm the rime *Deu : feu*. He also uses the reduced form *fied* (in rime at 1351, 2271, 2299, 2313, 3495).

§ 20. French *QI*.

(a) The rimes are supplied by normal *joue : Troie* (145 *et passim*) and by the *estoire* group of learned words. Nothing in the rimes shows whether the author used the attracted or unattracted forms or both concurrently, but the persistence of the latter forms in the spelling of these and similar words is noteworthy. We have further *esclos : bos* 803 which shows the N.Fr. reduction of the diphthong.

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(b) This sound hardly occurs in rime in G. We have normal *jore*: *Troie* 6527 and, in a doubtful passage, *jore*: *bloie* 6245, also the usual *estore* group. We note the rime *estore*: *ve* 2927, showing that our author knew the unattracted forms. There is no trace of $q_i > q$.

§ 21. French *QI*.

There is no rime in this diphthong in either text save for the mixed rime *voiz*: *foiz* 2793 (M.B.) already discussed (§ 15).

§ 22. French *ŌI*.

(a) Only three rimes involving this sound occur in M.B.—*swin*: *beswin* 1009, *pwin*: *beswin* 1407, *suign*: *pugn* 1481. The persistence of the unattracted forms in the spelling suggests that the diphthong was undeveloped in our author's speech in words such as *besoinne*: *summonne* 3453, *essonne*: *testimonie* 1561, *tesmonne*: *menzonne* 193, 261 (for the alternative form of the latter word cf. § 11).

(b) This sound does not occur except as a rime in an otherwise extremely doubtful passage, where we find *Mortem long* 5905. The rime *Bologne*: *besoigne* 6285 leaves it undecided whether G. knew the diphthong in words of this group.

§ 23. French *QU*.

(a) The only rimes in our text are verb forms—*guiout*: *menout* 1927, *plout*: *sout* 2061, *pot*: *mostrot* 2471—and throw no light on the nature of the vowel in these endings.¹

(b) The rimes in this sound are more frequent in G. though only verb forms occur with the one exception of *Ou*: *pou* 5899, which is found in the same very doubtful passage already referred to (§ 22). In the third person plural the rime *loent*: *parloent* 3749 proves reduction but in the singular there is no evidence either way.

§ 24. French *OU*.

(a) Apart from the two ambiguous rimes already mentioned (§ 10), this sound does not occur in rime in M.B.

(b) There are two rimes involving this sound; *dous*: *vus* 4331 has already been discussed (§ 10), the other, an imperfect one, *Edelwolf*: *sul* 2483, shows the normal A.N. retention of the simple vowel.

¹ Jordan (*op. cit.*) twice refers to *raiot* (1690), which occurs in his extract from M.B. (presumably he intends his remarks to apply to the other similar forms which occur sporadically in our text) though he seems to contradict himself. On p. 171 he explains it as dialectal (N.Fr.) reduction of q_i to q but on p. 267 he says the form may be A.N.

§ 25 French *UE*.

This sound occurs three times in rime in M.B.—*aiuel* : *duel* 4119, 4147, *oel* : *doel* 1593; *puet* : *estuet* 3145—and not at all in G.

§ 26. French *ŨE*.

This sound is only found in the rime *bueus* . *suens* 1097 in M.B.; another rime possibly involving *suens* has already been discussed (§ 18). There is no rime in G

§ 27. French *UI*.

(a) The oral rimes are all pure and no nasal rimes occur. We have the normal C.Fr. development of *ö+i* amply attested by rimes such as: *anui* : *lui* 3315; *fure* : *anue* 1427; and *nuit* . *tuit* 749, 1203, 1681 : *bruit* 617, 681 : *fruit* 2757.

(b) No nasal rime occurs but the oral rimes embrace three types, viz. (i) normal development, e.g. *lui* : *qui* (<cogito) 355, 2215, 4245 : *ennui* 2241; *nuit* : *deduit* 191, 1999, 6243; (ii) reduction to *i* after the *K*-sound, e.g. *midt* : *qui* (<cogito) 1645; *transit* : *qut* (<cogito) 2205, 5137; *dite* : *quite* (<cocta) 289; (iii) reduction to *u* in *dus* : *us* (=ostium) 5981.

§ 28 French *L*.

(a) There is proof of vocalization after rounded vowels in the rimes *perillous* : *sous* 809; *estuz* : *pruz* 2412; *nus* : *Brutus* 2013 : *dus* 3495 but not after the others; neither does any rime testify to effacement after *i*. The rime *cunseil* : *fedeil*, which has already been quoted (cf. § 15), must be adduced here as showing *l* : *l'*. This confusion is not otherwise attested in M.B., for certain rimes which appear to show it are perhaps to be regarded as evidence of persisting palatalized *l* (cf. Pope, *op. cit.*, § 382), and under this head we note *filz* : *gentilz* 2429, 2489 and *fille* : *Cordeille* 2851, etc.: *Gonorille* 3069, 3117, where the two names have the same rime-value for the author—*Cordeille* : *Gonorille* 2773—and the Latin appears to give terminations in *-illa*.

(b) There is no proof of vocalization in G., for the two rimes which have been quoted by earlier scholars cannot stand in a critical text: in the first (2003), and most generally accepted one, the printed text, based on R., reads *enchascout* : *volt*, but the second line is metrically faulty, whereas the other MSS. read *quidot*, which corrects both metre and rime; in the second (5407), adduced by Rathmann (*op. cit.*, § 26), we have *Harold* : *revenout* in the printed text but the other MSS. read *Harald* : *Reynald*, which corrects the metre of the second line, fits the context much better, and avoids the (in G.'s work) monstrosity in conjugation.

On the other hand, there is also no certain proof that *l* was not vocalized, for the interesting series of rimes with O.E. personal names, though clearly the deliberate choice of the author, cannot be pressed too far. The following occur: *-bald: defalt* 1105: *assalt* 2013: *falt* 2537; *-wald. asalt* 5579; *-wold. volt* 3843, 3851, *Harold: volt* 4797; and the incomplete rime *sul: -wulf* 2483. In such positions both O.E. and A.N. used velar *l*, which remained consonantal in the former but was vocalizing in the latter. Thus, though it may very well be that G. only knew these names, with the probable exception of *Harald*, from his written source, his pre-occupation with English would tend to make him conservative in this particular. Effacement after *v* is amply attested for *fiz* (< *filius*), which is found in rime with participles in *-iz* (1275, 3595, 4155, 4675), with *Kenriz* 825, *Certiz* 1911 and *Leriz* 5433. Though it is probable in *gentilz*, which rimes with *fiz* 2389, 3459, the rime *Kenegilz: eissilz* 1215 suggests that in other words it may not have been quite so far advanced. Rimes of the type *cunseil: fedeil*, already listed (§ 15), involve *l: l'*, and a further example is supplied by *apostoile: Engleschescole* 3349. It is uncertain whether in *bataille: Cenwaille* 1355 we have an attempt to represent the O.E. sound or merely G. assuming in the termination *-wailh* the graphy *lh* for the palatal lateral. There is also a series of rimes in *-il* and *-ille* which seem to show confusion of *l* and *l'*, though they also might be taken as examples of persisting palatalized *l* (cf. Pope, *op. cit.*, § 382). The following occur: *eissil* (R. *exil*): *gentil* 2135: *Avril* 3247; *Avril: gentil* 6437; *gupil: il* 281; *icil: mil* 3037; *fille: Argentille* 65, 83: *gentille* 2065 and (a Latinism): *mirabile* 1283, which latter word: *mille* 2579.

§ 29. French *R*.

(a) There is no indication in the rimes of the weak pronunciation of *r* in M.B. and *succurre: rescure* 719 is doubtful evidence of *r: rr*, as the latter word early came under analogical influence. Of rimes involving *r: l* (real or apparent) there is also no trace; we note normal *contraire: faire* 3599.

(b) A number of rimes testify to the weak pronunciation of *r* in G.: (i) before consonants—*dos: cors* 5677; *apres: Waers* 5721; (ii) after consonants—*entrent: dementent* 3267 and frequently *-estre: -este*, so that it is doubtful whether *celestre: prestre* 2103 should be taken as an example of intrusive *r* in the former word. One rime shows *r: rr*—*faire: terre* 4499. Of rimes involving *r: l* (real or apparent) there are several, but only of words which show dual development in O.Fr.; thus we have *apostoire* (: *Gregoire* 959, 2061: *Theodoire* 1387: *gloire* 3327)

beside *apostolle* (: *Engleschescole* 3349, cf. § 28), *navire* (: *martire* 3489 : *empire* 759, 3519, *dire* 821, *concire* 2369), and *contraille* (: *bataille* 413, 775, 1345, 1801, *devaillie* 5155).

§ 30. Labials.

(a) The only point of interest is the presence of traces of N.Fr. development of *-ivus* to which reference has already been made (§ 7).

(b) The rimes amply attest the normal development of *-ivus* and show no trace of the N.Fr. treatment of this ending. The only other point of interest is the proof of the presence of the glide between *m* and *r* afforded by the rimes, *chambre* : *lambre* 3945; *remembre* : *Septembre* 5221, *Humbre* : *nombre* 2297.

§ 31. Nasals.

(a) The rimes show in a few instances, mostly after *q*, final *m* coupled with final *n*—*hum* : *num* (=non) 1853; two rimes involving Latin accusatives in *-um* 691, 2051; and *arain* : *estain* 15. There is no rime showing *n* : *n'*, but the reduction of final *rm*, *rn* is illustrated by *entur* : *seignor* 75; *jor* : *meillor* 239 and, more remarkably, by *Satur* : *honur* 3739.

(b) The rimes show *-um* : *-un* very frequently, and we have another instance of *m* : *n*—*faim* : *demain* 325. It is uncertain whether *n* : *n'*, for *demeine* (: *chaeine*) 2337, as suggested earlier (§ 16), probably has the diphthong by attraction and *engin* (: *enclin*) 4547 is early found with the front nasal and not the palatal. Rimes showing the reduction of final *rm*, *rn* are very frequent and *char* (: *Ywar* 2931 : *Edelgar* 4097) may be instanced. A noteworthy rime is *pais* : *Belins* 5973, which may be compared with the presence in a riming tirade in *-is* of *fins* in Guischard de Beaulieu, 54, which the editor (Gabrielson) ascribes (p. liv) to Provençal influence.

§ 32. Dentals.

(a) Frequent rimes show complete disappearance of the isolated inter-vocalic dental: *Enee* : *assemblee* 139 : *cuntree* 2073; *s'esfroie* : *renvoie* 2993; *voies* : *proies* 4111; *seignorie* : *maisnie* 3611. When final the isolated dental is lost (i) in substantival and verbal roots: *roi* : *desroi* 489 : *cunroi* 577; *soi* : *foi* 3869; (ii) in substantival and participial terminations: *sarchu* : *volu* 1819; *Dardani* : *fui* 493; also in *pri* : *merci* 519; (iii) in preterites in *a* (<avit): *regna* : *Juda* 2067; but there is no similar rime in *i* (<ivit); (iv) in presents in atonic *e* (<at): *otrie* : *vie* 985, 997; *terre* : *enserre* 2297. When the final dental was supported, it normally persists in M.B., but a few rimes call for comment. In *vait* : *trait* 545 we have an

analogical form with fixed dental; in *fu: entendu* 3339: *escu* 2575 we have, as usually in O.Fr., the preterite of *estre* with unsupported dental; in *destrout: cunroit* 1263: *soit* (< sītm) 643 we find the two types of final dental in rime, but *David: escrit* 3779 is ambiguous

(b) The large number of O.E. names which G. of necessity incorporates in his text introduces another factor into the discussion of this group of sounds. Frequent rimes show complete disappearance of the isolated intervocalic dental: *contree: Feadecanlee* 997; *Edelinge: asemblee* 3227; *Marie: vie* 3057; *Pavie: ensevelie* 3335; *seient: conreient* 4995; *aie: Hungerie* 4781; and this is not contradicted by *aide: Ide* 1155 and *ajude: Hude* 2499, for these are independent formations. Other important rimes are *fue: vure* 5337, which shows the W.Fr. development of the latter word, and *venue: Portesmue* 2025; *Brunemue: confundue* 5169, which show G. departing from his usual treatment of the O.E. dental fricative between vowels. Elsewhere he represents both this sound and the corresponding stop by *d*, as shown by *Cude* (< Cuða), *Hude* (< Huda), and *Edel-* in the numerous *Æðel-* names. Only in this one element *muða* do we find no trace of the dental, and this can hardly have, in the case of G., a phonetic explanation. Rather we must conclude that he deliberately substituted for the E. form of the name the widely current A.N. one, just as he uses *Londres* and *Nicole* for London and Lincoln respectively (cf. § 12). When final the isolated dental is lost (i) in substantival and verbal roots: *crei: rei* 421; *rei: fei* 1977; *ami: afi* 667. The only rime which suggests retention is *fid: Ealdfrid* 1499; *Wilfrei* (: *rei* 1615, 1621), deriving from the same O.E. name-element, probably shows some analogical influence (cf. Rathmann, *op. cit.* § 21). (ii) Probably in substantival and participial terminations. This is amply attested for those in *-i*: *servi: ami* 5027; *di* (< dico): *choisi* 1299; *Tosti: plevi* 5199; also *merci: issi* 4025; but again we have one rime suggesting retention: *Edelfrid: saisi* 1147. Very few rimes in *eⁱ* without following dental are possible to an author who, like G., does not use *Dé* (< Deum), but G. has several rimes between the *eⁱ* termination and O.E. names ending in a dental: *Elveret: loet* 3351; *assemble: Alvere* 4803; *Alvere: mene* 4813, 4831, with which must be compared the still greater number between such names and diminutives in *-et*: *Alchereth: baudet* 2125; *Elvereth: chasteleth* 3161; *Edelret: vadlet* 4077, 4517; *petitet* 4201: *baldet* 4241; *Tanet: vallet* 2561. The rimes involving *u* with following dental are ambiguous: *avenu: Belzebu* 4483, *Cnuth: venut* 4297, should be noted and also those in *suth* (: *avenu* 1587: *vertu* 2117: *receu* 2349). (iii) Probably in preterites in *i* (< ivit): *Bosentebiri: toli* 1357; *transi: Beverli* 1689: *Tosti* 5061; though other

rimes suggest retention *combatid* (: *Edelfrid* 1013 : *Bercefrid* 1625); *transit* : *Deusdedit* 1385. The rimes with *David* (: *issit* 4667 : *tressailli* 6507) are ambiguous and so is the rime *transit* : *qunt* 2205. 5137, for, although the form with supported dental does exist, elsewhere G. uses that without dental: *qui* : *lui* 355. 2215. 4245 · *dui* 4397 : *midr* . *qui* 1645. There is only one rime between *a* (<avt) and a non-verbal termination: *la durra* 6061. (iv) In presents in atonic *a* (<at): *vitaille* · *faillie* 487 : *fine* : *Edwine* 1231; *lance* : *avance* 5283. The final supported dental normally persists in G. but a few rimes call for comment. Here, too, we have the form *vait* in rime (: *fait* 1427, 1773 : *plait* 4121); the rime *fu* · *Jhesu* 1341 shows the preterite of *estre* with unsupported dental and *fu* : *Adeldru* 1407 is not in contradiction with this. The same form is found in rime with substantives and participles in *u* : *fu* : *vertu* 863 : *receu* 1975 : *irascu* 4631; and also with a preterite (: *morut* 1473), which same preterite rimes with a participle (: *eut* 2227) and with strong preterites (: *recut* 3293, 3559 : *dut* 5141). These last lead to others apparently showing the two types of final dental in rime: *desconfit* : *perdit* 2477 : *dit* : *partit* 2513 : *mentit* (p p.) 2773 : *murdrit* 4053 : *norit* (p.p.) 6131. From these rimes in G. two conclusions appear warranted: (a) the loss of the final isolated dental in substantival and participial terminations and in preterites and futures is sufficiently recent to be no obstacle to rime with O.E. names ending in a dental, though probably only by conscious archaism on G.'s part; (b) the analogical influences at work in the preterites are considerable and make a number of doublets available for rime.

§ 33. French *S*.

(a) There is only one rime showing confusion of final *s* and *z* (=ts)—*Antigonus* : *mescreuz* 713; we note, too, the habitual riming of *ans* (<annus) with words showing *s*, the one exception being *anz* : *enfanz* 2433. No evidence is afforded by the rimes of the effacement of pre-consonantal *s*, and a few rimes with personal names suggest, though they do not prove, its persistence—*Veste* : *feste* 3893 : *teste* 3933; *Wincestre* : *ancestre* 2669. The outcome of *-itum*, *-itia* varies in our text: we have (i) *richoise* : *Cataneise* 3633 : *poise* 3157, 3615; (ii) *viellece* : *esdrece* 2777 (cf. *radrece* : *trece* 3905) and numerous interrimes; (iii) *vices* : *Menprices* 2441; (iv) most commonly *-ise* riming with *guise* and similar words, the following occurring in rime: *cuvortise* 929, *faintise* 2799, *franchise* 317, 4165, *justise* 1669, 1893, *marcheandise* 43, *sacrifise* 1167, 1175, 1199, 3895, *servise* 405, 435.

(b) There are a number of rimes showing confusion of final *s* and *z* (=ts)—*purpens denz* 181; *feiz reis* 923. *nefs levez* 2577 · *alez* 2585 · *arrivez* 5247. *dis* (<dies) · *resortiz* 2969. *dis* (<decem) · *fiz* 4993; *oscis descunfiz* 977 · *enseveliz* 1181; *jurz* is found: *surz* 1321 · *curz* 3837 but · *esturs* 3033: also *sugurz* · *seignurs* 6193; *anz* (<annus) does not rime with words showing *s*: the form *sambuz* (: *descenduz* 6319) is noteworthy. The only rime which suggests effacement of preconsonantal *s* is *regne* · *baptisme* 957, but the former word is several times found in inexact rimes (assonance²), so this one instance should not be pressed. The outcome of -*itum*, -*itia* in our text varies: we have (i) *noblesces* · *richesces* 6513 (cf. § 35), (ii) *vice* · *nurrice* 625, (iii) more frequently -*ise* riming with *guise* and similar words; the following occur in the rimes: *juise* 2655, 4981, *justise* 4385, 4863, 5259, *servises* 4091 and two interrimes; there is no example of *richeise* or similar forms in rime.

§ 34. Velars.

The only noteworthy rimes occur in G., where we find *retint* · *Edeling* 1727; *cinc* · *vint* 4757; *gent* · *Flamenc* 5159; they seem to indicate a weakening pronunciation of the final consonant.

§ 35. Affricatives.

The rimes in M.B. call for no comment, but in G. we note *hache* · *maché* 4263; *fieblesce teche* 2667, with which we may compare similar rimes in Samson de Nantuil showing [ts]:[tš]; further *esnecces* · *brecces* 5459 (cf. Kjellmann, *St Edmund*, pp. lxxxiv, cxvi).

MORPHOLOGY

§ 36. Noun and Adjective.

(a) As the two-case declension of masculine nouns is relatively intact in M.B., it is possible to study the presence or absence of nominative *s* in our text. *Ostages* 1075 and *savoirs* 2933, the latter in rime, show that the author regularly used it in the nom. sing. of nouns in -*age* and of substantival infinitives; *pastres* 4051 is the only example of analogical *s*, and its absence in *poete* 2421 shows that its addition is not yet general. Frequent rimes show that with feminine nouns not ending in *e* the author used the *s* forms of the nom. sing.; we note, among others, *sorz* 365 (not in rime), *vertuz* 1996, *visiuns* 1232. In addition to the old-established analogical feminine adjectives—*commune* 1500, *curtoise* 115, *dolente* 224, etc.—we have a more recent one in *paternele* 2390; usually we have the regular *quel*, but twice (2788, 2789) the later analogical form. The rime

seanz enfanz 4081 shows the use of *s* in the fem. nom. sing. of two-termination adjectives which is frequent in the body of the line. Organic comparatives are used by the author and we note particularly *belisor* 3944 and *geuzors* 2081. 2369

(b) The complete disorganization of the two-case declension in G. makes it much more difficult to determine his usage in respect of nominative *s*. Several rimes show nouns in *-age* without, but none with, this addition; *feluns* 1177 shows the *s* added incorrectly to an accusative form, but *fels traitres* 5640 is rather an incorrectly formed plural than a singular with analogical *s*. *Curz* 3838 and *demustraisuns* 5374 show feminine nouns with nominative *s*, but this is poorly represented in the rimes. We have the usual old-established analogical feminine adjectives—*fole* 1840, *gentille* 2066, analogical feminines of present participles—*villante* 1336, *puignantes* 2915, *pesante* 6392, also *cruelle* 4182 but no example of *quele* and only doubtful ones of *tele*. No rime shows a two-termination adjective with fem. nom. sing. in *s*. Among the organic comparatives we note *jureneur* 4621, *major* 4622, *surdeur* 5336.

§ 37. Verb.

(a) (i) There is no confusion of conjugation in M.B. We note *receivre* 4023 (: *Touvre*) and *remaindre* 931 (: *refraindre*), though *manoir* 523 is found in the body of the line.

(ii) Personal endings: The organic forms of 1 and 3 are amply attested and there is only one rather doubtful instance of analogical *e*—*acuintre* 3312, where we may have a disguised *c*-subjunctive in view of the frequency of the spelling *ti=c* in our text, e.g. *presentie* : *sententie* 485. We have only one interrime involving 4 and it is uncertain whether M.B. uses the sigmatic form or not. Though 5 future is only found in interrime or riming with 5 present of *avoir*, the usual spelling *eiz* (C.Fr. *e¹* is generally written *ei* and C.Fr. *ei* mostly *oi*) shows that we have very probably the analogical, and not the organic, termination.

(iii) Present: Both *va* and *vait* occur once each in rime (1992 and 546 respectively), but the latter predominates in the body of the line. We note the isolated form *suns* (<*estre*) 826; the subjunctives *voist* 1341, *augent* 532; and from *tenir*, *venir* subjunctives in *g*.

(iv) Imperfect: Numerous rimes show first-conjugation imperfects riming with those of other conjugations and only one rime—*pot* : *mostrot* 2471—attests the older form, though further examples occur not in rime. From *estre* we have both *ert* and *esteit* as well as *ere* in rime (cf. § 3a).

(v) Preterite: We find only the organic forms of the preterite (and past

participle) of *remandre* indicated by the orthography but no attesting rime. The first class (*avoir*) of *U*-verbs still retains its distinctive vowel, riming with an imperfect at 2471. Though both the organic (*-istrent*) and the N.Fr. analogical (*-isent*) forms of the preterite of *S*-verbs occur in the text, no rime throws light on the author's usage and we have only one interrime—*quisent*: *misent* 1085, from *faire* we note, but nowhere in rime, *fistrent* 1274 etc., *fisent* 790, etc., but *firent* 429 (in rime).

(vi) Future and conditional. The use of contracted forms is a noteworthy feature of our text and we find the following types:

- (a) nasal + *R*: *dunrai* 1065 etc., *menra* 1064, *amenroit* 1572;
- (b) dental + *R* *gaitroient* 959, *deportra* 1982, *rahreftra* 3445, *deshertunt* 3851;
- (c) labial + *R*: *trovra* 3358;
- (d) *R* + *R* (including examples involving metathesis): *repaurrai* 215, *honorrai* 1191, *deliverra* 813, *renterra* 2162.

We find also *lairas* 2273, *laurunt* 2360 and two instances of contracted forms of *faire* (1023, 2276). From *estre* we have the forms in *ser*- as well as the organic forms.

(b) (i) There is no confusion of conjugation in *G*. We note *receveir* 4552 (: *eir*) and *remaneir* 419 (: *eir*).

(ii) Personal endings: The organic forms of 1 and 3 are amply attested and there is only one doubtful instance of analogical *s*—*dis* 2145 (: *pais*) where the *s* is possibly due to confusion between present and preterite. We do find, on the other hand, two instances of suppression of final *e*—*demant* 634 (: *devant*), *aquit* 4967 (: *respit*). A series of four rimes shows that the asigmatic form of 4 is preferred, and another series shows that the analogical form of 5 is used.

(iii) Present: Both *va* and *vait* occur in rime (at 4009, 5804 and 1428, 1774, 4121 respectively) but the former does not seem to occur elsewhere in *G*. We note the isolated form *emes* (= *esmes* < *estre*) 373, the subjunctives *alt* 3850, etc. and *algent* 1866, 4930 (both < *aler*), and from *tenir*, *venir* subjunctives in *g*.

(iv) Imperfect: There is no instance of first-conjugation imperfects riming with those of other conjugations but in 3 we have a number of rimes with the preterites of *avoir* and associated verbs. From *estre* we have both *ert* and *estert* as well as *ere* in rime (cf. § 3 b).

(v) Preterite: Though we find the organic form of the past participle of *remaneir* attested by rime (*remes*: *nefs* 501, 3423: *cles* 2715: *Deus* 3603), it seems probable that *G*. used the analogical preterite; no rime occurs

but all MSS. concur in these forms and two instances at least (775, 1624) show how closely *remaneur* and *remettre* can approximate in sense in our author. The first class (*aveir*) of *U*-verbs still retains its distinctive vowel, as shown by some dozen rimes with imperfects. A number of interrimes show 6 preterite of *S*-verbs ending in *-istrent*, which is the usual spelling of the MSS., and from *faire* we have quite definitely *firent*. One very interesting rime is found at 1797; the printed text reads: 'Quant Gudret [ot] dusze anz regné/Encontre Edelbald s'est combaté'; but one MS. (L.) reads in the second line '*se cumbatied*'. As this gives a correct rime (there is no other instance of confusion of conjugation in G., since the change is only attested much later), and as it is unlikely a later copyist would introduce an obsolete form (though the reverse process is quite natural), we may, I think, accept this form as an isolated *dedi* preterite used by our author.

(vi) Future and conditional: Apart from the widely used O.Fr. contracted forms involving *N+R* (here showing assimilation), e.g. *durreit* 104. *merrai* 318, *amerrat* 2694; and the forms *lerrai* 705, *lerrum* 2247, *jurrai* 4340, *jurrez* 4340, we have one example only of a contracted future: *merci(e)rai* 382. In *discoverom* 340, *discovereit* 346 and, possibly, at 4266 (*entrer*) we have futures involving metathesis. We note regular *guarrat* 3824 and the absence of contracted forms of *faire*. From *estre* we have the forms in *ser-* and the organic forms, including *erc* 5837.

SYNTAX

§ 38. Agreement of past participle.

In view of the different way in which our texts handle the two-case declension it is not surprising to find careful observance of agreement for case in M.B. and great freedom in this respect in G., but their attitude towards agreement for gender is worth noticing. With *Etre* the two texts generally observe the concord, but with *Avoir* there is divergence of treatment. M.B. has a large number of instances in which agreement takes place and only an insignificant number in which it does not, whereas in G. the proportion of agreement to non-agreement (out of a very much smaller total) is roughly 3 to 2.

§ 39. Appositional Genitive.

This well-known O.Fr. construction occurs some ninety times in G. but only in the usual types, e.g., *li mes Artur* 45, *la terre seint Galeris* 3266, *la pairrine saint Cuthbert* 2121, *fiz fu Certiz* 875. Its use in M.B. is much less frequent (some thirty times in all) but includes a number of hybrid

constructions in which the author appears consciously to use a Latin genitive, e.g. *del lin Dardani* 493, *uncles Brut* 2075, *filz fu Jovis lo roi de Crete* 3977, as well as some less usual groups, viz. *al cust Maglau* 3051, *a oes humaine creature* 10, *a ues sa voie* 1068, *a ues sun edifiement* 2030. Normally, except in stereotyped expressions involving *Deu* or *Jhesu*, the determinant comes second and only once is this rule infringed by G., viz. *des Hereward liges privez* 5550. In M.B. this word-order occurs a number of times, e.g. *la Turni genz* 172, *la Salemon doctrine* 2649, *Locryn amie* 2391. *Bladud vie* 2734.

§ 40. Negative complements.

In both texts the simple negative predominates but M.B. uses complements rather more frequently than G.; in the former the proportion of simple negatives to those with complements is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, in the latter about 5 to 1. More significant are the variations in the complements and their frequency. At the head of the list stands, as we should expect, *pas* but, whereas in M.B. it accounts for 54% of the complements, in G. it only forms 50%. Next most frequent in M.B. is *me* but in G. *gaires*. Further we note the absence, in G., of both *point* and *prud*, which share third place for frequency in M.B. The following table is of interest for purposes of comparison¹ but, in the case of *ment* and *rien*, which are also used in their full sense, differences of interpretation may alter the respective figures:

Complement	M.B.	G.
<i>gaires</i>	2	11
<i>giens</i>	2	1
<i>me</i>	18	9
<i>neient</i>	4	7
<i>pas</i>	54	36
<i>point</i>	7	—
<i>prud</i>	7	—
<i>rien</i>	5	6
Total complements	99	70
Total simple negatives	345	368

§ 41. Inchoative verbal phrases.

Both *commencer* and *prendre* followed (usually) by *à* + infinitive were used in O.Fr. to render the inchoative conception but later the sense of the construction became so weakened that it is often little more than a synonym for the corresponding tense of the simple verb. Stimming, in a note to *Boeve* 148, attributed the later usage to English influence and regarded it as a distinguishing feature of A.N. The frequency of its use in

¹ The distinction between simple negatives and those with complements is, as far as possible, that used by Fr. Dr Marlene Orth, *Die franz. Negation von den alt. Texten bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Arbeiten zur romanischen Philologie, 32).

continental texts as well as serious chronological difficulties make his view highly improbable, so the construction can no longer safely be taken as an indication of dialect. It is of value in our investigation because, though present in its full sense in both texts, they do not agree in their attitude towards the two verbs: M.B. rather favours *commencer* (6 : 4), whereas G. undoubtedly prefers *prendre* (8 : 1).

§ 42. Object pronouns in unheaded sentences.

Our texts differ considerably in their usage here. In neither M.B. nor G. do we find an atonic pronoun in proclitic position; each shows one or two instances of tonic pronouns thus used, e.g. M.B. 1892 : *lui servirent cumme seignor*, G. 5305 : *lui oscistrent e son destrier*. In enclitic position both tonic and atonic pronouns are used, the former with almost equal frequency, the latter very sparingly in G.. *la* 2633, 3900, 6023, *les* 5026, but very frequently in M.B. : *se* 1004, 1694, 1711, *s'en* 173, 282, 565, *le* 882, 1819, etc., *la* 3984, *les* 1606, *vos* 959, 2934, *en* 3150 (and, I think, 291-2. 'Et por itant en faz memorie / Qu'en plusors lius est *en* l'ystorie') together with seventeen instances of *le*, which is usually distinguished in this text from the tonic *lui*. Further, M.B. has a number of examples of the object pronoun in enclitic position when the verb follows *et*: *et poise moi* 1595, *et feroit li* 3045, *et dist li* 3336, *et porta li* 3434, *et dona l'en* 3437, *et sembloit lor* 3647, *et dirai vos* 4159. G. has this use only once : *e fist lur* 3200.

§ 43. Object pronouns with infinitive.

Where the pure infinitive is concerned three constructions are found in our texts: (i) pronoun—verb—infinitive (M.B. 96x, G. 57x); (ii) infinitive—pronoun—verb (M.B. 16x, G. 19x); (iii) verb—pronoun—infinitive (M.B. 2x—1664, 1755, G. 1x—3645). Where the infinitive follows a preposition the normal order is: preposition—pronoun—infinitive; this is found in both texts (M.B. 26x, G. 15x). Occasionally the pronoun is attracted before the finite verb, in G. once (2764), in M.B. several times (650, 679, 780, 919, 3182, 3504). We appear to have also in G. (3120) the unusual arrangement: pronoun—preposition—infinitive : *les a servir*; but MS. R. has a different reading.

The evidence so far adduced is sufficient for a decision on the second of the two questions which have been the subject of this investigation. The comparison of the phonology of our two texts discloses many differences but not all of equal significance to the inquiry in hand. Assuming for the time being that the two are contemporary, the differing treatment of *regner* (§ 3) could be explained by gradual acquirement of

A.N. speech habits; the absence of N.Fr. preterites and past participles (§ 12) could be explained, though less convincingly, as conscious abandonment of dialect traits foreign to the author's new A.N. surroundings; but the differing treatment of *ans*, *tens* (§§ 2, 33) can hardly be explained if the two authors are but one, for it is unlikely that an author would abandon a trait of his own dialect if that trait were also known in his new dialectal surroundings. Further the N.Fr. traits present in M.B. (§§ 7, 12, 20) but not in G. contrasted with the W.Fr. traits noticeable in G. (§§ 3, 32) but absent from M.B. are hardly compatible with common authorship and the same conclusion is suggested by the differing treatment of *íee* (§ 17) and by the absence of weak *R* in M.B. (§ 29). Much more decisive is the evidence of the morphology. We have slight indications of the same contrast between N.Fr. and W.Fr. in the preterites and in the almost complete absence of the etymological forms of the first conjugation imperfects in M.B., which with the complete absence of the analogical forms in G. probably reflects this difference too. In the declension we find rigid observance of the two-case system in M.B. and it is not credible that in the short space of two or three years that author should arrive at the state of disorganization shown in this respect by G. The evidence from syntax still further strengthens the case against common authorship and this conclusion would be reinforced by adducing facts concerning the rimes (e.g. M.B. 25 rimes in *a*; G. 207 rimes in *a*—reflecting differing tense-usage and differing sentence construction), concerning the vocabulary (which is more learned in M.B.), concerning stylistic devices (which are commoner and more consciously used in M.B.).

There still remains the question of the date of M.B. In our study of the phonology we noted one or more features which were rather difficult of explanation if our text were as early as G.: the confusion of *āi* and *ēi* (§ 14); the confusion of *qi* and *qi* (§ 15); the rime *acainte* : *enchainte* (§ 16); the analogical form *siens* (§ 18). These all fall into line if we regard M.B. no longer as a text of the early twelfth century but as belonging to the late twelfth, or early thirteenth, century and this conclusion is confirmed by the study of its style, which reflects that of the courtly romances, e.g. the description of Loctrine's passion for Estrild:

L'une des treis Estrild out num,
 Plus bele feme ne vit um,
 D'Alemanie eirt fille a un roi;
 Les dous autres erent od soi.
 Um ne trovast en un regnei
 Nule femme de sa beautei:

Blans ivories ne nois sur branche
 Ne flors de lis n'altre riens blanche
 Ne poust vaintre sa blanchor
 Ne sa beautei ne sa color.
 En ceste suspirout Locrin,
 En ceste out Venus mis sa fin,
 En ceste estoit toz ses talenz,
 En ceste ardoit ses cuers dedenz,
 En ceste fremissoit sa rage,
 En ceste out fermé sun corage.
 D'iceste volt lo mariage,
 Ne s'i garda de sun damage;
 A espose la covortoit,
 A altre femme ne pensoit.
 Li deus d'amor l'ot mal menei,
 De sa saiete el cors nafrei;

(vv. 2199-2220)

and Lear's apostrophe to Fortune¹:

Oh! fortune cum ies dure!
 En toi nen a puint de droiture;
 Mult est malvaise ta nature,
 De nul home supris n'as cure;
 Quar quant l'om a greignor fiance
 En toi, torses come balance.
 Quant as l'omme multipliet
 De richoise et esauciet
 Et sur ta roe assis en haut,
 Et riens en terre ne li faut,
 De haut lo fais jus trebuchier;
 Mult gries chos' est del redrecier.
 Si fais ta roe retourner,
 Celui chair, altre munteir.
 Trop est malvaise ta maniere,
 L'un mez avant et l'autre arriere,
 Or m'as ensi tornei a ment
 Que nus ne m'aime ne ne crient;
 Bien m'as faite la demostrance
 Qu'en toi ne doi avoir fiance!

(vv. 3227-3246)

Finally, briefly to summarize my views on the various questions concerning the Munich Brut, I would say:

- (i) that M.B. is not by Gaimar;
- (ii) that M.B.'s A.N. source, though probable on grounds of subject-matter, is not particularly apparent;
- (iii) that any such source has been so thoroughly rewritten that M.B. can only be regarded, for practical purposes, as an original work;
- (iv) that slight divergences in linguistic usage between the British and the Roman sections of M.B. may reflect two distinct sources;
- (v) that, whilst the source of the British section may have been Gaimar's *Estoire des Bretuns* (I seem to detect a solitary echo in Agan-

¹ Fortune's wheel, which derives from Latin literature, is said to make its first appearance in French literature in *Eneas* (vv. 685-900).

nippus' wooing of Cordeha, which reminds me slightly of Edgar and Ælfðryð in the *Estoire des Engleis*), any attempt to reconstruct it from M.B. is useless;

(vi) that M.B. is later than has usually been assumed (I am in substantial agreement with Professor Becker (*op. cit.* p. 42) on this point) and is perhaps to be brought into connexion with other N.Fr. adaptations of A.N. works made in the early thirteenth century.

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'GORBODUC' AND THE THEORY OF TYRANNICIDE

THE first discussion on the political import of *Gorboduc* appears to be that written by L. H. Courtney in 1860.¹ This article points out the adaptability of the plot to a contemporary political problem, which seemed to these early Elizabethan dramatists to be of the utmost importance—namely, the establishment of the succession. It is to this paper that all critics and editors turn when they discuss the contemporary significance of *Gorboduc*.²

Scholars who have mentioned the political intent of the play state that it is a protest against civil discord, a plea for the establishment of the succession, an expression of conviction concerning the divine appointment of kings and the doctrine of non-resistance. All these ideas are expressed, to be sure, at various points in the drama; however, there are other phases of its political purpose which are more significant in the general development of Elizabethan thought and its relation to contemporary drama, but which have been consistently overlooked. Moreover, scholars have disregarded the contradictory theories set forth by the two collaborators of *Gorboduc*.

The authors of the first English tragedy were young men concerned about the political life of Elizabeth's reign and aware that their play would be performed in the presence of their sovereign.³ They took this method of instructing her on some political questions, not only on the necessity of securing an heir and avoiding a foreign marriage, but also concerning the whole theory of tyrannicide versus divine right. It is this wider significance of *Gorboduc* which has been constantly neglected.

It seems strange that Norton and Sackville chose the dramatic form, a new and experimental artistic medium, to express political-philosophical ideas. This choice appears to have been made by Sackville, who,

¹ Courtney, L. H., 'Tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex', in *Notes and Queries*, ser. II, x, 261-3.

² See Warton, Thomas, *History of English Poetry*, iv, 255-66 (ed. by W. C. Hazlitt, 1871); introduction to *Gorboduc*, ed. by L. Toulmin Smith (1883); *Cambridge History of English Literature*, v, 73-8; *Early English Classical Tragedies*, ed. by John W. Cunliffe (1912). This last-named edition of *Gorboduc* has notes by Homer A. Watt whose dissertation on *Gorboduc* (*Bulletin of Wisconsin*, 1910) is the most recent thorough study available. In his chapter on 'The Political Import of the Tragedy', he concerned himself almost exclusively with the matter of the succession, as did Mr Courtney, with but very brief mention of the divine right theory and with no discussion of the opposing viewpoints of the two authors.

³ *Gorboduc* was first produced at the Inner Temple for the Christmas celebration of 1561-2—festivities which the queen frequently attended. For some reason, she was unable to be present at this time; therefore she commanded a special performance, which was given for her on 18 January 1561-2.

as Marguerite Hearsey has demonstrated, not only discovered the plot of *Gorboduc* while he was unearthing material for the *Mirror*,¹ but who, during his entire lifetime, evinced an interest in the drama.² Norton, on the other hand, became known as a determined opponent of the theatre.³ The reason for the latter's participation in the writing of *Gorboduc* is probably that he undertook the project merely because of his fanatical zeal for the Puritan movement. The spirit of Calvinism in England and Scotland was, of course, the great personality, John Knox, and under his guidance the Reformation in Scotland developed a literature as early as 1528. Knox, in his *Historie of the Reformation*, referred to 'a play againis the Papists' by Friar Kyllour, which was played before James V at Stirling on Good Friday morning, 1535. Another performance of a drama of political content was *Dionysus the Tyrant* played at Dundee in 1540. It was evidently the policy of the Scottish Puritans to teach the new religion to the people by means of dramatic representations.⁴ It may well have been that Norton consented to collaborate in the writing of *Gorboduc* under the inspiration and example of Knox.

Thomas Norton devoted his life to the Puritan cause. At the time of the performance of *Gorboduc* he was a student at the Inner Temple. For a while he lived with his stepfather Edward Whitchurch, the Calvinistic printer, at whose home Norton came to know the small but active group of English Puritans. Another point of contact with this sect resulted from his marriages: his first wife was the daughter of Archbishop Cranmer and his second a cousin. Among these Puritan friends was John Day, printer of *Gorboduc*.⁵ Later in life, Norton was appointed official censor

¹ Hearsey, Marguerite: *The Complaint of Henry Duke of Buckingham* (Yale Univ Press, 1936), p. 27.

² From E. K. Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage* (1923) we learn that Sackville's father staged a masque for Elizabeth in 1564 (I, 161); that Sackville saw an Italian comedy at the Court of Mantua when he was ambassador to Charles IX (II, 261); that William Gager's Latin play, *Ulysses Redux*, performed at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1592, has an epistle to Sir Thomas (III, 318); that Sackville engaged a writer of Latin plays, Kyffin, to tutor his sons in 1587 (III, 398), that he signed two letters to the Privy Council restricting plays and players (IV, 315, 335); that an academic play, *Herodes*, was dedicated to him (IV, 375).

³ E. K. Chambers made this statement in *Eliz. Stage*, I, 265.

⁴ For a discussion of the Calvinistic drama in Scotland, see *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, chap. VII, 'Reformation and Renaissance in Scotland'.

⁵ John Day (1522-84) was a zealous Puritan who used his trade to further the cause. During Mary's reign he published only three or four books, suffered imprisonment, and went abroad. He printed many famous Puritan publications, among them Robert Crowley's *Information and Petition against the Oppressours of the Pore* (1548), which is an amazing plea to the rich to consider themselves only as stewards of their wealth, not as owners; seven sermons of Hugh Latimer (1549), Ponet's *Catechism in English* (1553); *The Apology of Johan Bale against a ranke Papyst, answering both hym and hys doctours, that neither their vowes nor yet their priesthode are of the Gospell, but of Antichrist* (1555), a work which might very well have been responsible for Day's imprisonment and flight, for we find no other publications with his imprint until five years later, the popular *Sleidan's Chronicle* (1560), translation from the Latin on the state of religion and Commonwealth during the

of Catholics, but so fanatical did he become that he himself at length suffered Elizabeth's wrath and was imprisoned in the Tower. Although finally released, he died of the effects of the imprisonment.¹

Sackville's political life was very different from that of Norton. In 1561, when the two men were collaborating, Sackville was probably not a student at the Temple, but was familiar with the institution and its members because his father's town house was near by and the elder Sackville was one of the governors.² Just down from the university, young Thomas had already acquired some literary fame,³ but, like other Elizabethan gentlemen, he was anxious for a courtier's career. With his father's great wealth, the heritage of an ancient and honourable family, and kinship with the queen, his expectations were indeed well founded. Naturally, with these qualifications, he rose steadily in royal favour until he acquired the foremost position of his day, that of Lord Treasurer, and was acknowledged to be one of the three most powerful leaders of the late Elizabethan period. Like Burleigh, Sackville had no strong religious predilection; he was conservative and nationalistic, with the natural aristocratic views of society that his noble and rich inheritance had nourished. He was the political opponent of both Essex, leader of the Puritan party, and Arundel, powerful Catholic. It may well have been that Elizabeth favoured and trusted her kinsman because he was able to steer a straight middle course between these two extremes.

Here, then, were two young men of letters, who differed decidedly in their political opinions, collaborating. Norton upheld the extremely radical theory, actively propagated by the Puritans, which favoured greater participation of the people in government, while Sackville presented the conservative point of view of the aristocracy, which supported the ancient doctrine of the divine right of kings and placed no faith at all in the ability of the common man.

Sackville's attitude, which manifested itself in his contribution to *Gorboduc*, was the established and accepted opinion of his day; Norton's, reign of the Emperor Charles V (a French edition of Sleidan's work was published by John Crispin, Puritan printer at Geneva, in 1566); a translation of the Psalms (1560) by Day's patron, Archbishop Parker; the first English edition of Fox's *Martyrs* (1560); works of Thomas Becon (1563); Coverdale's *Letters of True Saints and holy Martyrs of God* (1564); Vermigli's Commentaries upon the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans (1568), and Thomas Norton's *Disclosing of the Great Bull and certain calves that he hath gotten* (1570). See also the article on Day in the *D.N.B.*

¹ These facts are extracted from Sidney Lee's article on Thomas Norton in the *D.N.B.*

² Hearsey, Marguerite. *op. cit.*, p. 24.

³ The authority for this statement is Milles's *Catalogue of Honour*, p. 412: 'He became an excellent poet, leaving many of his labours, both in Latine and English, to the world, which remain as memorable praises to all posterity.' For the facts of Sackville's life, see introduction to *Works* by Rev. Reginald Sackville-West (London, 1859), and to Marguerite Hearsey, *op. cit.*

on the other hand, was only beginning to receive expression by a very small group of Calvinists, most of whom came from the bourgeoisie, a class that was growing rapidly in economic importance. Because this phase of the Reformation was just coming into existence in England during the early years of Elizabeth's reign, it is necessary to outline briefly the status of Puritanism at the time when *Gorboduc* was written.

The idea that the people should intervene, if necessary, in order to depose a ruler who was oppressing his subjects found an early expression in English literature in 1556 when John Ponet, Puritan bishop of Winchester, wrote his *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power and of the True Obedience which Subjects Owe to Kynge*.¹ This belief in tyrannicide is the beginning of the entire theory of the Social Contract; it is the corner-stone of all democratic philosophies of government. But, although the idea took root in England at this time, it did not become significant in the thought of the period until late in the century, and the theory of tyrannicide as opposed to the doctrine of the divine right of kings did not make itself a vital issue until Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* presented the whole matter to the English people.²

Two years after Ponet's work came John Knox and Christopher Goodman, both of whom published their treatises advocating tyrannicide in 1558. It is evident from a survey of these publications that the group of English Puritans, though small, was actively engaged in spreading their propaganda. The political status of the party was relatively low at all times throughout the Renaissance. During the reign of Mary most of them fled to Switzerland and there fell under the influence of Knox, but with Elizabeth's accession many of these exiles returned, their hopes high for an immediate and thorough reformation. Once again, under the leadership of the indomitable Knox, the Calvinists in England carried on their ceaseless activities, but their expectations were disappointed; Elizabeth disliked their violent fanaticism and checked their political efforts.³

One of these Puritans, whose name was particularly distasteful to the

¹ Lewis Einstein in his *Italian Renaissance in England* declared Ponet to have been 'one of the earliest English advocates of tyrannicide', p. 295. The article on Ponet in the *D.N.B.* states that John of Salisbury (*d.* 1180), not Ponet, was responsible for the first literary manifestation of this theory. Be that as it may, for the purpose of tracing the growth of this idea, Ponet's work is the first; John of Salisbury was a lone phenomenon, who appeared at a time unfavourable for the promulgation of his idea.

² See Hardin Craig's *Enchanted Glass* (1936), pp. 28-9.

³ For information on Puritanism in Elizabethan England, see Allen, J. W., *History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1928); Beard, Charles, *Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge* (1885); Pearson, A. F. S., *Political Aspects of Sixteenth Century Puritanism* (1928); Schneider, H. W., *The Puritan Mind* (1930).

queen, was Christopher Goodman, one of the eminent protagonists of his group. Exiled in Switzerland by Mary, he became well acquainted with Knox and allied himself with the Marian Calvinists at Geneva. There, in 1558, John Crispin published Goodman's famous *How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd*, one of the most elaborate arguments for tyrannicide written. Immediately after its publication, Elizabeth came to the throne, and most of the exiles flocked back to England. Goodman, however, was not among them: he had, in his book, reviled against women rulers, so that he incurred the wrath of Elizabeth as well as Mary. Nevertheless, his work was secretly circulated in England, and his friends worked for his recall. Finally, Knox persuaded Goodman to visit Scotland, and so he made the trip with Knox's family in September 1559. In November Goodman received a ministry at Ayr; the following July he was appointed to St Andrews and also travelled abroad throughout Scotland preaching; in August of the following year he was in the Isle of Man. But everywhere his violent championship of the Puritan doctrine led him into difficulties with the officers of the Anglican Church. Friends next secured for him a secretaryship with Sir Henry Sidney in Ireland, as a result of which Goodman numbered the Sidney family among his patrons. In 1570 Sir Philip Sidney was able to solicit on Goodman's behalf a living at Alford, near Chester, but this post he held only a short while. Finally, he was forbidden to preach and died at a very advanced age in Chester.¹

The argument for tyrannicide, as set down by Goodman, was evidently known to Thomas Norton, for he, in the first three acts of *Gorboduc*, managed to discuss all the vital points brought forward in *How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd*. No doubt Norton regarded the eminent preacher of his party as a spokesman and himself as a young disciple.

The first point to be settled in debating the argument is: Whence comes the power of the ruler? I list the parallel passages from Goodman in the left-hand column,² those from Norton and Sackville in the right with the author's initial after the passage to indicate which one was responsible for the quotation.³ On the whole, the parallels are those of thought and idea, in their order and development, rather than of actual phrasing or choice of words. Where there seems to be a relation of the latter type, however, I italicize the words.

¹ From the article on Goodman in the *D.N.B.*

² I have used the Facsimile Text Society Reprint of Goodman's *How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd* (1558).

³ I have used the text of *Gorboduc* in Joseph Q. Adams's *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* (1924), which is based on the second and authorized edition.

Lorde God him self (from whom kinges
have their auctoritie and power).

p. 149.

Ye know, the gods—who have the
soveraigne care

For kinges, for kingdomes, and for com-
mon weales.

N. act I, sc. II, ll. 47–8.

But, sith the gods—that have the care
for kinges,

Of things, and times.

N. III, I, 112–13.

... Yet must God in fine restore

This noble crowne unto the lawfull heire.

S. V, II, 276–7.

There is general agreement in this fundamental belief that kings are appointed by the divine ruler of all things; Sackville naturally subscribed to this part of the Puritan code. It is not until the eighteenth century that this fundamental tenet lost its hold upon the thought of the people. It is interesting to notice that Sackville, in the above-quoted passage, forgot the apparatus of Roman religion in ancient Britain, which should have been maintained throughout *Gorboduc*, and here used the singular 'God'.

Goodman pursued this subject of the divine origin of kingly power, arguing that if rulers are God's representatives they should reign only so long as they obey the divine will, which God has 'now left to all men to be the ordinarie means to reveale his will and apoyntment';¹ therefore, if kings do not follow the dictates of established law and natural procedure, they forfeit the right to receive obedience from their subjects.

Is anie man naturalhe borne a kinge,
or hath he it of God? And if of God,
wherto, but to use it with God, and not
agaynste him... kinges are institute to
rule in Goddes feare and Lawes... it must
nedes followe... that all obedience geven
to suche, wicked Princes agaynste God, is
playne rebellion in his iudgemente. p. 60.

Princes, therfore, and all powers upon
the earth, are not to be compared unto
God, whose Lieutenants onlie they shuld
be, and are no longer then he wil, in
whose handes their hartes are, to move
and turne at his pleasure... In considera-
tion wherof, God him selfe appoynting
his people to have a kinge. pp. 47–8.

Gorboduc, in the first act, is saying that
he wishes to install his sons in their
reigns before his death, so that he may
guide and train them into wise governors
who will rule with honour—

And not be thought, for their unworthy
life

And for their lawlesse swarvinge out of
kinde,

Worthy to lose what lawe and kind them
gave;

But that they may preserve the common
peace—

The cause that first began and still
maintenes

The lyneall course of kinges inheritance.

N. I, II, 19–24.

It follows, then, that kings are not a law unto themselves, that they do not live by a code of ethics different from that of other men, but are

¹ Goodman, Christopher, *op. cit.*, p. 50. This is surely a remarkably early statement of the social contract theory; Norton, in supporting this statement, proved himself a political as well as a religious radical.

subject to the same natural laws and therefore liable to punishment for the same transgressions of these laws.

...no other kinges or Rulers ought to be chosen to rule over us, but suche as will seeke his honor and glorie....Wherewith they are no less, ye much more charged, then the common people....For they be

...Goddess subiectes and Lieutenantes, for whose cause they must be revered, doinge their dutie. But if they will abuse his power, liftinge them selves above God and above their brethern, to drawe them to idolatrie, and to oppresse them, and their contrie: then are they nomore to be obeyed in any commandements tending to that ende: but to be contemned as vile Sergeantes in comparison of the high Iudge and Magistrate, who ought to do nothing, but as he is commaunded to do by the Iudge and superior power according to the lawe....What ought we then to do unto that kinge or Prince, that lifteth him selfe up agaynst the Maestie of God....Is he anie more in comparison of God, then the Sergeant in respecte of the Iudge? Shall the Sergeant be punished as a traytor, and this man honored as a kinge...Or rather is not his crime and treason greater? pp 58-60.

But where as the kinges or Rulers are become altogether blasphemers of God, and oppressors and murtherers of their subiectes, then ought they to be accompted no more for kinges or lawfull Magistrates, but as *private men*: and to be examined, accused, condemned and punished by the *Lawe of God, wherunto they are and ought to be subiect.* pp. 139-40.

Hermon, Ferrex's evil counsellor, is advising war upon the brother; therefore he argues thus:

Know ye that lust of kingdomes hath no law:

The goddess do beare and well allow in kinges

The thinges [that] they abhorre in rascall routes.

When kinges on slender quarrells runne to warres,

And then, in cruell and unkindly wise, Commaund theftes, rapes, murders of innocentes,

The spoile of townes, ruines of mighty realmes,—

Thinke you such princes do suppose themselves

Subiect to lawes of Kinde and feare of gods?

Murders and violent theftes in *private men* Are hainous crimes, and full of foule reproch;

Yet none offence, but deckt with glorious name

Of noble conquestes, in the handes of kinges. N. II, i, 143-55.

Professor Homer Watt in his study of *Gorboduc* believed that Norton advanced this somewhat Machiavellian idea, that the king can do no wrong, in all seriousness. His reasons for accepting this speech at its face value are (1) that it accords with the expressions of non-resistance found in the fourth and fifth acts of the play (that is, in Sackville's part), and (2) that Elizabethan dramatists frequently put in the mouths of their Machiavellian counsellors advice which was sound and practicable.¹ Such interpretation as this demonstrates the lack of understanding with which *Gorboduc* has heretofore been approached. As will easily be seen, the whole *dénouement* of the play hinges upon the fact that Ferrex followed this disastrous advice. Moreover, almost every passage from Norton's pen which is quoted in this paper contradicts this evil counsel.

¹ Watt, Homer A., *op. cit.*, p. 40.

The responsibility of the advisers to the king was a matter of grave concern to Norton and Sackville, and here again they were in agreement. The Elizabethans were fond of describing the court wherein the evil flatterer seemed to better his fortune much sooner than did his honest brethren. Goodman, of course, pointed out the duty of the princely courtier in this respect:

As for the wicked counsellors, they are playne Gnatos and flatterers, thinking their office to be applyed unto their kinges and Quenes will, as thogh they had no charge of the whole Realme. And therefore will labour to compasse nothinge but that which their Princes lust after, or may at the least please them, not passing if the whole Realme do perishe, so they maye obtayne their favours. pp. 144-5.

The Counsellors whose office is to brydle the affections of their Princes and Gouvernours, in geving such counsele as might promote the glorie of God, and the welthe of their contrie by this persuasion of obedience, have hitherto taught, and yet apearingle do, how to accomplishe and satisfie the ungodly lustes of their ungodlie and unlawful Governesse, Iesabel.... The Nobles also, which... hearing no other preaching, but that they must obeye their Prince... have in like maner, *as men disguised upon a stage*, turned their nobilitie to open shame amongst all nations whiche now beholde their follie, and wonder therat: [they were] first ordayned... to stande in defence of trewe religion, lawes, and welth of their nation, and to be a shyld... agaynst their enemies in tyme of warre, and a brydel at home to their Princes... neither to suffer them... to rage agaynst God, and utterlie conteme the holsome lawes of the Realme, to satisfie their filthie luste and vayne glorie, nor so cruelie to murder, and agaynst nature to devoure the people of God. pp. 34-5.

Goodman's admonition to keep out foreign princes naturally found an echo in *Gorboduc*; it occasioned an excellent opportunity to warn Elizabeth against a foreign marriage such as her predecessor Mary had contracted.

When lordes, and trusted rulers under kinges,
To please the present fancie of the prince,
With wrong transpose the course of governance,
Murders, mischiefe, or civill sword at length,
Or mutuall treason, or a iust revenge,
When right-succeeding line returnes againe,
By Ioves iust iudgement and deserved wrath
Bringes them to cruell and reprochfull death,
And rootes their names and kindredes from the earth. N. i, i, 59-67.

Such is in man the greedy minde to reigne,
So great is his desire to clumbe alofte,
In worldly stage the statelrest partes to beare,
That faith and iustice and all kindly love
Do yelde unto desire of soveraigntie
When egall state doth raise an egall hope
To winne the thing that either wold attaine. N. i, ii, 262-8.
Hereto it commes when kinges will not consent
To grave advise, but followe wilful will.
This is the end when in fonde princes hartes
Flattery prevailes, and sage rede hath no place.... S. v, ii, 234-7.

...thou mayst not appoynt a *stranger*,
which is not thy brother.... p. 48.

The next rule to be observed is, that he shulde be one of their brethern, meaninge of the Israelits: parthe to exclude the oppression and idolatrie, whiche cometh in by *strangers*, as our Contrie now is an example: and partlye, for that strangers cannot beare such a natural zeale to straunge realmes and peoples, as become the brethern. pp. 51-2.

For do you thinke that Philip will be crowned kinge of Englande, and reteyne in honor Englishe Counsellors? Will he credite them withe the governement of his estate, who have betrayed their owne? Shall his nobilitie be Spaniardes, without your landes and possessions? And shall they possesse your promotions and lyvings, and your heads upon your shulders? Come they to make a spoyle of the whole realme, and leave you and yours untouched? Where is your great wisdome become? Your subtil counsels and policies, whereof you bragge so much, to whome these thinges be hid, that everie child espieth? pp. 100-1.

That ye, my lordes, do so agree in one
To save your cuntrye from the violent
reigne
And wrongfully usurped tyrannie
Of him that threatens conquest of you all,
To save your realme, and in this realme
your-selves,
From forreine thraldome of so proud a
prince,
Much do I prayse...

And in no wise admitte
The heavie yoke of forreine governaunce!
Let forreine titles yelde to publike
wealth;
And with that hart wherewith ye now
prepare
Thus to withstand the proude invading
foe,
With that same hart, my lordes, keepe
out also
Unnaturale thraldome of *strangers* reigne,
Ne suffer you against the rule of kinde
Your mother land to serve a forreine
prince. S. v, ii, 115-79.

There is an incidental reference in Goodman which seems to find an echo in *Gorboduc*. It advocates the surprisingly modern theory of the fallacy of arming for defence against war. Goodman, of course, related the idea to religion, for in God is to be placed all trust, not in man's power. In *Gorboduc* Ferrex's parasite urges defence measures against invasion, and Ferrex agrees to this plan; consequently, his brother, on hearing of the warlike preparations being made in Ferrex's kingdom, assumes that an invasion is imminent and decides to strike first. Thus is impelled the catastrophe.

The thirde caution that God specifieth in this election is, that he be none such as hath great number of horses: meaning, as trusteth in his owne power, and preparation of all thinges, for defence of him selfe, and to overcome his enemies. pp. 56-7.

Assemble yet your force for your defence,
And for your safetie, stand upon your
garde....
But, sith I feare my yonger brothers rage,
And sith perhappes some other man may
geve
Some like advise to move his grudging
head
At mine estate,....
I will in secrete so prepare myselfe.

N. II, i, 160-90.

Goodman was not completely the theologian; he also had some of the qualifications of a man of letters. At times his prose style flows easily and

can become an agent of great emotional power. Such a passage is the following one, describing the effects of civil war:

.. your wisdom turned to folie, your noblenesse to vilenesse, your rule and dominion taken from you, and you made slaves to others: your fayre howses and gorgeous buildinges destroyed, your great possessions geven to your enimies, *your wives to be ravished, your mayds deflowred, and children murdered* without mercy, your pride and hie lokes abated, your welthe turned to miserie, your delicate faare and costlie aparell to extreame hunger, and beggerie, your ioye and pastance to weeping and continuall sorrowe, and in the end shamefull deathe.

p. 94.

All right and lawe shall cease; and he that had
Nothing to-day, to-morrowe shall enioye
Great heapes of golde, and he that flowed
in wealth,

Loe, he shall be bereft of life and all;
And happiest he that then posseseth
least.

*The wives shall suffer rape, the maides
deflowred;*

And children fatherlesse shall weepe and
waile;

With fire and sworde thy native folks
shall perish;

One kinsman shall bereave anothers life;

Women and maides the cruell souldiers
sworde

Shall perse to death; and sillie *children,*
loe,

That playing in the streetes and fieldes
are found,

By violent hand shall close their latter
day'

Thus shall the wasted soile yelde forth no
fruite,

But dearth and famine shall possesse the
land'

The townes shall be consumed and burnt
with fire,

The peopled cities shall wax desolate.

S. v, 11, 204-28.

Goodman's prose passage, when turned into blank verse under Sackville's pen, gains greatly in emotional effect; but in essence the two quotations are strikingly similar.

Finally comes the question itself: Is rebellion against the king ever justifiable? We have seen that Norton thought so and expressed his belief in his contribution to the play. Goodman decided that tyrannicide was just when the crime was a great one.

For the most parte of men, yea and of those whiche have bene both learned and godlie, and have geven worthe testymonie of their profession to the glorie of God, have thought and taught...that it was not lawfull in anie case to resist and disobeye the superior powers: but rather to laye downe their heades, and submitte themselves to all kundes of punishmentes and tyrannye.

p. 30.

...Shall subiectes dare with force
To work revenge upon their princes
fact?

Admit the worst that may (as sure in this
The deede was fowle, the queene to slay
her sonne,)

Shall yet the subiect seeke to take the
sworde,

Arise agaynst his lord, and slay his
king?...

...we conclude of Princes and Magistrates, thogh they be rough and frowarde: yea, thoghe before God they are wicked, ungodlie, and reprobate persons...yet so longe as their wickednesse brasteth not out manifestly agaynst God, and his Lawes, but outwardly will see them observed and kept of others, punishing the transgressors, and defending the innocent: so longe are we bounde to render unto such, obedience...because we may not take Gods office in hande to iudge of the harte any farther then their outward deedes do geve manifest testimony... Otherwise,...they have lost that honor and obedience . and oght no more to be taken for Magistrates, but punished as private transgressors! pp. 118-19.

But as touching the comon and symple people, they thinke themselves utterly discharged, whither their Prince be godlie or ungodlye, wise or foolishhe, a preserver of the comon welthe or ells a destroyer, all is one to them, they muste be obedient, because they are ignorant, and must be led themselves, not meete to leade others. And because their doinges are counted tumultes and rebellion (except they be agreeable to the commandments, decrees, and proceedinges of their superior powers and Magistrates, and shal in doing the contrary be as rebells punished) therfore of all others (say they) we have least to do, yea nothing at all withe the doinges of our Rulers. pp. 145-6.

Shall we that are subiectes take the sworde in our handes? . If the Magistrates would whollye despise and betraye the iustice and Lawes of God, you which are subiectes with them shall be condemned except you mayntayne and defend the same Lawes agaynst them, and all others to the uttermoste of your powers.. . pp. 179-81.

And thoghe it appeare at the first sight a great disordre, that the people shulde take unto them the punishment of transgression, yet, when the Magistrates and other officers cease to do their duetie... then God geveth the sworde into the peoples hande. p. 185.

I holde it more than neede with sharpest law

To punish this tumultuous bloudy rage;
For nothing more may shake the common state

Than sufferance of uproares without redresse....

[That no cause serves wherby the subiect maye

Call to accompt the doynges of his prince,

Much lesse in bloode by sworde to worke revenge,

No more then maye the hande cut of the heade.

In acte nor speache, no, not in secrete thoughte,

The subiect maye rebell agaynst his lorde,

Or iudge of him that sittes in Caesars seate,

With grudging minde to damne those he mislikes.]

Though kinges forget to governe as they ought,

Yet subiectes must obey as they are bounde.... S. v, 1, 17-51.

These mischiefes spring when rebells will arise

To worke revenge and iudge their princes fact. S. v, 11, 242-3.

Sackville's lines are an actual refutation of Goodman's argument: to the nobleman and the courtier, a tyrant, no matter how evil, was better than the alternative of rebellion and civil war; furthermore, the common people should not consider themselves the judges of a king's actions. The

bracketed lines of Sackville's were omitted in the 1570 edition, but are found in the earlier corrupt edition. It has been conjectured that they were left out at the will of Norton, whose Puritan views were offended by this statement against tyrannicide.¹ If this were the reason, why were the following lines, those at the end of the speech which summarize Sackville's opinion briefly but conclusively, allowed to remain?

Though kinges forget to governe as they ought,
Yet subiectes must obey as they are bounde.

Is it possible that the omission was not the result of Norton's interference, but rather the work of the Puritan printer, John Day, who noticed the emphasis that these lines received and cut out as much of the speech as he dared?

In conclusion, this first English tragedy was not only an early instance of the use of ancient British historical material with a contemporary implication, but it was an actual debate, an argument on a political-philosophical theory, which much later became an acute problem resulting finally in the triumph of the Puritan party in England. The growth of the idea of tyrannicide in the consciousness of the English people is an interesting and important factor in the understanding of the Elizabethan mind: Goodman was among the very first to promulgate this idea; therefore, *Gorboduc*, in following this exposition of a significant political doctrine, started English drama upon its difficult task as a leader and prophet of contemporary thought and events.

SARA RUTH WATSON.

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¹ Thomas Warton, vol. III, p. 370, says of these lines: 'It is well known that the Calvinists carried their ideas of reformation and refinement into government as well as religion; and it seems probable that these eight verses were suppressed by Thomas Norton, Sackville's supposed assistant in the play, who was not only an active and, I believe, a sensible Puritan, but a licenser of publication of books under the commission of the Bishop of London.'

BEN JONSON AND THE DEVIL TAVERN

THE Devil Tavern—or, to give it its full title, The Devil and Saint Dunstan—close to old Temple Bar, kept by Simon Wadloe, ‘the king of skinkers’, was famous in the later years of Jonson’s life for the gatherings of ‘the Tribe of Ben’, over which he presided in a room called ‘the Apollo’. There young poets and wits—such men as Herrick, Randolph, Carew, Marmion, Cartwright, Howell and Lord Falkland—paid their court to one whom they regarded as the first figure in the world of letters. It was characteristic of him that, as *arbiter bibendi*, he drew up a tavern code for these meetings. It was engraved in gold letters on a marble tablet over the mantelpiece.

These *Leges Convivales* were first printed in a very curious and interesting volume, of which there is a copy in the Cambridge University Library, *Oratio Panegyrica in obitum Reverendi & Clarissimi Viri, Domini M. Jo. Jacobi Frey, Professoris Græci in Academiâ patriâ & Designati Decani Armachani in Hibernia: Recitata in Illustrissimo & frequentissimo Auditorio*, xv. Kall. Nov. An. M DC XXXVI. à Daniele Tossano, Gymnasiarchâ Basiliensi Cum Programmate, Epitaphio, & Epicediis Amicorum. Basileæ, Typis Georgi Deckeri, Academiæ Typographi. It is dedicated to Thomas Viscount Wentworth, the future Earl of Strafford, ‘Hiberniæ Proregi’, ‘Domino meo clementissimo’. Other patrons of Frey mentioned in the dedication are Archbishop Ussher, Lord Dungarvan, and Lady Clifford. The volume, which passed into the University Library from the Bradshaw collection, is inscribed ‘For my Lord of Dungarvan’. Charles Sayle was inclined to believe that this inscription was in the hand of Ben Jonson. There is a resemblance certainly, but I could not speak positively on the point.

John James Frey was born at Basel in 1606. He became professor of Greek there. He came to England in 1625, was incorporated M.A. of Oxford as a member of Christ Church on 4 July 1629,¹ and was ordained by the Bishop of St David’s. He died dean designate of Armagh on 26 August 1636.

On p. 32 his visit to London is described. He visited Westminster Abbey and recorded the inscription on Edward I’s grave, ‘Scotorum malleus’, and on Henry V’s (now lost), ‘Mastyx Henricus Gallorum hâc conditur urnâ’. Then Tossanus quotes the *Leges Convivales* in order to

¹ The entry, communicated by Mr Strickland Gibson, the keeper of the University archives, is given under this date in the Register of Convocation.

light up his gloomy theme with a flash of cheerfulness. ‘*Ut autem tristibus, aliquid ioci admisceā; Londini taberna vinaria est (Apollo ei nomen) famosissima; cujus non usquequæquæ vituperandæ leges convivales, nisi mea memoria decoxit, sunt istæ.*’ A careful text of the laws follows.

They were next printed in Alexander Brome’s *Songs and other Poems*, 1661, with an English translation, and again in 1664 and 1668. Then, with an execrable translation, they were appended to the one-volume Folio of Jonson’s *Works* in 1692. This was reprinted in Dryden’s *Miscellany Poems*, part v, 1716, pp. 149–51.

The first reference to the *Leges* is in a letter of John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton at the Hague, on 19 June 1624, preserved in the Public Record Office (James I, S.P. 14, 415). ‘I send here certain Leges conuiuales of Ben Johnsons for a faire roome or chamber lately built at the tavern or signe of the diuell and St. Dunstan by temple-barre: they be resonable goode and not vnproper for such a place.’ This patronising comment means that, in the opinion of this court newsmonger, Jonson’s faultless Latin would pass muster in a tavern; Chamberlain’s standard of reference was the state-rooms in Whitehall. But the important point in his letter is that he says the Apollo room had just been built. We may take it, therefore, that the *Leges Convivales* were composed for it in that year.

Innkeepers had a habit of giving special names to the rooms in their taverns.¹ Prince Hal in the First Part of *King Henry IV*, II, iv, 25, quotes as typical language of an under-skinker ‘Anon, anon, sir! Score a pint of bastard in the Half-moon’, and Jonson has ‘*score a pint of sacke, i’ the Conney*’ at the Swan (*Bartholomew Fair*, v, iv, 205). But no innkeeper gave such a name as ‘Apollo’ to the room in which the poets gathered at The Devil. The suggestion came from an anecdote in Plutarch’s *Life of Lucullus*, ch. xli. Cicero and Pompey, running into Lucullus in the Forum, proposed to call on him, and he invited them to a meal. “We will dine with you this evening,” said Cicero, “on condition that you give us just what is provided for yourself.” Lucullus raising objections and asking them to come another day, they refused, and they stopped him from conferring with his servants: only, at his request, they let him tell one of them in their presence, “Dinner to-day in the Apollo”. This was the name of one of his costliest rooms.’ The servants understood and prepared a dinner which cost fifty thousand drachmas. For allusions

¹ The fashion lasted into the nineteenth century: ‘Lights in the Sun, John’, says the innkeeper of the Saracen in *Packungk*, ch. 51; ‘I was shown up to a nice little bedroom, with *Dolphin* painted on the door, at Yarmouth’ (*David Copperfield*, ch. 8).

to this see Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, v, xx, "“En Apollo”, disoit Luculle, quand festoyer vouloit ses amis singulierement”, and Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 1621, p. 97, ‘*Lucullus* Ghost walkes still, and every man desires to sup in *Apollo*’. Clearly it was Jonson, not Simon Wadlow, who christened the new room at The Devil.

The *Leges* have classical echoes borrowed from Horace and Martial’s invitations to a plain dinner, *Epistles*, i, v, and *Epigram*, x, xlviii. The *umbra* in rule 1 was the Roman term for a guest not invited by the host, but brought by a guest whom he had invited: *locus est et pluribus umbris* (Horace, l. 28). Rule 5, ‘*In apparatu, quod convivis corruget nares, nil esto*’, is from the same source: *ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa Corruget nares* (l. 23). Rules 17 and 24, ‘*Joci sine felle sunt*’, ‘*Neminem reum pocula faciunt*’, are Martial’s ‘*Accedent sine felle ioci*’ and ‘*nec faciunt quemquam pocula nostra reum*’ (ll. 21, 24). Rule 23, ‘*Qui foras vel dicta, vel facta, eliminat, eliminat*’, is Horace’s ‘*ne fidos inter amicos Sit qui dicta foras eliminet*’ (ll. 24–5). Rule 22, *Lapitharum more scyphis pugnare . . . nefas esto*, condenses two passages of the *Odes* of Horace:

Ac nequis modici transiliat munera Liberi,
Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
debellata,

(i, xviii, 7–9)

and

Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis
pugnare Thracum est: tollite barbarum
morem verecundumque Bacchum
sanguineis prohibete rixis.

(*Ibid.* xxvii, 1–4.)

And the conclusion ‘*Focus perennis esto*’, ‘Keep the inn-fire burning’, is from Martial’s poem on a happy life, x, xlvii, 4, which Jonson himself translated.

But poets had gathered in a shrine of Apollo before 1624. Drayton’s poem, ‘The Sacrifice to Apollo’ was printed in his *Odes* in 1619.

Priests of APOLLO, sacred be the Roome,
For this learn’d Meeting: Let no barbarous Groome,
How brave soe’r he bee,
Attempt to enter;
But of the Muses free,
None here may venter;
This for the *Delphian* Prophets is prepar’d:
The prophane Vulgar are from hence debar’d.

As a happy beginning to the feast the Muses are summoned, ‘those faire Nine, with their Violins’; next the Graces.

Where be the Graces, where be those fayre Three?
In any hand they may not absent bee:
They to the Gods are deare,
And they can humbly
Teach us, our Selves to beare,
And doe things comely....

Bring forth your Flaggons (fill'd with sparkling Wine)
 Whereon swolne BACCHUS, crowned with a Vine,
 Is graven; and fill out,
 It well bestowing,
 To ev'ry Man about,
 In Goblets flowing:
 Let not a Man drinke, but in Draughts profound;
 To our God PHŒBUS let the Health goe Round

Let your Jests flye at large; yet therewithall
 See they be Salt, but not yet mix'd with Gall:
 Not tending to disgrace,
 But fayrely given,
 Becomming well the place,
 Modest, and even,
 That they with tickling Pleasure may provoke
 Laughter in him, on whom the Jest is broke.

Two stanzas follow on singing the deeds of heroes and on reciting verse

Or in the Sock, or in the Buskin'd Strayne,

which show that playwrights took part in the gatherings.

Charles Lamb was the first to point out that this poem is 'a kind of poetical paraphrase of the *Leges Convivales*'.¹ For example,

1. Nemo asymbolus, nisi umbra, huc venito.
2. Idiota, insulsus, tristis, turpis, abesto.
3. Eruditi, urbani, hilares, honesti, adsiscuntor.
4. Nec lectæ feminae repudiantor.
17. Joci sine felle sunt.

The fourth rule can be illustrated from *The Staple of News*, 1626, III, iii, 8–10, where the poet Madrigal says,

I ha' supt in *Apollo*! ALM. With the *Muses*? MAD. No,
 But with two Gentlewomen, call'd, the *Graces*.
 ALM. They were euer three in *Poetry*. MAD. This was truth, Sir.

Mr B. H. Newdigate in a letter to *The Times Literary Supplement*, 11 December 1937, said, 'It is plain, I think, that Drayton's Ode inspired some of the *Leges Convivales*'. That is true, but even at this earlier date hints and suggestions may have come from Jonson. The inscription in the new room of The Devil embodied them in stately Latin formulae far beyond the reach of Drayton. 'Convivæ nec muti, nec loquaces sunt': if Jonson broke this rule, he is more likely to have been 'loquax' than 'mutus'.

An attempt has been made to take these symposia of the poets back earlier. In the fourth Eclogue of Wither's *Shepherd's Hunting* (ll. 228–36),

¹ Quoted in Swinburne's *Miscellanies*, 1886, in his paper on 'Charles Lamb and George Wither'.

first printed in William Browne's *Shepherd's Pipe*, 1614, sig. H 6 recto, we read,

For it is not long agoe,
When that Cuddy, Thou, and I
Each the others skill did try,
At Saint Dunstanes charmed Well,
(As some present there can tell)
Sang upon a sudden Theame,
Sitting by the Crimson streame.
Where, if thou didst well or no,
Yet remaines the song to show.

'Cuddy, Thou, and I' are Christopher Brooke, Browne, and himself. On 'Saint Dunstan's charmed well', Charles Lamb wrote, 'The Devil Tavern, Fleet Street, where Child's Place now stands, and where a sign hung in my memory within 18 years, of the Devil and Saint Dunstan'; and he goes on to refer to the *Leges Convivales* and Drayton's 'Sacrifice to Apollo'. But, if this is a reference to the Devil Tavern, it is a very odd one. The phrase 'Saint Dunstan's charmed well' does not suggest the Devil. Evidently Jonson was not at these gatherings; he would hardly be one of the anonymous 'some present'. He was a personal friend of Browne; he prefaced the second book of *Britannia's Pastorals* in 1616 with a highly eulogistic poem, 'I have seene thy worke, and I know thee', and Browne responded in the second song of the second book (ll. 293-302).

Johnson whose full of merit to reherse
Too copious is to be confinde in verse,
...for the Theater
Not Seneca transcends his worth of praise.

Christopher Brooke was also a friend of Jonson, who prefixed a commendatory poem to his *The Ghost of Richard the Third* in 1614. But Wither and Jonson were at daggers drawn: in *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, 1613, Wither had been unwise enough to refer to 'the deep conceits of the now flourishing Jonson', and Jonson satirized him mercilessly in *Time Vindicated*, the Twelfth Night masque of 1623. Unfortunately Wither gives no clue to the 'crimson stream' that flowed by—presumably not from—Saint Dunstan's well. There is another tantalizing reference to the well in some commendatory verses on Browne by B.N. preserved in manuscript,¹ with allusions to Wither and Brooke:

'Tis their wish each place could tell
Thy conquests like Saint Dunstan's well,
And that thy pipe would sound so well,
As't whilom did in thick same dell.

'Dell' takes the scene away from Fleet Street, and, though exception has been taken to the identification, I think that Mr Gordon Goodwin was

¹ Printed in Gordon Goodwin's edition of Browne's *Poems*, II, 13.

right in locating it at Saint Dunstan's well in Tottenham Wood in Middlesex near Bounds Green. The 'crimson stream'—I suppose it was claret—flowed from a tavern there. A further point is that the *Leges Convivales* forbade the recitation of poetry or any compulsion on the guests to write it. The gatherings at Saint Dunstan's well were to hear poems. It was a picnic party of three, and even so intimate a friend as Drayton was not there.

The literary associations of the Apollo are continuous. Jonson's young admirer Shakerley Marmion was the first to celebrate it in *A Fine Companion*, 1633, II, v, where Careless says:

I am full
Of Oracles, I am come from *Apollo*,
Would he had lent me his Tripos to stand upon;
For my two legges can hardly carry me.
Ami. Whence come you, from *Apollo*?
Car. From the heaven
Of my delight, where the boone *Delphicke* God,
Drinckes sacke, and keepes his *Bacchanalias*,
And has his incense, and his Altars smoaking,
And speakes in sparkeling prophetes; thence doe I come.
My branes perfum'd with the rich Indian vapour,
And heightned with concerts: from tempting beauties,
From dainty Musicke and Poeticke straines,
From bowles of *Nectar*, and Ambrosiacke dishes:
From witty Varlets, fine Companions,
And from a mighty continent of pleasure,
Sayles thy brave *Carelesse*.

Oldwit in Shadwell's *Bury Fair*, 1689, act I, p. 6, says, 'I myself, simple as I stand here, was a Wit in the last Age: I was created *Ben Johnson's* Son, in the *Apollo*'. Shadwell might have written this to give point to Dryden's gibe in the *Defence of the Epilogue* (1668) at 'some few old fellows' with memories of the Blackfriars Theatre, who

can tell a story of Ben Johnson, and, perhaps, have had fancy enough to give a supper in the *Apollo*, that they might be called his sons; and because they were drawn in to be laughed at in those times, they think themselves now sufficiently entitled to laugh at ours.

In the eighteenth century there is Isaac Bickerstaffe's account of the wedding of his sister Jenny, described in *The Tatler*, no. 79, 9–11 October 1709.

After the ceremony at church, I was resolved to entertain the company with a dinner suitable to the occasion, and pitched upon the *Apollo*, at the Old Devil, at Temple Bar, as a place sacred to mirth, tempered with discretion, where Ben Jonson and his 'sons' used to make their liberal meetings.

One of the company 'fell into a discourse of pleasure and entertainment, drawn from the rules of Ben's Club, which are in gold letters over the chimney'. Swift records in *The Journal to Stella*, on 12 October 1710,

that he dined with Garth and Addison at the Devil Tavern; Garth paid the bill. In 1746 the Royal Society held its anniversary dinner there; the Council minutes state that in future the dinner would be at The Devil, but there is no record of any further meetings.¹

The tavern came to an end in 1787 when Child the banker purchased the freehold for £2800 and erected on the site a row of houses called Child's Place and a portion of the bank.

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¹ See the Royal Society's *Notes and Records*, no. 2, October 1938.

THE INFLUENCE OF BYRON ON EMILY BRONTË

EMILY BRONTË had so powerful an imagination and so little in her surroundings to influence or nourish it—her mind was so active and her life so dull—that we should expect her to have been more deeply and strongly influenced by what she read than are people whose external lives are more eventful. That she did read and care passionately for what she read is suggested by Catherine Linton's outburst when she is kept a prisoner at Wuthering Heights and deprived even of her books. 'I was always reading, when I had them, and Mr Heathcliff never reads; so he took it into his head to destroy my books. I have not had a glimpse of one for weeks. . . . But I've most of them written on my brain and printed in my heart, and you cannot deprive me of those!' That would hardly have been written by anyone who did not herself care intensely for the 'tales and poetry' which were Catherine's favourites. Unfortunately we have practically no information as to *what* Emily read. Inscrutable creature! the only books she is known to have possessed are a Bible and Prayer Book, Dr Watts's Hymns, a French book given to her by Mme Heger and a copy of *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell*. She was not a letter-writer; the only letters of hers which survive are three notes to Ellen Nussey, none of which mentions books. In the scrap of diary written on her twenty-third birthday she mentions *Blackwood's Magazine*, that intellectual prop and stay of the Brontë family, but only to say that Aunt has been reading aloud from it to Papa. In *Wuthering Heights* she speaks several times in a general way of Catherine's books and her pleasure in them, but the only work mentioned by name, besides Joseph's theological horrors, is the *Ballad of Chevy Chase*, which is said to be one of Catherine's favourite poems. The only other clue is the song with which Nelly Dean sings the baby Hareton to sleep:

It was far in the night, and the bairnies grat,
The mither beneath the mools heard that—

These are two lines from a translation of an ancient Danish ballad, which was printed by Scott in the appendix to *The Lady of the Lake*. The only conclusion to be drawn from this seems to be that Emily was fond of gruesome old ballads, which fits in well enough with what we know of her, but does not take us very far.

Scott was probably her favourite author as a child, for at the age of nine she chose him, along with his son-in-law and his little grandson, to inhabit the Isle of Arran under her auspices. His heroic lays may have

influenced her superficially, but the influence did not go very deep; his robust, cheerful, every-day outlook woke no response in the mystic, tragic depths of Emily's mind. His tendency was to banish every shade of mystery and fear from the most wild and romantic legend and to show it, in the light of common day, a delightful adventure and nothing more; Emily illuminated the most ordinary and uninteresting surroundings with a lightning flash of ecstasy and terror. His mind was always in broad daylight; hers was lit by moonlight and firelight struggling for mastery.

But there was another poet of Emily's childhood whose verses not only nourished whatever was gloomy in her imagination, but tinged her moorland austerity with a purple dye of romance. This poet was Byron. There is no doubt that Byron was read at the Parsonage, for in 1834 Charlotte recommended him to Ellen Nussey, with a caution against *Don Juan* and perhaps *Cain* but 'read the rest fearlessly', and both Charlotte and Branwell quote him. Emily does not quote directly either Byron or any other writer, but there are resemblances between her poems and some passages of Byron so startling that they can only be accounted for by supposing her to have read him with such passionate interest and delight that when she wrote poetry herself she insensibly used his cadences and images. His poems seem to have coloured her imagination through and through, and much that is puzzling in her poetry may perhaps be explained by an early and intense pleasure in his. The resemblances are not the kind which are due to deliberate imitation, but those which are produced by an imagination soaked in the poetry of another, as Keats was soaked in Shakespeare—resemblances of mood and in the cadence and movement of the verse, not of either thought or craftsmanship. They are so striking that it is surprising not to find the influence of Byron commented upon in any of the books about Emily Brontë. Matthew Arnold coupled their names in *Haworth Churchyard*:

she
(How shall I sing her?) whose soul
Knew no fellow for might,
Passion, vehemence, grief,
Daring, since Byron died—

Professor Oliver Elton, in his *Survey of English Literature*, says that Heathcliff 'is a descendant of the lays of Byron', but he does not elaborate the point. Romer Wilson, in *All Alone*, had a great deal to say about the psychological influence of Byronism and the Byron legend on Emily, but not a word about his poetry—did not, in fact, regard him as an influence in the perfectly ordinary and straightforward way in which one poet is usually said to have influenced another.

Here are a few purely verbal resemblances: the Prisoner of Chillon says, 'I was the mate of misery'; in Emily's poem, *Castle Wood*, are the lines:

But I was bred the mate of care,
The foster-child of sore distress.

In *The Giaour* the heroine's feet

Gleamed whiter than the mountain sleet.

Emily writes of a mountain spirit,

Her noiseless feet, like melting sleet
Gleamed white a moment, then were gone.

Both use the unusual phrase, 'noon of night'. Byron writes,

The blue flames curdle o'er the hearth;

and Emily,

The blue ice curdling on the stream.

Byron, comparing Greece to a beautiful corpse, says she is

So coldly sweet, so deadly fair;

Emily, describing the dead Gondal heroine, Augusta, writes:

But nothing mutable was there;
The face, all deadly fair,
Showed a fixed impress of keen suffering past.

The *Giaour* says, 'Yet dear to him my blighted name'; and Emily, addressing some ghostly presence,

I will not name thy blighted name,
Tarnished by unforgotten shame.

Byron writes, 'The ocean slumbered like an unweaned child'; and Emily, 'sculptured marble saint or slumbering, unweaned child'. Byron's poem inscribed on a cup made from a skull begins:

Start not—nor deem my spirit fled.

Emily begins a poem

Start not! upon the minster-wall.

None of these echoes of Byron in Emily's poetry is important in itself, but taken together they prove, so far as such a thing can be proved by anything but a direct statement, that she had read Byron and knew his poems so well that phrases and images from them ran in her head and intruded themselves into her own verses. She may very well have been aware of this herself, but there was no reason why she should take the trouble to avoid plagiarism, since she wrote only for her own pleasure without any idea of publishing her poems.

It is in the poems of Gondal, the imaginary country which she and her sister Anne had invented, and in the whole conception of the Gondal saga, so far as it is possible to make it out, that Emily seems to have been most under the influence of Byron; and it may very well have been an

early passion for his poems that determined the particular kind of tragic story at which Emily and Anne 'played' and about which many of Emily's best poems were written. The Gondal saga, like the lays of Byron, is a tale of civil war, treachery, vengeance, love and hate, faithlessness and remorse, imprisonment and early death. The chief heroine, Augusta Almeda,¹ is a woman of many lovers; she loves carelessly, tires of her victims, throws them into dungeons or drives them into exile, yet is tormented by agonies of remorse and belated tenderness. She is murdered at last on a lonely moor, and

He who watched, in thought had gone
Retracing back her lifetime flown;
Like sudden ghosts to memory came
Full many a face, and many a name,
Full many a heart, that in the tomb
He almost deemed might have throbb'd again
Had they but known her dreary doom,
Had they but seen their idol there,
A wreck of desolate despair,
Left to the wild birds of the air
And mountain winds and rain!

The chief hero, King Julius, though he has a 'noble heart' and 'form divine', yet is a tyrant and usurper, false and treacherous.

King Julius lifts his impious eye
From the dark marble to the sky;
Blasts with that oath his perjured soul,
And changeless is his cheek the while,
Though burning thoughts that spurn control
Kindle a short and bitter smile,
As face to face the kinsmen stand,
His false hand clasped in Gerald's hand.

Was it from Byron that Emily got this taste for dark deeds of fatal passion and overweening ambition? At least it was from him that she got the particular kind of romantic language in which she expressed these ideas. Here is Byron's description of the Giaour, who after avenging the death of his lady-love goes into a monastery to mourn, perhaps to expiate his crime.

Dark and unearthly is the scowl
That glares beneath his dusky cowl:
The flash of that dilating eye
Reveals too much of times gone by;
Though varying, indistinct its hue,
Oft will his glance the gazer rue,
For in it lurks that nameless spell,
Which speaks, itself unspeakable,
A spirit yet unquelled and high,
That claims and keeps ascendancy.

¹ This name has been printed hitherto as 'Alaisda', but from an examination of the MS. volume of poems in T. J. Wise's Ashley Library (lately acquired by the British Museum) it appears that the name should be 'Almeda'.

Not oft to smile descendeth he,
 And when he doth 'tis sad to see
 That he but mocks at Misery.
 How that pale lip will curl and quiver!
 Then fix once more as if for ever;
 As if his sorrow or disdain
 Forbade him e'er to smile again.

But sadder still it were to trace
 What once were feelings in that face:
 Time hath not yet the features fixed,
 But brighter traits with evil mixed,
 And there are hues not always faded,
 Which speak a mind not all degraded
 Even by the crimes through which it waded.

See—by the half-illumin'd wall
 His hood fly back, his dark hair fall,
 That pale brow wildly wreathing round,
 That livid cheek, that stony air
 Of mixed defiance and despair!

And here is Emily's description of a sinister stranger who comes at night to a lonely cottage:

No—there was something in his face,
 Some nameless thing they could not trace,
 And something in his voice's tone
 Which turned their blood as chill as stone.
 The ringlets of his long black hair
 Fell o'er a cheek most ghastly fair.
 Youthful he seemed, but worn as they
 Who spend too soon their youthful day.
 When his glance dropped, 'twas hard to quell
 Unbidden feelings' hidden swell;
 And Pity scarce her tears could hide,
 So sweet that brow with all its pride.
 But when upraised his eye would dart
 An icy shudder through the heart,
 Compassion changed to horror then,
 And fear to meet that gaze again.
 It was not hatred's tiger-glare,
 Nor the wild anguish of despair;
 It was not restless misery
 Which mocks at friendship's sympathy;
 No—lightning all unearthly shone
 Deep in that dark eye's circling zone—
 Such withering lightning as we deem
 None but a spirit's look may beam;
 And glad they were when he turned away
 And wrapped him in his mantle grey,
 And laid his head upon his arm,
 And veiled from view their basilisk charm.

That might almost be a description of Heathcliff as seen, not by familiar Nelly Dean, but by some impressionable stranger. It is perhaps interesting to notice Macaulay's description of the typical Byronic hero: 'A man proud, moody, cynical, with defiance on his brow, and misery in his heart,

a scorner of his kind, implacable in revenge, yet capable of deep and strong affection.' That too, without the alteration of a word, would be a perfect description of Heathcliff.

Charlotte too in her early writings shows very strongly the influence of Byron and Byronism, but she and Emily responded to quite different aspects of his poetry and his personality. Charlotte's early stories reflect the sophisticated, the witty, the opulent and luscious side of Byron's poetry; Emily's poems are pervaded by the sense of doom, of inexpiable guilt, remorse and shame, of high and noble feelings turned, by some twist of fate, to misery and horror. Both these aspects of Byron are clear in his life as in his poems. It was Byron, the man of the world, who appealed to Charlotte and who is reflected in her magnificent hero, Zamorna—Byron, the breaker of hearts, fascinating, irresistible, and very, very wicked—the Byron of the legend so industriously built up and fostered by Byron himself—Byron as he wished to appear to the world. It was the deeper Byron, the self which he often tried to conceal and deny, who influenced Emily—the unhappy boy whose mother had called him a 'lame brat'; the friendless young man who went alone to take his seat for the first time in the House of Lords; the Byron who was goaded on to ever wilder boastings and excesses by the knowledge that there was madness in his blood; who distrusted everyone and everything, most of all himself.

'Twas grief enough to think mankind
All hollow, servile, insincere,
But worse to trust to my own mind
And find the same corruption there.

So Emily wrote, and so Byron, in a moment of despondency, might have summed up his own life.

The agonies of misery, sin and shame, the transports of wickedness and despair which pervade Emily's poems have puzzled many of her admirers. They seem to sort so ill with her apparently blameless and uneventful life. Her preoccupation with death is natural enough in a person whose mother died when she was three, and two elder sisters when she was six, but why should she have been obsessed by, yes, positively revelled in, the idea, a *romantic* idea, of 'frenzied crime', 'blighted name', and a 'darker doom' beyond the grave? That her imagination was naturally gloomy is the most simple and obvious explanation, but it is not entirely satisfying—one feels that even the most tragic of imaginations must have been encouraged by *something* in the external world to produce this orgy of guilt and misery. Was that something the hell-fire preaching of Methodism

of which she must have heard much in her childhood, the 'mad Methodist Magazines full of miracles and apparitions, and preternatural warnings, ominous dreams and frenzied fanaticism' which Charlotte mentions in *Shirley*? But hell-fire Methodism, in the person of old Joseph, is one of the few things of which Emily makes fun. Many theories have been advanced to explain Emily's tragic imaginings. It has been supposed that her own life was, all unknown to her family, a 'wilderling dream of frenzied crime', and even that her soul was possessed by the foul fiend himself. Such extravagances it is impossible to combat; one can only say that they seem excessively unlikely.

Why then did Emily write this kind of thing:

Sleep not, dream not; this bright day
Will not, cannot last for aye.
Bliss like thine is bought by years
Dark with torment and with tears.

Shut from his Maker's smile
The accursed man shall be:
For mercy reigns a little while,
But hate eternally.

The tossing and the anguished pining;
The grinding teeth and starting eye;
The agony of still repining,
When not a spark of hope was shining
From gloomy fate's relentless sky.

What tenants haunt each mortal cell,
What gloomy guests we hold within—
Torments and madness, tears and sin!

And say not that my early tomb
Will give me to a darker doom:
Shall these long agonising years
Be punished by eternal tears?

All Heaven's undreamt felicity
Could never blot the past from me.
No, years may cloud and death may sever,
But what is done, is done for ever—
And thou, false friend and treacherous guide,
Go, sate thy cruel heart with pride—
Go, load my memory with shame;
Speak but to curse my hated name;
My tortured limbs in dungeons bind,
And spare my life to kill my mind.

And this is she for whom he died!
For whom his spirit, unforgiven,
Wanders unsheltered, shut from Heaven,
An outcast for eternity.

The grief that pressed my aching breast
Was heavier far than earth can be;
And who would dread eternal rest
When labour's hour was agony?

It is perhaps not so surprising if we suppose that she had been reading this kind of thing:

But in that instant o'er his soul
 Winters of Memory seemed to roll,
 And gather in that drop of time
 A life of pain, an age of crime.
 So writhes the mind Remorse hath riven
 Unfit for earth, undoomed for heaven,
 Darkness above, despair beneath,
 Around it flame, within it death.
 The keenest pangs the wretched find
 Are rapture to the dreary void,
 The leafless desert of the mind,
 The waste of feelings unemployed.
 They did not know how pride can stoop,
 When baffled feelings withering droop;
 They did not know how hate can burn
 In hearts once changed from soft to stern;
 Nor all the false and fatal zeal
 The convert of revenge can feel.
 Dark will thy doom be, darker still
 Thine immortality of ill.
 All that the proud can feel of pain,
 The agony they do not show,
 The suffocating sense of woe—
 Count o'er the joys thine hours have seen,
 Count o'er thy days from anguish free,
 And know, whatever thou hast been,
 'Tis something better not to be.

A naturally gloomy imagination, nourished from childhood on too much Byron, may be sufficient explanation of the guilt and treachery, agony and despair which overhang the poems of Emily Brontë like a thunder-cloud over her own moors.

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CORNEILLE'S 'HORACE' AND THE INTERPRETATION OF FRENCH CLASSICAL DRAMA

FRENCH classicism is a form of literary expression that is as yet without a history. If scholars are fairly agreed about the limits of its emergence in time, they are markedly at variance as to its essence and ethos. They recognize as belonging to it a number of great works, whose qualities they define by the epithets which most people understand to be expressed by the term 'classical', in whatever connexion it be used: qualities of order, harmony, proportion, timeless and general application. But these are all items of intellectual definition, which cannot possibly correspond to the aesthetic reality of a great poem or a great painting. They may render partial deductions about great literature; they cannot convey its living principle. Like the 'géomètres' in Pascal's contrast, 'ne pouvant voir d'une vue', have we not contented ourselves with such partial 'conclusions', and given up the search for that dynamic impulse apart from which no art was ever created?

In the flood of university research which has characterized this century, relatively little has been devoted to French classical literature. This may be due to the impression still abroad that on the great works of the period 'on a tout dit', and still more to the notion that they are impersonal imitations of ancient literature. If writers disclaim, as Pascal did, both originality and self-expression, there is not much incentive to study the composition and method of their work. It is hardly surprising that students have found little to investigate, apart from their relation to possible sources, and their influence on later authors. All the rest seemed too cold and distant to provoke anything but an increasingly conventional admiration. The result is that apart from certain exceptions (Michaut, Bray, Rivaille) we are where we were thirty years ago. There have been source-hunters, fact-finders, biographers (Rigal, Lancaster, Magne, Magendie, Collas), but has there been any general or concerted effort at interpretation? Does not the university teaching of the classics still depend on the Grands Écrivains collection, on the Hachette editions of Lanson and de Julleville, and on nineteenth-century criticism?

If this be correct, it is pertinent to ask whether we have not tried to explain art by qualities not artistic. Can we understand the artistry of Racine if we consider only his psychology? If we stress the realism of Molière, the general and typical nature of his characters, do we not

inevitably shut our eyes to the imaginative creation in his plays? We may consider his miser or his hypocrite as marvels of analysis or of insight, but where and what is the invention? Where and what is the comedy? Can we point our students to critics who will help them to answer such questions as these?

A good instance of our confusion is afforded by the earliest regular tragedy that is acknowledged 'classical'—Corneille's *Horace*, performed probably in February 1640. This has been intensively studied for years by all grades of students, from schoolboys to professors, yet there is complete disagreement as to its interpretation. Since literature has constantly to be reinterpreted, this might be no disadvantage, save that the disagreement occurs on the elementary point as to what the play is about. One might expect divergent discussions on the *type* of tragedy it presents, but it is disconcerting to find half the experts telling us that it is not a tragedy at all.

Consider first Saintsbury, no mean critic and editor of the usual English edition of the play, which he construes as a story from Livy, infused with patriotism, and containing not a few improbabilities which, however, 'need not be argued, because the whole difference between the classical tragedy and the poetical tragedy is concerned here, between the drama of arbitrary rule and that of poetry and nature'.¹ Saintsbury shares Victor Hugo's theory of the Corneille with clipped wings, who submitted 'grudgingly' to the rules and 'whenever there are real faults in his plays they may generally be set down to his obedience'.

This is an understandable theory, from an Englishman, but it would not go far to explain Corneille's extraordinary popularity in his own century. And it is nearly the opposite of Brunetière's picture. Improbabilities would not deter him, because he is confident that Corneille did not wish to be a realist and to imitate nature, but was inspired by a love for all that was unusual and dramatic, and wrote his drama round a tense situation. For Lanson, again, the essential is the psychology of the hero's exaltation of reason and will. It is a study not of tragedy but of heroism. Finally Carrington Lancaster, in his recent history, admits the play to be tragic 'in a restricted sense', since the main characters all suffer at the hands of the gods.

It must surely be an involved and opaque play that can produce from such well-known scholars views so divergent and contradictory. Yet, as everyone knows, the play sets forth the famous story of a hero who saved his country and murdered his sister, and who had therefore, though a

¹ *Horace*, edited by George Saintsbury, Oxford, 1900, p. xlix.

national hero, to undergo impeachment for murder. One can imagine various sorts of tragedy in a theme such as that, but it is difficult to imagine it portrayed as proof of a case of moral grandeur.

Corneille's heroes mount from height to height of spiritual conquest... In *Horace*... between the hero and the accomplishment of his spiritual destiny stands the love of the family.¹

After this there is surely a case for returning to the play and endeavouring to discover just what it says and what makes it a unity, a play, and possibly, for titles need not lie, a tragedy.

The first requirement is to 'listen' to its language.

Que désormais le Ciel, les Enfers et la terre
Unissent leurs fureurs à nous faire la guerre,
Que les hommes, les Dieux, les Démones et le sort
Préparent contre nous un général effort,
Je mets à faire pis en l'état où nous sommes
Le sort et les Démones et les Dieux et les hommes,
Ce qu'ils ont de cruel et d'horrible et d'affreux
L'est bien moins que l'honneur qu'on nous fait à tous deux.

There are, broadly speaking, only two interpretations of this passage. It may be rhetoric, grafted artificially upon the speaker with a view to increasing the dramatic effect of what is to be related. Or it may be the truly poetic expression of a situation, not the actual situation in Roman history in which a soldier called Curiatius may be supposed to have been, but of a real situation of the writer, which can be conveyed by that other historical situation. It is customary to say that in such plays the author describes an actual situation in history in general and elevated terms, and the critics, especially in England, have not been slow to object that such terms are ineffectual, since they give a much poorer impression of the actual situation in history than would be given by, let us say, Shakespearean language. But suppose the object was not to describe a situation of past history but of a very present attitude of mind. Would not the elevated terms do this much better than realistic description? Would they not indeed be the only safeguard of that real situation which made the author interested in an ancient story?

Here is the parting of the ways, beyond which no critics of classical drama may be reconciled. Everything depends on how we approach the play as conveyed in its form and diction. If we think of it as the relation of history and incident, such a passage as that just quoted is rhetoric; its rigid forms and its repetitions seem mechanical, and the result of course unreal, which is the worst thing that can be said of any dramatic impression. But if we take the other view, and think no more of the historical

¹ E. F. Jourdain, *An Introduction to the French Classical Drama*, Oxford, 1912, p. 52.

situation than the author's language allows us to think, we have a quite different impression. We notice that all local colour is pruned from the lines, that nothing in them is allowed to suggest the accompaniments of an actual situation, but that everything in them enforces the peril and intensity of a situation already suggested. Should we watch an actor reciting these lines, our impression if we listened closely, and if he recited them fittingly, would still be one of a man against powers other than human, of a defiance launched against something much more imposing than a Roman situation which to us is more fable than fact, a defiance in the name of confident and exultant humanity against all that supernatural powers may bring to crush it.

To get such an impression as this the passage must be read very closely, it should really be heard, and even then we should not easily recover the impression conveyed by the capital letters of the original text which we have carelessly abandoned in our modern editions. These terms are not concepts or elements of an artificial poetic diction; they are realities, powers, with names just as particular as 'Roi' or 'Majesté'. So read, the speech is the utterance of one, anyone, who sees beyond an actual earthly quarrel. He appeals to Heaven, to Hell, and calls on their inhabitants, the Gods of Heaven and the Demons of Hell, to join with men (his actual present adversaries) and with that power in human affairs that he cannot personify, fate. Should all these combine to overwhelm him, he would still feel fortunate and superior, in confronting them as the chosen representative champion of his home and country. An utterance so full and forceful as this is nearer to reality than to rhetoric. Its parallel is perhaps Milton's

Antagonist of Heaven's Almighty King,

and it is significantly saved from being a flamboyant recreation of the past by precisely that language and tone that is nowadays called ineffective and unreal.

The passage is no exception. The whole play is built upon the assertion of self-confident humanity. The humanity not only resists danger but becomes conscious of its power in danger. Horace replies to Curiae:

Notre malheur est grand, il est au plus haut point;
Je l'envisage entier, mais je n'en frémis point.

It is on the basis of this attitude common to them both that the contrast of their personality emerges. There is no question of their patriotism. It is natural in them both, not imposed upon them by circumstances. They welcome the chance of defending their country, not because it is their duty but because it is the opportunity of fulfilling their personality. What

they both seek is 'la gloire', which is not so much a personal reward as undisputed sanction of their bravery and sacrifice. Their disagreement is not absolute, for they are two differently constituted people inspired by the same ideal of conduct. Horace is the unquestioning patriot. 'Je n'examine rien', he says, and has been thought stupid for saying it. But the position is surely this, that he can only achieve his end of glorious national service if his whole personality be concentrated upon it, distracted by no conflicting claims. Thus in the manner of a modern totalitarian he rejoices in being relieved of the necessity of independent judgement. He can only act if he has not to decide as well, and the condition of his service to his country is that it remain a supreme claim, unaffected by any other, humanity, love, fellowship. From a careful reading of Act II (which was much praised in the seventeenth century) it is quite clear that he admits no human relationship as even existent in a national emergency. It is not necessary to read more into his words than they say:

Avec une allégresse aussi pleine et sincère
Que j'épousai la sœur je combattrai le frère.

Discussion is indeed, as he puts it, superfluous, and with the best of feelings towards Curiace he assures him of a new fact in their lives:

Albe vous a nommé, je ne vous connais plus.

This is in no sense a 'pointe', for he tells his sister before the fight that if her lover should kill him he is to be treated as a man of honour and not as a murderer.

The contrast to this character and mood is provided of course by Curiace, and is too well known to need detailed analysis here. Horace is opposed by a man as brave as himself, but whose judgement will not abdicate before the necessity of any situation. And it is not just one other person who opposes him. He kills Curiace in fair fight, and is opposed by the same attitude in Camille. He kills her in a temper, but is still opposed by the same attitude in his own wife and in Valère. A contrast covering so much of the play as this looks very near to the main theme, and once it has been seized we are in a position to record our impression of the play as a whole.

It is surely obvious that Corneille is not, essentially, treating the same subject as Livy treated in the acknowledged source of the play. Livy's story is shockingly reproduced. Most of Livy's main facts, the battle, the double trial, the opposition of six warriors chosen from two families and two nations, these things are assumptions or echoes in Corneille's play; they are not actions. By suppressing some parts of the story and

emphasizing others, Corneille has created a new action. This new action is strikingly similar to the action he created in *Le Cid* and which he did not find in *Castro*. It is the reaction of strong personalities to an issue that vitally affects their existence. All the resources of the play—construction, language, metre, scene—are used to disguise the acts of Horace. We witness neither his fight nor his murder nor his triumph as Shakespeare might have shown them. We witness conversations.

In a case of such deliberate rearrangement, to talk of the play as ineffective if we mean as a dramatic representation of Livy's action is surely beside the point. How can it be other, when most of the 'effects' have been intentionally omitted? The effectiveness of *Horace*, and of classical drama generally, cannot be discussed until we discern *what* is being portrayed. It is clear from what has just been said that Corneille has sacrificed the dramatic, or more correctly the epic, elements in Livy, and that he has substituted for them as the material of his play the motives and ideas of forceful characters in opposition. It is obvious, too, that by writing of motive and idea rather than of act he has decreased the temporal and enforced the general and timeless elements in his drama. An opposition of ideas is not to be overcome by any particular action in any actual situation. This would show further cause for the general and stereotyped means of expression that he has adopted. The classical language is indeed inextricably linked to the classical conception of drama.

Are we then to say that *Horace* presents a conflict of ideas, and to call it, as many have done, a play not about people but about patriotism? This view would have the authority of M. Petit de Julleville behind it: '*Horace* est avant tout un drame intérieur, qui nous montre avec une intensité profonde et une grande force d'analyse la lutte entre deux passions.'¹

We have here the recognition of three important elements in the drama which a fair reading can hardly call in question: the inward nature of the dramatic conflict, which does not therefore need external action for its presentation (this is in itself a feature of extreme import if one considers the dramatic work of Racine), the intensity of the forces at work and the fact that they rest on a deep analysis of human nature. Any interpretation of the play which is to prove satisfactory must contain these elements, and it must not less avoid two dangerous positions into which critics have been led. To think of *Horace* as a conflict between love and honour is to make of it an intellectual puzzle, devised by Corneille and which he will

¹ *Horace*, p.p. M. Petit de Julleville, Hachette, 1904, p. 37.

solve according to his idea of the relation between those two passions. This M. de Julleville actually does: 'Laquelle de ces deux passions devait être vaincue par l'autre?' Corneille a voulu que ce fût l'amour.' So, quite consequently, he sees in this play 'la contre-partie' and even 'l'expiation' of *Le Cid*. Such a view makes the play more than ever a result of the famous quarrel following *Le Cid*. Shocked by the assertions of Chimène's immorality, Corneille rewrote the whole situation giving the victory to the other side. This I believe to be a completely mistaken view. It ruins the previous points of the critic's analysis, for the intensity cannot be real nor the psychology profound if the whole position is set for Corneille to decide which of the two passions has his approval.

Further, is it true to our impression of the play to call it a study of patriotism in conflict with love? It is true of Curiace alone. Camille shows little patriotic feeling because she is so strongly swayed by love and humanity, and the essence of the character of Horace is that it has no conflict. He is determined from the beginning, he is never open to argument, and not even catastrophe and disgrace can bring him to repent. He is indeed like Camille and his father in that he is quite unable to see much good in any point of view that differs from his own. So that to call the play one of ideas is to regard the characters as puppets or as medieval actors, each bearing a virtue or a vice and suffering or prospering accordingly. But this is much too simple. While we are interested in the ideas of each character, we surely do not feel that Horace or his sister is nothing more than a force or tendency. This would mean that we are entitled to discuss the dramatist's judgement on the passions he analyses, and to admire the truth of his account of human nature, but these are precisely not the criteria which we apply to drama. We may think Harpagon to be a good study of avarice and Macbeth a convincing picture of ambition, but we do not for that reason speak of such studies as great dramas. If we think them great dramas we shall have to admire the picture of the characters in whom these qualities appear in action, and our criterion will be one of compelling effect rather than demonstrable truth. *Horace* has suffered (and here again it is typical of French classical and especially of Racinian drama) from being interpreted as an analysis of passion and a judgement upon it. That it may very well be, and if we think so we are perfectly entitled to call its author an eminent psychologist, but that is not the same as admiring him as an artist. Perhaps Boileau is the unwitting cause of our disastrous confusion of psychology and art in French classicism, since it was he who insisted most strongly that dramatic art must be accompanied by accurate psychology. But he

knew as well as anybody that real drama affects the emotions, and that to deal in ideas alone is failure:

En vain vous étalez une scène savante.

At the risk of being tiresome then we return to the question of what exactly is offered us in this play. We have seen that it is not an epic story in action. How far is it a clash of ideas? Are we given any other profound and abiding impression by its spectacle? This means, in other words, that we must analyse wherein lies for us as we read or watch the play its essential drama, that which Corneille called not only drama but tragedy.

To begin with, we are surely given more than a study of patriotism. It is, to say the least, patriotism in almost impossible circumstances. Camille and Sabine are not alone in wishing the combat avoided. Camille's father wishes it no less, the choice of antagonists is declared barbarous by both armies, there is a mutiny that is only quelled by a direct appeal to the gods. It is, in fact, only with the sanction of religion that the battle can take place at all. Moreover, from the end of the second act, we are in constant touch with one side of the question, with the side that detests the attitude of Horace and questions the very principle of patriotism in such circumstances. From the departure of the warriors until the fatal return of Horace, the women command the stage, that is from Act II to the middle of Act IV, the heart of the play. It has been rather hastily assumed that such an arrangement of scenes was imposed upon Corneille by the necessity of avoiding the battle on the stage. Whether that be so or not, the use he has made of that section of his play materially affects its nature. Even the father's patriotism is declared in this atmosphere of family anxiety which he shares. Now this implies more than a mere regulation of scenic difficulties or a desire to put both sides of the patriotic case. These central scenes prepare a revolt. They show that the chief enemies of Horace are those of his own household.

Nor is the revolt conducted entirely by Camille. To deprive the play of the role of Sabine, as the narrower theorists of 1660 wished to do, and with Corneille's own partial acquiescence, would be to weaken its dialectic enormously. She is in herself a most interesting study, doomed to suffering, whatever the outcome of the fight. She is the wife of Horace, she has a clearer head than Camille and yet takes the same view of events. She makes common cause with Camille and is only forcibly prevented from attempting with her to stop the fight:

*Julie, on nous renferme, on a peur de nos larmes,
Sans cela nous serions au milieu de leurs armes.*

And in a later scene she sums up better than anyone else the ground of antagonism to the fire-eating patriots:

La nature en tout temps garde ses premiers droits.

After Camille's death, Sabine continues as a living reminder of her position, of the literally impossible position of one who still loves her husband, but no less all those whom he has killed. Her repeated requests for death and what Voltaire called her 'subtilités' have earned her hard words from later critics, but her existence changes the whole play. Were she not present, there would be no constant and living reminder that people cannot stifle affection and adopt at will the claims of the state and of so-called reason. In some of the best poetry in the play, she admits that 'reason' is never an abiding consolation and leaves her more miserable than before:

Pareille à ces éclairs qui dans le fort des ombres
Poussent un jour qui fuit et rend les nuits plus sombres,
Tu n'as frappé mes yeux d'un moment de clarté
Que pour les abîmer dans plus d'obscurité.

The role of Camille has received more attention and is too complex to be adequately treated here. It is perhaps more effective in its feminine motivation than in the famous 'fureurs'. In the monologue where she prepares for her brother's return, one finds some of those nuances which Corneille is said to have been incapable of portraying. She is timid and nervous, the war fever and constant ranting have stirred her to designs from which she shrinks:

Un oracle m'assure, un songe m'épouvante;
La bataille m'effraie et la paix me contente.¹

Yet her resolution, even in its expression, equals that of her brother:

C'est gloire de passer pour des cœurs abattus
Quand la brutalité fait les hautes vertus.

In her last scene, full of penetrating psychology, Horace seems almost to give her her cues, so well does she know his reactions and his few plain arguments. She has heard the appeal to the greatness of Rome so often before that one feels the repression of months being thrown off in the last great speech. Once again, a more realist diction would deprive the lines of their force. The actual situation extends imperceptibly to that expansion of one who has no other weapon than words and who has been condemned to inaction when she saw the action of others ruining her happiness. Watching the fires in his eyes, it is no future dream but her present state that is conveyed by her last ecstatic words,

Moi seule en être cause, et mourir de plaisir.

¹ I quote the original text of 1641 (ll. 1211-12), which I have taken as the basis of my edition of the play, published by Blackwell, Oxford, 1938.

In watching this scene and the last laments of Sabine, we are carried far beyond a mere opposition of ideas. The issue between Horace and his sister may be that of patriotism in conflict with humanity, but it is an issue interfered with and swollen by personalities, by irritation and division within a family, by unguarded expression on both sides, it is an issue not analytically presented at all, but with all the complications of living action. It is therefore not psychology, it is drama.

We cannot however judge this drama aright unless we appreciate the position of Horace as central character. Though absent from the third act, he is concerned in all its issues. He is the only protagonist; on him alone focus the anxieties of the women; after the death of Camille, he is present in every scene. The play that opened with his being chosen as the champion of Rome, and continued with his victory, ends with his trial. It is therefore vital to decide whether his role is the illustration of an idea or a dramatic creation.

I have analysed elsewhere¹ the main features of this character, and would only point out here that although the play is full of judgements pronounced on his actions, it is impossible to know which of them represent the author's view. Of his 'vertu' in the sense of outstanding bravery, there is no doubt. His father, the King and the people see in him the saviour of his country. Yet he commits an action so brutal as to have to stand trial for his life on the very day of his triumph. There is no hint, in all the discussion of his murder, that it is condoned by the author. His father pleads for his life on public grounds, and thinks that Camille deserved death, but says explicitly that her murder by her brother dishonoured the hand that has saved the state. I can see in the play no foundation for the view that the murder is achievement rather than disgrace, that Horace gains by it anything that he lacked before, that his 'heroism' or 'spiritual conquest' are thereby advanced. On the other hand, in the final judgement that sums up all the issues of the play the King's condemnation is unmistakable:

Cette énorme action faite presque à nos yeux
Outrage la nature et blesse jusqu'aux Dieux.

There is no question of any justification of this action. Horace is pardoned, not because he has not sinned against the laws, but because in that situation they cannot be invoked against the national hero, and as the man of the hour he has, in political expediency, to be considered above them. Nor is there any change in Horace's character as the play closes. He has no repentance, for he considered his sister a monster in

¹ 'Horace et Wilhelm Tell' in the *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, July, 1939.

that she insulted his country. He admits no guilt but asks to die by his own hand because of the public dishonour of his trial.

The features of this portrait that I find most impressive are precisely this fidelity to the character as first conceived, this relentless emphasis of contradictory elements, of public bravery and private brutality in a character that appears consequent and even sympathetic in the very fullness with which he is presented. If this impression be correct, the play is first and foremost a revelation of character in conflict. It is not an illustration of a set of ideas. Horace is not just a symbol of patriotism, nor even of extreme patriotism. He shows the effect of patriotism in a highly individualised character. Nor is he a Shakespearian character in the sense that he lives on the stage in any other aspects than those which concern the problem of the play. He lives in the tension of the play's setting and is never conceived or suggested as existing outside it.

Further, we must rule out on this reading of his character any interpretation of the play as illustrating a thesis, either in his favour or against him. I can find no more 'significance' in the presentation of such a character than in that, say, of *Macbeth*.¹ The purpose of the play, if one dare conjecture purpose in a work of art at all, is no more to praise or condemn patriotism than that of *Macbeth* is praise or blame of ambition. The consequences of each quality are shown in the course of a fully human presentation, but inevitably, as in life, not didactically as in morals. I submit that there is literally no evidence of Corneille's opinion as to the merits of various passions. We may see what he thought was a true picture of life; we cannot see whether he would exalt Horace in spite of his brutality or condemn him in spite of his patriotism. About drama indeed such issues should not be raised as primary considerations; they have to be so here only because critics have denied to Corneille his rights as a dramatic artist and have used doubtfully dramatic situations in other plays to make him the exclusive idealist and theorist.

Granted then that the play affects us secondarily by the ideas contained in it and primarily by the whole dramatic presentation, is it rightly called a tragedy? This is a question that Corneille himself has made it hard for us to solve. Misled by his polemic with d'Aubignac, he wrote an *Examen* of the play, which has become attached to it ever since. It certainly does not deal with the main issues of the drama, and very probably does not represent Corneille's attitude twenty years earlier when he wrote *Horace*. In it Corneille seems to think of drama as tragedy wherever the hero is

¹ Cf. Vedel, *Deux classiques français*, 1935, p. 209: 'Il reste aussi invisible derrière son œuvre que Shakespeare.'

brought into peril. Whether he thought so in 1639 we cannot say. Certainly the fact that he entitled the drama as we know it a tragedy shows that he did not think of tragedy as an action involving necessarily the death of the hero, nor complete disaster in any form. The sense of harmony and reconciliation given by the trial and sentence in the fifth act leaves no doubt on that point. Nor if we look at it fairly can we miss an element of tragedy in the disappointment of Horace. He admits no guilt, but the action into which he had gone with such hopes of glory has ended with a situation in which he asks to take his own life.

But there is a deeper tragic element in the play, that springs from something quite other than a juxtaposition of events. Horace's murder of his sister is due to his character. He kills her because of her lack of public spirit and her treasonous sentiments. He kills her because these things blot out and supersede for him all other things, such as family affection or human pity. He kills her in fact because he cannot endure any other point of view than his own, and his act, though explained in its stark brutality by Camille's bitter words at a moment of fatigue and strain, is the final revelation of that brusque temper that is not patriotic but chauvinist.

If that were all, the play would be, what it plainly is not, an exposure of one-sided patriotism. Consider Horace's main intentional action, the combat on behalf of Rome. That also is an effect of his patriotism. He fights for Rome because he thinks public duty precedes private inclination. He glories in defending his country because he thinks such a cause demands the potential sacrifice of the citizen. He consents to fight for it in almost impossible circumstances, even against friends and relatives. He refuses argument even with his wife, because he fears a weakening of his sense of duty, because indeed he wills complete devotion to the national interest.

Thus the motives of both his deeds are almost the same. Julie lamented '*ce désir d'honneur qui leur ferme les yeux*' but it was that desire that made Horace the man of the hour. Rome could not have been saved, no state can be saved, unless it be by men who will put aside other considerations and risk all for it. Like so many, he willed to be blind, on that issue, and his one-sidedness was the condition of his strength. But it was also the cause of his downfall, as a human being. The man who was a hero on the field proved himself a savage in his home, and for the same reason. The one motive inspires his fight and his murder.

It is in this astonishing coupling of the two events as produced by one and the same conviction that to my mind the tragedy of the play lies.

Corneille shows with astonishing clarity (and only the classical form and expression of the play enables him to do so) that the conviction then most popular in France, a conviction that he undoubtedly shared, might in its effects provoke admiration—and terror. The point is clearly expressed in the final judgement which is the secret of the play. The King says

Ce crime, quoique grand, énorme, inexcusable,
Vient de la même épée et part du même bras
Qui me fait aujourd'hui maître de deux États.

That is precisely so. *Horace* is a tragedy of will-power. The hero has the strength of will to be nerved to great deeds and to fight against great odds. To win through he has to work up that strength of will to its highest pitch, otherwise his endeavour will fail. If he allows other considerations to interfere with it, in other words if it is to be in any way controlled, it will not have the absolute last ounce of determination necessary to win. If it is uncontrolled, anything may happen. National safety, to put the issue in another form, demands strength, even at the cost of morality. Anyone conversant with the organization of a state in time of war will admit that as a real phenomenon. And that is the phenomenon of *Horace*. Patriotism without excess will not be enough. Excessive patriotism is beyond all moral sanctions. But the two things are bound together in a single personality; that accounts for Camille's desperate words and her brother's desperate deed. Corneille's latest critic has expressed the essence of the play in a line: 'Il n'y a pas d'héroïsme patriotique sans terrorisme chauvin.'¹

We are ignorant of what made the author call it a tragedy in 1641, but, in a sense that he did not perhaps intend, the play has still tragic force within it. It is a tragedy of personality, that may seem far from the mystery of Greek fate or of Shakespearian passion. It does not bring men to the point of welcoming death as release. But it does show, with that clarity and depth that we associate with the French spirit, the fate inherent in the exercise of the human will. The will plays a large part in the history and thought of France under Louis XIII. Descartes is its apostle, Richelieu its incarnation, Corneille its constant admirer. But here is a case where it is fixed and judged in all its demonic power. It produces in one man opposite effects; it saves and ruins him; it is at once his glory and his nemesis. This is a fate proportionate to and inherent in power. It besets the strong man where he is strongest, and is a profound artistic reflection upon a virile age. Nowhere perhaps may certain main

¹ Vedel, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

forces in French civilization be seen more clearly in their strength and weakness than in *Horace*.

This tragic theme is the nerve centre of the play. From this point of view the rest is to be judged and is seen to be in true proportion. The grandeur of Rome, the simplicity of duty, the claims of humanity, the strength of the family bond, devotion to the community, military honour and greatness, the religious sanction, all these themes are interwoven and appear in the symmetry of each successive act of the play. To construe it as a mosaic of data gathered from various sources makes it unintelligible as a work of art.¹ It can only be understood as directed by an immense artistic energy, straining to view a great human action, so to speak, in the absolute, fully seized in all its manifestations, and not in the limited form in which it appears to any single person concerned in it. The seventeenth century did not or could not explain this energy, but they appreciated its results and declared, even with the work of Racine before them, that Corneille was unsurpassed in tragedy. What is more, they were satisfied by the form of the play, and what in *Horace* may be called the perfection of an innovation became for later writers the classic form of French dramatic art. This is not understood to-day, and the artifice and discipline needed for the achievement of such form is condemned as undramatic. It could be shown that in *Horace* it corresponds to the energy behind the creation of the whole play. Such a form was the only means of expressing the present—and indeed the personal—in a vision of the past.

W. MOORE.

OXFORD.

¹ This explains my attitude to the materials collected by L. M. Riddle (*Genesis and Sources of Corneille's Tragedies*, 1926, pp. 19–39) and accepted by H. C. Lancaster in his *History*. I can see no profit in fixing sources before the character of the work of art and the design of the artist have been investigated.

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHANN ELIAS SCHLEGEL

THE Morgenstern collection in the University library of Tartu (formerly Dorpat) contains among many interesting letters of the eighteenth century some correspondence between Johann Elias Schlegel and his contemporaries. Writers of the various studies on Schlegel which appeared towards the end of last century deplored the fact that, although the letters from Schlegel to Gottsched, Bodmer and Hagedorn had been preserved and for the most part published,¹ not a single reply from any of these three had yet come to light.² Yet two letters to Schlegel, one from Bodmer and one from Hagedorn, had appeared in print as early as 1810, in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*.³ These letters were published by Carl Morgenstern, first librarian of the University of Dorpat, under the title: 'Briefe deutscher Dichter und Gelehrten aus den Jahren 1740 bis 1771.' In a prefatory note, Morgenstern explains that in Riga he had found, and obtained possession of, many letters from poets and men of letters, and expresses his intention of publishing a selection of the more interesting, notably from Bodmer, Gellert, Gerstenberg, Gleim, Hagedorn,

¹ Cf. K. Seeliger, *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Meissen*, Bd. II, Heft 2, Meissen, 1888 (containing eight letters from Schlegel to Gottsched from originals in the Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig); also Th. W. Danzel, *Gottsched und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1848; G. F. Staudlin, *Briefe berühmter und edler Deutschen an Bodmer*, Stuttgart, 1794 (three letters from Schlegel to Bodmer from originals sent to Staudlin by Bodmer); J. Cruger in *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. XIV, Leipzig, 1886 (four letters from Schlegel to Bodmer from originals in Zurich); *Hagedorns Werke*, ed. Eschenburg, Hamburg, 1800, v (six letters from Schlegel to Hagedorn from originals in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg). According to Eugen Wolff (*Johann Elias Schlegel*, Berlin, 1889) other letters from Schlegel to Hagedorn were in the possession of Professor B. Litzmann. Despite repeated enquiries, I have not been able to ascertain the present whereabouts of these.

² Cf. J. Rentsch (*Johann Elias Schlegel als Trauerspieldichter mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Verhältnisses zu Gottsched*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 7), who expresses particular regret at the consequent loss of evidence which might have been of use to him in his examination of the relations between Gottsched and Schlegel, and deplores too the disappearance of Schlegel's correspondence with Kastner; also K. Seeliger (*op. cit.*, p. 156): 'Von Gottscheds Briefen an Schlegel ist nur ein kummerlicher Rest im Leben des Dichters (von seinem Bruder) bis jetzt veröffentlicht,' and, with reference to the Kastner correspondence 'Meines Wissens ist nichts davon bekannt.' (For this correspondence with Kastner cf. Schlegel's letter to Hagedorn, 2 April 1749, *Hagedorns Werke*, ed. cit., v, 299.) J. Cruger (*op. cit.*, p. 62) expresses the hope that Bodmer's letters to Schlegel (which he believed to be in Copenhagen) will be published. Neither Wolff, *op. cit.*, nor Antoniewicz (*J. E. Schlegels ästhetische und dramaturgische Schriften*, herausgegeben von J. von Antoniewicz, Heilbronn, 1887. *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale*, 26), who both had access to much unpublished correspondence, reveals any knowledge of actual letters to Schlegel from his contemporaries.

³ Vol. for 1810, nos. 185 and 193. Cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, 3^{te} Auflage, IV, i (Dresden, 1916), 9, 25.

Kastner, Karschin, Klopstock, Rabener, J. E. Schlegel, Weisse and Zacharia. Actually there only appeared in the *Morgenblatt* under this title six letters: from Bodmer, Gellert, Gerstenberg, Gleim (2) and Hagedorn.

At his death in 1852, Morgenstern left his books and manuscripts to the University library in Dorpat. The numerous letters, although bound, are not yet completely catalogued, but examination of the volumes¹ brought to light fifteen letters from and to Elias Schlegel.² With the exception of the two which appeared in the *Morgenblatt*, none of these has to my knowledge been published. They do to some extent contribute to our knowledge of Schlegel's relations with his contemporaries, and from them I have selected the following for publication, since they have at the same time a literary interest.

The evidence for the relations which existed between Gottsched and Schlegel has been ably sifted by J. Rentsch.³ These letters confirm in the main his conclusions. The letter to his father written in Latin (no. 1 below) removes any doubt that Schlegel was, at least for a time, a pupil of Gottsched, however much J. Adolf Schlegel may later have wished to believe the contrary.⁴ It is unlikely that in a private letter he would otherwise have referred to the advantages of working 'sub auspiciis magni viri'. This by no means excludes the possibility of an early independence of outlook; on the contrary such a compromise is characteristic of Schlegel in all his dealings. Indeed in this same letter his rejection of Gottsched's suggestion that he should make a translation of Sophocles' *Electra* in unrhymed verse would seem to support the view that he had, even as early as this, opinions of his own.

Schlegel's independence increased rapidly. Gottsched was perhaps unaware of this, for the tone of his letter of December 1742 (no. 3 below) is warm. Attacked now on both flanks, from Dresden as well as from Zürich, he is eager to retain the support of his most promising pupil.

¹ Through the kindness of the librarian I was able to examine the whole of the Morgenstern collection of letters, as well as that of Friedrich Ludwig Schardius, conservator of coins in the Hermitage Art Gallery in St Petersburg, who presented his collection of letters in manuscript to the University of Dorpat in 1852. This latter collection contains one short letter from Hagedorn to Schlegel.

² The Morgenstern collection further contains four drafts of letters from Schlegel (to Gottsched, Bodmer (2) and Hagedorn) which in some respects differ from the versions finally sent.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 4-32, particularly pp. 28, 29; Rentsch concludes that although Schlegel owed much to Gottsched, he maintained from the beginning a certain independence, and that Gottsched's later treatment of Schlegel's work was due to the envy he felt at the increasing praise which his former pupil received on all sides.

⁴ Cf. *Herrn Abt Batteux Einschränkung der schonen Künste auf einen einzigen Grundsatz*, übersetzt, und mit verschiedenen eignen damit verwandten Abhandlungen begleitet, von J. Adolf Schlegel, Leipzig, 1770, II, 516 ff. Also Danzel *op. cit.*, pp. 154-8.

Very different, however, is his next letter, written only ten months later (no. 4 below). It has an acid quality which the evenness of Schlegel's reply¹ does not lead one to expect. There is a sharpness here, the boasting of wounded vanity, and in the boasting more than a trace of malice. Between the two letters there appeared part IV of the *Deutsche Schaubühne*.² Gottsched sent a copy of this to Schlegel with an accompanying letter.³ On reading the *Vorrede* to this volume of the *Schaubühne*, Schlegel was irritated by Gottsched's chauvinistic interpretation of his *Herrmann*,⁴ and in his reply,⁵ while giving praise to the other plays in the volume, he yet maintained a somewhat critical attitude towards them. And he made an unfortunate suggestion about the end of Frau Gottsched's play, *Die Ungleiche Heyrath*. It is unlikely that this alone would have called forth such a malicious reply; it would seem more probable that Gottsched's envy had been steadily increasing as he was made to feel that the pupil was outstripping the master, and that, provoked by Schlegel's remark, he could no longer hide it.⁶

Interesting light is thrown by this letter on Gottsched's methods of criticism. Rentsch⁷ deduced from Schlegel's letters that Gottsched compared *Herrmann* unfavourably with *Dido* before the latter appeared in print. The facts are more interesting. This letter reveals that he made the comparison before he had even read *Dido*! Nor did he see fit to revise his opinion in any way when he had read the play. It appeared in vol. v of the *Deutsche Schaubühne* and in the *Vorrede* Gottsched said publicly what in this letter he says privately. Thus the lines of his criticism were laid down before he knew anything of the play apart from its theme.

Despite the fact that Gottsched's remarks with reference to the *Ungleiche Heyrath* forced Schlegel in his reply to defend himself against a charge of having been 'unanständig', the correspondence did not imme-

¹ Cf. Seeliger, *op. cit.*, no. 6, dated 2 April 1744. Schlegel usually refers in detail to the letter of his correspondent, so that the contents can sometimes be reconstructed, though not of course the tone.

² This volume contains, in addition to Schlegel's *Herrmann* and *Der geschäftige Mussegänger*, plays by Frau Gottsched and Th. J. Quistorp. In the *Vorrede* Gottsched compares *Herrmann* unfavourably with Quistorp's plays and imputes to the former an anti-French tendency.

³ Cf. Schlegel's life by his brother. *Johann Elias Schlegels Werke*, Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1761-70, v, p. xxxii. We do not possess the letter which was dated 20 May 1743.

⁴ Cf. Schlegel's *Werke*, ed. cit., v, p. xxiv ('Vertraulicher Brief', dated 11 June 1743).

⁵ Cf. Seeliger, *op. cit.*, no. 4, dated 3 August 1743.

⁶ The whole letter seems designed to provoke Schlegel to anger. Schlegel had expressly delayed sending the second part of the *Abhandlung von der Nachahmung* until it was complete (cf. Seeliger, *op. cit.*, no. 3, 18 April 1743); Gottsched divided it, publishing only half, and promptly lost the rest (cf. Seeliger, *op. cit.*, no. 6, 2 April 1744); moreover he disparages *Herrmann* which Schlegel regarded with particular affection; he gives an offensive twist to Schlegel's remarks on the *Ungleiche Heyrath*; and by his reference to Effinger, he is surely trying to draw Schlegel on the subject of the Swiss.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

diately cease.¹ Indeed Schlegel never openly fell away from Gottsched. Rabener in his letter of August, 1744 (no. 5 below) by no means takes it for granted that Schlegel will want to give wholehearted support to that revolt against 'den allerliebsten Pflegevater' which found expression in the *Bremer Beytrage*.² By 1747, however, Kastner (see letter no. 6 below) assumes that Schlegel will not welcome praise for his work from Gottsched. The severance was complete even though there had been no open break.

This letter from Kastner is further interesting because of the references to *Canut*. More than any other contemporary judgement, these few lines seize upon the weakness of the play and by their suggestions for its improvement indicate that Kästner was aware of the essential requirements of tragedy. Nicolai, in his *Abhandlung vom Trauerspiele*,³ is confused as to whether Canut or Ulfo is the tragic hero;⁴ hence his suggestion that, to concentrate our attention and interest, which are 'getheilet und unbestimmt', on one person, Canut should make some false step and thereby become an effective tragic hero. Kastner betrays no such confusion; he is sure that Ulfo was intended for the tragic hero. He is however no less sure that there is something wrong with Ulfo in that role. In this he is at one with all his contemporaries. But whereas they objected to the character on moral grounds or because of conventional theories of the 'hero', Kästner appears to be moved by more purely dramatic considerations. He accepts the grandiose portrayal of evil, the exaggerated thirst for glory, but rightly feels that, as compensation, Ulfo must possess positive qualities of some kind to win our sympathy for him and to raise his character to a tragic level. He particularly notes that the trick by which he wins his wife lessens our sympathy for him considerably. And indeed, if Schlegel had adhered less closely to historical tradition and rejected or modified this incident, not only would the character of Ulfo have benefited, but the dramatic conflict could have been intensified.

Bodmer was an exception in approving the figure of Ulfo (see letter no. 7 below); but the terms of his commendation reveal his lack of

¹ Danzel assumes its cessation (*op. cit.*, p. 154). Seeliger however (*op. cit.*, no. 7) publishes a further letter from Schlegel (dated 4 May 1745) which refers to a letter from Gottsched dated 20 October 1744. In this he had requested Schlegel to send him *Orestes und Pylades*, probably for publication in part VI of the *Schaubühne*.

² Rabener was nevertheless anxious to have contributions from Schlegel, who was highly thought of by the Bremen circle. Cf. letter from Gartner to Hagedorn (17 June 1744, *Hagedorns Werke*, ed. cit., v, 215) in which Gartner puts Schlegel at the head of the list of contributors.

³ *Bibliothek der schonen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, I (Leipzig, 1757), pp. 39, 40 and 51-7.

⁴ His confusion does not arise solely on account of the title, as Wolff (*op. cit.*, pp. 135, 136) would suggest, but also from his feeling that our compassion is not sufficiently aroused by the fate of Ulfo and from his failure to analyse the reasons for this.

dramatic sense. He does not see Ulfo as the tragic hero; he conceives him as a kind of evil offset to the goodness of Canut and Godewin, and fails to realize that the destruction of evil is not in itself tragic.

Letters 1 and 2 below, from Schlegel to his father, are the only fragments we possess of a correspondence which must have contained much of literary interest and importance; for the elder Schlegel followed with interest the education of his son and in great measure directed it. These two letters would seem to provide further evidence that Schlegel's approach to Greek drama was in some measure a direct approach.¹ From them it is abundantly clear that Schlegel brought to his study of Greek tragedy a lively interest, warm admiration and a capacity for direct emotional response. He may regret that the play has not a 'schonere Moral', but this does not prevent him from being moved by the figure of Electra herself—as Sophocles intended him to be. Unlike Gottsched's, his appreciation is not chiefly determined by moral or theoretical considerations. When he attempts to say why he is moved, the reasons he gives may seem over-simplified and lacking in psychological insight. Despite the fact that in matters of taste and in his aesthetic views Schlegel was often in advance of his contemporaries, he was nevertheless very much a child of his age, and his understanding of psychological processes was naturally determined by a rationalistic outlook on life. But his feeling is at least spontaneous.

The exaggerated *délicatesse* of the age was a subject on which Schlegel felt strongly.² In a letter written to his brother J. Adolf Schlegel some months previously³ he had made much the same remark on the wound of Philoctetes as he here makes to his father (see letter no. 2 below). He is in effect demanding a wider choice of subjects for drama, not confined to the narrow limits of merely 'schöne Natur'. When one remembers that in the next year Schlegel advised the artist, particularly the dramatic artist

¹ This has recently been disputed. In his study *Elias Schlegel und Wieland als Bearbeiter antiker Tragödien* (Leipzig, 1928), H. Buenemann argues that Schlegel did not, as had previously been thought, go direct to the Greeks for the sources of his early plays, but rather to French plays on the same themes. This does not necessarily imply however, as Buenemann assumes, that Schlegel therefore preferred French tragedy and thought it superior to that of the Greeks; nor that he was without any understanding for Greek tragedy.

² Buenemann (*op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24) suggests that Schlegel was indebted for this view to Brumoy's *Théâtre des Grecs*. It is certain that he knew this work, for he refers to it in the notes to his translation of *Electra* (*Werke*, ed. cit., I, 473). It was however open to him, as it was to Gottsched, to be influenced by any of the French critics; some natural preference must have determined his choice of the champion of the ancients rather than of their opponents.

³ See 'Auszug eines Briefs, welcher einige kritische Anmerkungen über die Trauerspiele der Alten und Neuern enthält' (*Werke*, ed. cit., III, 203 ff., *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale*, 26, pp. 4 ff.).

and the actor, to avoid 'Vorstellungen voll Ekel und Abscheu',¹ this may sound paradoxical. But in reality it is not. Such 'Vorstellungen' are to be avoided by a toning down of the effect, by a deviation from naturalistic presentation,² in other words by the kind of treatment accorded to a subject, not by limiting the choice of subject. Here we have the core of the difference between Schlegel and Gottsched. For Gottsched the subject is the determining factor; hence he can pronounce judgement on *Dido* without having read it. The criterion for him is the 'Fabel': for Schlegel, what the dramatist makes of the 'Fabel'. The following letters are all in volumes of the Morgenstern collection entitled *Epistolae Autographae Philosophorum celeberrimorum* (five bound volumes and a small separate volume not bound). Neither the letters nor the pages of vol. III are numbered.

(1) *Schlegel to his father* (Mrg. CCCLIVa, T. v, nr. 15)

VIR EXCELLENTISSIME,

Pater Honoratissime,

... Ceterum quod TIBI mitto ex Electra Sophoclis specimen, Pater Dilectissime, ita se habet. Dixit mihi celeberrimus vir, Gottschedius, in animo sibi esse, facere versionem aliquam poetices Aristotelis,³ eamque suis illustrare meditationibus; sed cupere se addere quoddam ex veteribus exemplum; proposuitque mihi ut Sophoclis Electram in vernaculam linguam verterem.⁴ Fateor alio me tempore antea inter sermones iniecissem mentionem, tentasse me aliquando versionem eius prosaicam, usui atque exercitio meo, eandem vero postea omisisse. Sed voluit versionem poeticam, quanquam sine rythmis eam ut facerem hortatus est. Postquam, ut tentarem saltem, victus sum; nolui tamen versibus istis rythmorum dulcedine destitutis tentare. Equidem scio, pater dilectissime, multa resistere, quibus quo minus eam perficiam possim auocari: tamen videtur mihi non aspernandum, et sub auspiciis magni viri prodire, meosque labores eius vigilationibus coniungi, et quae contra eos quibus poeseos studium curae est inualuisse videtur opinio, negligi ab iis antiquitatis studia, eam a me declinare, et utilem esse fortasse litteris, si Graeci scriptoris, nomine quidem notissime, ceterum a paucissimis

¹ In the *Abhandlung, dass die Nachahmung der Sache, der man nachahmet zuweilen unähnlich werden müsse* (*Werke*, ed. cit., III, 176; *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale*, 26, p. 104).

² See particularly his remarks on the portrayal of death in the same *Abhandlung* (*Werke*, III, 174. *D.L.D.*, 26, p. 103).

³ Gottsched intended this translation of the *Poetics*, together with translations from Greek plays, to form vol. I of the *Deutsche Scharubühne*. For details and reasons for his abandonment of the plan see Danzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 145 ff.

⁴ Cf. life of Schlegel, *Werke*, ed. cit., v, p. xxii.

litterarum cultoribus adcuratius cogniti, quaedam in lucem producere, quae ut Graecas litteras diligentius colant, alios possint inuitare. Non possum abstinere, Pater dilectissime, quin, nisi aliter TIBI ista videbuntur, petam abs TE, ut perficere eam versionem mihi liceat.¹ Ita tamen ut si aliter videbuntur eadem animo obsequi TIBI sim paratissimus, semper futurus

Pater Honoratissime

TIBI

obsequentissimus filius

JOANNES ELIAS SCHLEGELIUS.

Lipsiae

d. xx. Mart.

1740.

(2) *Schlegel to his father* (Mrg. CCLXXXI; Special volume, no. 16)

Hochedelgebohrner

Hochgeehrtester Herr Vater

² . . . Die Uebersetzung der Elektra würde ich in der That ehe ich die Poetische anfang, lieber in Prosa gemacht haben, wenn der Herr Prof. Gottsched nicht lieber reimlose Verse als Prosa hatte haben wollen. Weil ich aber nicht weiss, dass iemand ist, der reimlose Verse im Deutschen gerne zu lesen pflegte, und er gleichwol mich bat sie in Versen zu machen; so ergriff dieses sie auch gereimt zu machen.³ Die R.B.⁴ die an dem Rande der prosaischen Uebersetzung sind, rühren gröstentheils nicht von mir, was diejenigen anlangt, die mit Bleystifte gemacht waren, sondern von einigen guten Freunden, die sie vorigen Sommer⁵ gelesen haben, und unterschiedenes dabey erinnerten. Die übrigen aber habe ich, so viel ich mich erinnere mehr eine Antiquität anzumerken, oder die Kunst in

¹ Cf. *Werke*, ed. cit., v, p. xx. J. H. Schlegel states there that his father released Johann Elias from his promise to refrain from poetry and the pursuit of literature before the end of 1739.

² The beginning of this letter (as of no. 1 above) refers to an 'exercise' set by his father on the character of Joseph. This was published (*Werke*, ed. cit., III, 453 ff.) under the title 'Betrachtung uber den Charakter Josephs in Ansehung seiner Aufrichtigkeit'.

³ Cf. Schlegel's remarks on unrhymed verse in his *Schreiben an den Herrn N.N. über die Comodie in Versen* (*Werke*, ed. cit., III, especially pp. 86-90; *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale*, 26, pp. 22-6).

⁴ This is written over A, presumably the initial letter of *Anmerkungen*.

⁵ This confirms the deductions made by Antoniewicz (*Deutsche Literaturdenkmale*, 26, introduction, pp. xiii ff.) as to the date of the 'Auszug eines Briefs über die Trauerspiele'. This letter was written to his brother J. Adolf Schlegel, who was still at Schulpforta. In it he remarks that he is translating *Electra* into prose. Schlegel himself left Schulpforta in March 1739. From the letter printed above it is clear that the prose version was ready in the summer of that year. The "Brief über die Trauerspiele" falls then in the spring or early summer of 1739. Antoniewicz dates the verse translation 1741; from these letters to his father 1740 would appear to be more correct.

Einrichtung der Fabel zu beobachten gemacht. Ich gestehe, dass ich gerne eine Tragödie aus dem Sophokles ausgelesen hätte, darinnen die Moral noch schöner wäre, wie mir denn der Philoktetes, wegen des grossen Fleisses und der vielen Kunst, damit die Charaktere des Ulysses und Neoptolemus, auch des Philoktetes selbst ausgearbeitet sind, der Oedipus Coloneus aber, wegen des Einflusses den derselbe in das Leben des Sophokles selbst hat, und weil er seiner Sohne wegen merkwürdig ist weit besser gefallen hat; wenn nur unsere Zeiten nicht zu eckel wären von einer Wunde im Fusse, oder von einem blinden alten Manne reden zu horen.¹ In dieser Elektra hat er ohne Zweifel zweyerley Aufführung von Kindern bey dem Unglücke ihrer Eltern, so wohl als gegen eine lasterhafte Mutter vorstellen wollen, und er lasst iederzeit der Aufführung der Elektra einigen Vorzug, ungeachtet Chrysothemis durchgängig ein gutes Herz nur mit vieler Furchtsamkeit an den Tag leget. Der Chor billigt meistens das Nachgeben der Chrysothemis mehr, als der Elektra ihre Hitze. Unterdessen werde ich allezeit mehr von der Elektra gerührt, weil ihre Hitze von einer grossen Liebe und Edelmüthigkeit verursacht wird. Uebrigens ohngeachtet ich mir nicht eben schmeichle mit meiner Uebersetzung Aufsehen zu machen: so glaube ich, dass mir die Erinnerungen meines Hochgeehrtesten Herrn Vaters sattsam im Gedächtnis schweben, wofern mich ja meine Natur zur Eitelkeit führen sollte, mich davon abzuhalten. Wegen der mir überschickten Lieder habe ich mich ganz besonders zu bedanken, ie mehr ich daraus lernen kann, durch wieviel Gottesfurcht, Mässigung und Selbstverläugnung man sich in seinen besten Jahren zu einer beständigen Glückseligkeit zubereiten müsse. Ich bin

Meines Hochgeehrtesten Herrn Vaters
gehorsamster Sohn

JOHANN ELIAS SCHLEGEL.

Leipzig
den 6. April
1740.

(3) *Gottsched to Schlegel* (Mrg. CCCLIVa, T. III)

Hochwohlledler und Hochwohlgelehrter
insonders Hochzuehrender Herr,

Nichts hätte mir angenehmer seyn können, als die Versicherung von Eurer Hochwohlledlen unveränderten guten Andenken, womit mich

¹ Cf. above p. 400 and note 3.

Dieselben beehret haben. Nun habe ich zwar vieler Verrichtungen halber, womit mich mein itziges Amt bisher beladen hat, die Beantwortung derselben lange genug verschieben müssen, und E. Hochwohlndl. hätten also leicht unwillig darüber werden können, wenn Dero Freundschaft und Liebe gegen mich etwas geringer gewesen wären. Allein umdesto mehr haben Dieselben mich erfreuet, da Sie es auch an einem wiederholten Zeichen von Dero Gewogenheit nicht haben ermangeln lassen, wofür ich denn doppelte Verbindlichkeit schuldig geworden.

Wie ich übrigens an E. H. Wohlergehen und Glücke allemal viel Theil genommen, auch selbst herzlich gern etwas dazu beygetragen hätte, wenn ich nur Gelegenheit und Kräfte genug dazu gehabt hätte; also statte ich voritzo Denenselben zu Dero wirklich angetretenen Bedienung meinen Glückwunsch ab;¹ in der festen Versicherung es werde diese nur die niedrigste Stufe zu Dero baldigen Beforderung seyn...²

Was die Freude der Herrn Dresdener betrifft, die sie über die Frechheit pasquillantischer Federn³ gehabt, und vielleicht noch haben mögen, so gönne ich ihnen dieselbe sehr. Ich glaube aber, dass Sie⁴ mit solchen Lästern die Ehre werden theilen müssen. Ich bin mein Tage soviel gelobet, und getadelt worden, dass ich zu beyden schon ganz unempfindlich bin. Und da man vielleicht in dem ersten oft gegen mich zu freygebig gewesen, so ist es kein Wunder, dass man in dem letztern zu weit geht. Ich muss also eins gegen das andre abrechnen; und die rechte Mittelstrasse der Nachwelt überlassen. Was mich am meisten dabey schmerzet, ist dass meine Lästerner zum Theil Leute sind, denen ich Wohlthaten erwiesen, und die selbst ihren geläuterten Witz, und reine Poesie, meiner Anweisung zu danken haben. Doch das gereicht nicht so wohl mir, als ihnen zur Schande: wiewohl ich sie bedaure, dass sie sich so zu Steinen brauchen lassen, womit ein böser Bube nach einem recht-schaffenen Manne wirft. Ich hätte ihnen wenigstens edlere Gemüther zugetrauet; bedaure es aber, dass ich mich so betrogen habe. Es geht mir

¹ This refers to Schlegel's appointment as secretary to von Spener, Saxon ambassador at the Danish court.

² The passage omitted refers to persons in Copenhagen to whom Gottsched offered to give Schlegel introductions.

³ This refers probably to the *Sammlung Critischer, Poetischer und andrer geistvollen Schriften*, Zurich, 1741-4, by Bodmer, Breitinger and others.

⁴ Thus in the MS., but Gottsched can hardly be referring to Schlegel (cf. p. 405, note 5); the reference is probably to the 'Herrn Dresdener', Joh. Ulrich König, C. L. Liscow and J. C. Rost. Liscow had attacked Gottsched's theories in his *Vorrede* to C. H. Heinecke's translation of Longinus (Leipzig, 1742); Rost had attacked Gottsched personally by embodying in an epic poem, *Das Vorspiel* (Leipzig, 1742) the episode of Frau Neuber's presentation of *Der allerkostbarste Schatz* (18 September 1741), in which she ridiculed Gottsched. König, Heinecke and Liscow are said to have conspired with Rost in producing this epic; cf. B. Litzmann; *Christian Ludwig Liscow in seiner litterarischen Laufbahn*, Hamburg and Leipzig, 1883, pp. 129 ff.

indessen eben so wie dem Menage. Dieser schreibt in seinen Menagianen¹ p. 389. Mecontent d'avoir tant d'amis, qui ne faisoient rien pour moi, et de me voir d'ailleurs attaqué par quantité de gens, à qui je n'avois jamais donné lieu d'être de mes ennemis, je me retirai. Ich schrieb dieses neulich an Hn. Strauben;² aber er hat mir noch nicht geantwortet. Vielleicht tritt er auch ehestens zu meinen Feinden denn nunmehr muss ich auch dieses besorgen, so unwahrscheinlich es mir sonst ist, denn.³ Omnia jam fiunt fieri,⁴ quae posse negabam.

Schliesslich wird mir die Fortsetzung von E. Hochwohledl. schönen Abhandlung allezeit angenehm seyn. Ich schicke zu dem Ende den 1. Th. davon. An Dero Arminius soll nächstens zum IV. Th. der Schaubühne der Anfang gemachet werden. Der Geschäfttge soll auch gleich folgen; und ich hoffe dass beyde Deutschland Ehre machen sollen. Uebrigens lebet E.H. wohl und vergnugt, und wenn mich nur das Vertrauen auf Dero Freundschaft nicht betrügt, so glauben sie,⁵ dass ich gewisse falsche Bruder leicht vergessen werde. An Hn. Secr. Koppen⁶ und wo es noch andre redliche Israeliter giebt, bitte ich mich zu empfehlen. Ich bin, mit aller Aufrichtigkeit

E. Hochwohledlen

Meines hochzuehrenden Herrn Secretars

Dienstergebenster

GOTTSCHED.

Leipzig den 30 Dec.

1742.

(4) *Gottsched to Schlegel* (Mrg. CCCLIVa, T. v, no. 55)

Hochwohledler

insonders Hochzuehrender Herr,

E. Hochwohledl. bin ich zufoerdest für Uebersendung meiner dänischen Weltweisheit,⁷ und Dero fortgesetzten Abhandlung sehr

¹ Gilles Ménage, *Menagiana* (first published in 1693).

² G. B. Straube, author of 'Versuch eines Beweises, dass eine gereimte Comodie nicht gut seyn könne' (*Beiträge zur kritischen Historie der deutschen Sprache, Poesie und Beredsamkeit*, St. 23, ix, 466-85) to which Schlegel replied by the 'Schreiben über die Comodie in Versen' (*ibid.*, St. 24, vi, 624-51).

³ Thus the punctuation in the MS.

⁴ Thus in the MS., although the sense demands that the comma should be after 'fiunt'.

⁵ Thus in the MS.; Gottsched is here clearly addressing Schlegel.

⁶ J. F. Koppe (Goedeke has Kopp), translator of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* and of Voltaire's *Alzire*.

⁷ Cf Schlegel's letters to Gottsched, 18 April 1743 and 3 August 1743 (Seeliger, *op. cit.*, nos. 3 and 4); Schlegel sent Gottsched his own copy of the Danish translation of the latter's *Erste Gründe der gesammten Weltweisheit, darinnen alle philosophische Wissenschaften, in ihrer natürlichen Verknüpfung, in zween Theilen, abgehandelt werden* (Leipzig, 1734) which had just appeared, and requested him to give the money for it to J. A. Schlegel.

verbunden. Das Geld für die erstere hat der H. Bruder erhalten; und von der letzten ist der grösste Theil in beygehendem Stucke der Beytrage abgedruckt. Alles wäre mir zuviel geworden.¹ Es ist aber schon wiederum ein neues Stuck im Drucke, darinn der Schluss erscheinen wird.²

Wenn mir der H. Bruder Dero Dido überliefern wird, soll er auch das gewöhnliche Geschenk³ dafür erhalten. Noch zur Zeit aber hat er zwar den Brief, aber nicht das Trauerspiel abgegeben. Was übrigens die Welt, oder vielmehr die Zeitungsschreiber von dero Herrmann geurtheilet, das kann ich nicht schreiben, würde mich auch daran nicht soviel kehren, als wenn ich denselben einmal aufführen sehen, und die Urtheile der Zuschauer davon vernehmen könnte. Allein ich weis nicht was die Neuberinn anfiicht, dass sie es gar nicht mehr spielt; ja auch den Mussiggänger, den sie doch eher gehabt als ich, nicht vorgestellt hat.⁴ Gleichwohl hat sie aus meinem IV Theile der Schaubühne die ungleiche Heirath nicht nur ein, oder zweymal, sondern wohl schon sechsmal gespielt: wie ich denn selbst der sechsten Vorstellung beygewohnt, und wohl sagen kann, dass sie mit grossem Beyfalle der Zuschauer aufgenommen worden; obgleich der in der ersten Messwoche schon vorhandene Adel grösstentheils mit den Zähnen knirschete. Ich glaube auch gewiss dass diese so vielmalige Vorstellung mir zu gefallen nicht geschehen sey, und wundre mich um destomehr, dass sie nicht vielmehr die Stücke ihrer guten Freunde gewählet hat.

Der Zweifel, den E. H. bey dem am Ende der ungleichen Heyrath abgebrochenen Worte bekommen, kann meines Erachtens niemanden einfallen, als dem, der das vorhergehende nicht in Betrachtung zieht.⁵ Der Verfasser hatte nämlich das letzte Wort ausdrücklich hingeschrieben:

¹ The *Abhandlung von der Nachahmung* appeared as follows. Sections 1–15 *Beytrage zur kritischen Historie*, St. 29, VIII, 1742; Sections 16–21 (to which Gottsched here refers) *Beytrage*, St. 31, VIII, 1743; Sections 22–24, *Neuer Buchersaal der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste*, St. 5, I, 1745.

² Gottsched lost the end (cf. Seeliger, *op. cit.*, no. 6), and it was not published until 1745.

³ This would seem to run counter to Wolff's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 50) that Schlegel achieved something unusual when he received money from Gottsched for his *Herrmann*. Cf. also Seeliger, *op. cit.*, no. 8, dated 20 September 1746, in which Schlegel asks Gottsched to return the MS. of his *Electra* translation, 'gegen Zurückgebung dessen, was ich dafür erhalten habe'.

⁴ Cf. Schlegel's letter to Hagedorn, 4 September 1743 (*Hagedorns Werke*, ed. cit., v, 285, 286). Schlegel states that he had asked Frau Neuber to negotiate with publishers with a view to an edition of his plays. While ostensibly consenting she had in reality planned with a publisher a 'Schaubühne' of her own, in which Schlegel's plays were to appear along with those of Koch and others. When Schlegel discovered this he ceased negotiations, and this doubtless explains why Frau Neuber no longer performed his plays.

⁵ Schlegel found the end suggestive and adds that, had it not been for this, he would have attributed the play to Frau Gottsched (cf. Seeliger, *op. cit.*, no. 4, dated 3 August 1743). The end of the play (*Deutsche Schaubühne*, iv, 1743, 184) reads thus:

Wilbald: 'Je! So hole doch der Henker alle... (Er schlägt sich aufs Maul). Ich hätte bald ein böses Wort gesagt.'

Hole doch der Henker alle Frauleins Allein ich habe es aus Behutsamkeit nicht wollen drucken lassen; weil ich diese edlen Schönen nicht offenbar beschimpfen lassen wollte; und glaubte, dass man es aus dem Zusammenhange wohl sehen würde, wovon die Rede wäre. Es ist mir auch hier noch niemand vorgekommen, der im Lesen, oder in der Vorstellung eine Unflätereý oder Zote dabey vermuthet hätte. Sollte indessen eine neue Anklage davon gemacht werden, so würde ich wenigstens Fr. . hindrucken lassen, um auch die argwöhnischen Leser auf den rechten Weg zu bringen.

Das Geschlechtregister von dero Trauerspielen werde ich mir empfohlen seyn lassen;¹ wiewohl ich nicht glaube, dass solches zu dero Ehre so nothig sey. Alle Dero Freunde, denen Dido bekannt geworden, ziehen sie dem Herrmann vor. Und wenn ich selbst nach Muthmassungen gehen soll, so dürfte ich mich bald für sie erklären, ohne sie gelesen zu haben. Die Fabel zeigt mir schon, dass sie voller Affect seyn würde; und dieser macht ein Trauerspiel schön, nicht aber die sehr ausgearbeiteten und sinnreichen Verse.² Vielleicht gewinnen also E.H. durch die Dido noch mehrere Leser und Zuschauer, als durch den Herrmann.

Nachdem die dresdenische Zeitungs Fabrike³ etlichemal von Hofe aus nachdruckliche Erinnerungen bekommen, ist sie gar verstummt: und wie man hort so ist auch das Reich der Hn. Lustigmacher sehr uneins geworden. Heineke⁴ ist aus des Ministers Diensten von Liscow verdrungen, und von dem deutschen Franzosen⁵ in einem Gedicht aufs Königl. Churprinzen Geburtsfest, zum Gelächter gemacht worden. Wie sehr sich ganz Dresden darüber gefreuet habe, ist daraus abzunehmen, dass es dreymal hat aufgelegt werden müssen; und häufig nach Leipzig geschickt werden. Endlich ist auch Rost⁶ bey Liscow in Ungnade gefallen und wer weis was ferner geschieht. So geht es mit Gesellschaften die kein tugendhafter Band, sondern die Schmähsucht verbindet.

¹ Schlegel had asked Gottsched to put a note in vol. v of the *Deutsche Schaubühne* to the effect that his plays were not being published in the order in which they had been written (cf. Seeliger, *op. cit.*, no. 5, dated 18 September 1743).

² Cf. Schlegel's own opinion in the *Vorrede* to his *Theatralische Werke*, Copenhagen, 1747 (*Werke*, ed. cit., III, 213 ff., *Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale*, 26, pp. 167 ff.); also in letter to Bodmer, 8 October 1746 (Staudlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff.).

³ Refers to the *Dresdnische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*. Auf das Jahr 1743 This appeared from 2 January until 21 December (cf. Litzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 137). Gottsched would appear to be premature in thinking it had already ceased to appear.

⁴ C. H. Heinecke I have been unable to find any confirmation of Gottsched's statement that Liscow procured his dismissal from the service of Graf Bruhl. Heinecke had obtained Liscow's appointment as secretary to Bruhl in 1741 (cf. *Christian Ludwig Liscows Leben*, von G. C. F. Lisch, Schwerin, 1845, pp. 45, 46).

⁵ Johann Christian Tromer (1696-1756) wrote under the name of Jean Chrétien Toucement or der Deutsch-François.

⁶ Gottsched's information here also seems to be incorrect (cf. B. Litzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-2).

In Halle ist eine neue Monatsschrift¹ entstanden, die es mit allen schweizerischen, dresdenischen und hamburgischen Feinden des guten Geschmacks aufnimmt, und es der greifswaldischen Gesellschaft auch zuvorthun wird, wenn sie so hochfährt.² E.H. müssen sie selbst lesen, um mir Beyfall zu geben. Wie Denenselben das Schreiben Effingers des Jungeren³ in meinen Beytragen gefallen wird, bin ich begierig zu vernehmen. In das nächste Stück kommt eine Nachahmung des lucianischen *ῥήτορων διδασκαλος*, das ist, ein *κριτικων διδασκαλος*,⁴ der vermuthlich die Geheimnisse unsrer heutigen Zeitungsschreiber und Schweizer entdecken wird.

Nach dienstlichem Empfehl an alle, die mich kennen und sich meiner erinnern, verharre ich

E. Hochwohlledler

dienstwilliger

GOTTSCHED.

Leipz. den 16 Oct.

1743.

Man hofft diese Messe den Poetus Voltaire hier zu sehen.

(5) *Rabener to Schlegel* (Mrg. CCLXXXI, Special volume, no. 17)

Mein lieber Herr Schlegel,

...Ich würde Bedenken haben, Sie, mein Herr, mit dieser Sache zu beschweren, wenn ich es nicht aus einer kleinen Eigenliebe thät, weil ich mir billig darauf etwas einzubilden habe, dass die Leuthe in dem Gedanken stehen, Dieselben würden aus Wohlgewogenheit gegen mich eine Sache zu befördern suchen, welche vielleicht sehr verdrüsslich, iedoch für die ehrlichen Kaufleute wichtig genug ist. Gönnen Sie mir immer die[se] Eitelkeit, mein lieber Herr Schlegel, und wenn es seyn kann, so lassen Sie diese Sache zu Dero gütigen Vorsorge Sich bestens Empfohlen seyn. Ich würde Sie dafür meiner aufrichtigsten Ergebenheit versichern, wenn ich mir nicht schmeichelte, dass Sie deren schon vorlängst überzeugt wären.

¹ *Bemühungen zur Beförderung der Kritik und des guten Geschmacks*, ed. C. Mylius and J. A. Cramer, Halle, 1743–7.

² *Kritische Versuche zur Aufnahme der deutschen Sprache*, Greifswald, 1742 ff.

³ 'Schreiben an die Herausgeber dieser Beytrage... von Effinger dem Jungern.' Chur, 17 August 1743 (*Beytrage zur critischen Historie*, St. 31, 1743). This article, probably by Gottsched, was directed against the Swiss.

⁴ Cf. *Beytrage zur critischen Historie*, St. 32. 1743. Bratmaier (*Geschichte der poetischen Theorie und Kritik*, Frauenfeld, 1888, I, 238) calls this article 'das gemeinste Produkt' in the whole quarrel between Gottsched and the Swiss.

Gönnen Sie mir Dero Freundschaft und Wohlwollen ferner und glauben Sie, dass ich Zeit Lebens mit der grossten Hochachtung seyn werde,

Mein Herr,

Dero

gehorsamster Diener

GOTTLIEB WILHELM RABENER.

Leipzig

am 7. Aug.

1744.

P.S. Weil ich einmahl angefangen habe, Ihnen das Anliegen unsers Vat[er]landes¹ zu empfehlen; so will mir auch die Freyheit nehmen Sie da[rum] zu ersuchen, was der Herr Bruder von unsrer gelehrten Meuterey wider den allerliebsten Pflegevater geschrieben hat. Muntern Sie uns durch Ihren Beytritt auf, wenn Ihnen dieser Vorschlag nicht gar zu wider ist, und hätte er auch Ihren Beyfall nicht ganzlich, so sehen Sie es nur als ein poetisches Allmosen an was Sie uns übersenden.² Ich kann nicht läugnen, dass ich die Belustigungen³ noch eben so hochhalte, als vorher, ich hätte aber doch aus vielen Ursachen ihr Ende gerne gesehen. Vielleicht erlangen wir auf diese Art unsre Absicht, und die Belustigungen sterben an der Abzehrung, wenn sich zu gleicher Zeit eine neue Monathschrift anfängt. Ich will es selbst wagen auf den Winter mit daran zu arbeiten, um desswillen gehe ich ietzo von Hausse zu Hausse und sammle mir witzige Einfälle. Es ist nur Schade, dass keine Streitschriften hinein kommen sollen; denn weil ich ietzo die meiste Zeit auf den Dorfern unter den Bauern zu thun habe;⁴ so habe ich das Vergnügen gehabt, rechte Originale von Kunstrichtern kennen zu lernen. Jedoch ich muss aufhören ehe mein Postscript länger wird, als der Brief. Ich bin

Dero

gehorsamster Diener

G. W. RABENER.

¹ In the opening paragraph of the letter Rabener asks Schlegel to expedite some business in Copenhagen on behalf of a Leipzig firm

² Schlegel's contributions to the *Neue Beyträge zum Vergnügen des Verstandes und Witzes* (ed. C. C. Gartner, Bremen und Leipzig, 1746-51) were few

³ *Die Belustigungen des Verstandes und des Witzes* (ed. J. J. Schwabe, Leipzig, 1741-5).

⁴ Rabener was Steuerrevisor in Leipzig 1741-53.

(6) *Kastner to Schlegel* (Mrg. CCCLIVa, T. III)

Monsieur.

¹. Je vous aurois pu donner cette reponse plutôt, mais je l'ai retardée pour apprendre le jugement désiré, que Voici: H. Schlegels Tragodien sind sehr schon. Ich werde mir sie kaufen, ich habe sie nur geliehen gehabt. Ich will sie nachstens im B . S . .² recensiren. Ce n'est pas ma faute si ce jugement Vous est plus favorable que Vous ne le souhaités peut-être si Vous contés Mr G. . . parmi ces juges dont les louanges deshonnorent plus que leurs critiques. Vous vous pourrés cependant glorifier d'avoir fait quelque chose die Sachsen und die Schweiz mit einem Munde loben. Vôtre mystérieux³ m'a fort diverti, et le Canut, ou comme j'ai rebâti cette Piece: *l'Ulfo* fort emu. Vous me permettrés pourtant de dire que Vôtre Ulfo me semble d'un caractere un peu trop bas pour un heros de tragedie. Il se rend haissable par tout, et il n'a pas de belle qualité qu'une soif brutale de la gloire. C'est ce qui fait que nous n'avons de compassion que pour sa pauvre epouse, dont nous ne concevons pas comment elle puisse aimer ce monstre. Or je crois, que pour rendre la morale de Vôtre tragedie qui la finit, plus sensible il auroit été bon de représenter un heros malheureux et même blâmable par ce defect là, qui cependant se seroit attiré nôtre estime par quelque autre endroit. Ce qui m'a le plus choqué ce sont les faussetés que Vous faites dire â Ulfo particulièrement en ce qui regarde la maniere de la quelle il a obtenu son epouse. Autant que je connois les Anciens allemands et je crois que Vous ne devriés pas représenter les Danois plus mechans, je les [croir]ois incapables de mensonges si bas, au moins leurs heros qui se piquent de la gloire, et si Vous aviés oté ces bassesses du caractère d'Ulfo, en laissant tout le reste on auroit â ce que j'en puis juger pris plus de part â son malheur, et senti par consequent avec plus de force la morale.

Pour ce qui regarde la chose que Vous avés demandé dans votre dernière lettre, en voici autant que je puis vous servir, moi qui se ne pique pas d'être *elegantiae arbiter*. Il me paroît qu'il ne manque â ce M. là qu'un peu plus de conversation. Il n'a rien dans ses manieres qui soit impoli, mais il ne les a pas encore si aisées et libres comme il faut les

¹ The beginning of this letter is purely personal. The accents are even more arbitrary than is usual at this period and are also sometimes difficult to decipher. I have endeavoured to reproduce them faithfully.

² Presumably this stands for Buchersaal (*Neuer Buchersaal der schonen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste*, Leipzig, 1745-9).

³ *Der Geheimnissvolle*, first published in *Theatralische Werke* (cf. *Werke*, ed. cit., II, 183 ff.).

avoir pour se produire dans le grand monde. Il paroît dans sa conduite toujours un peu gêné et craintif. Cependant à ce qu'il me semble il s'est déjà beaucoup changé depuis le tems que je commençois à le connoître et ces petits défauts, (s'il faut les appeler de ce nom) s'évanouiront aisément, s'il a un peu plus de commerce avec les gens d'une belle conduite. Je crois même qu'ils ne lui nuiront pas tout à fait pour faire sa fortune; car pour peu qu'on se connaisse en Hommes, on voit qu'il ne lui manque que ce que l'esprit le plus vif ne se peut pas donner à lui même sans avoir eu l'usage du monde, et je gage que Vous Monsieur, tout Poete que Vous fûtes, n'auriez pas été plus éveillé que lui pendant que Vous étiez chés vous (car c'est une autre affaire après que l'on est devenu homme de la cour) si Vous n'aviés pas été Poete anacreontique. Vous verrez que je n'attribue ceci à Vos odes anacreontiques, mais à l'occasion que Vous avés eue d'en faire. *Corollarium* Pour eveiller ce Mr. là il lui faut donner l'occasion de faire des odes anacreontiques.

Pardonnés les fautes de cette lettre à moi qui suis encore las aiant employé tout cet avant midi à voir faire nos Soldats leurs exercices: Jugés combien il faut que ces exercices fatiguent, si c'est une fatigue de les regarder seulement. A cette occasion, réfléchissant sur l'obligation ou nos Soldats sont de n'agir que martialement, je me suis formé une belle définition d'un Soldat que voici: C'est une machine qui peut être malheureux. . .

Monsieur

le Vôte

KAESTNER.

Leipzig.

(7) *Bodmer to Schlegel* (Mrg. CCCLIVa, T. III)

Hochedelgebohrner

Hochgeschätzter Herr Gesandtschaftssecretar.

Ich hoffe, Sie haben mirs nicht übel genommen dass ich Ihnen den Hn. Schuldheiss zu meinem Sekundant in dem Briefwechsel mit Ihnen vorgeschlagen habe,¹ nachdem eine Menge Arbeiten mir nicht erlaubt in diesem Stücke so fleissig zu seyn, als ich wol wünschte. Also habe die Ehre nun mit diesen wenigen Zeilen auf Ihr geschätztestes vom 18.

¹ Schlegel had sent the first two books of his epic poem *Heinrich der Lowe* (*Werke*, ed. cit., iv, 7 ff.) for criticism to Bodmer, who passed them on to Schuldheiss, with whom Schlegel then exchanged letters (cf. Vorbericht to *Heinrich der Lowe* by J. H. Schlegel, *Werke*, ed. cit., v, 3)

Sept.¹ zu antworten. Auf die meisten Artikel desselben² kann ich mit desto besserem Recht stillschweigen, weil ich darüber keine anderen Gedanken hege, als dieselben zu verstehen geben. Die Comodien des Hn von Holberg sind in der That voller Plathheiten, und voller Lucken.³ Man muss sich nicht auf den Geschmack eines Gelehrten verlassen, welcher den Lucan oder Statius über den Virgil erhebet. Die moralischen Abhandlungen⁴ sind sein bestes Werk, und haben öfters auch in denen Stellen Gründlichkeit, wo man nur Lusus Ingenii zu sehen vermeint. Ihr Geheimnisvoller ist nicht so ubel gerathen, dass sie⁵ den strengen Ehmann nicht sollten wagen dürfen.⁶ Ich war in den Gedanken, dass Ihr Abdolonymus⁷ zur Hauptabsicht hatte, den ungereimten Ausdruck in den Trauerspielen zum Gelächter zu machen. Sie haben sich in Ihrer Vorrede zu ihren theatralischen Werken⁸ sehr geschickt und sehr gründlich über diesen Punkt erklärt. Ich bin Ihnen für das Geschenk⁹ und das Vergnügen, welche Sie mir mit demselben gemacht haben, hochlich verbunden. Gewisse Leute haben ihre Unzufriedenheit mit der ausserordentlichen Bildung des Ulfo nicht verbergen können. Ich glaube doch dass dieser Charakter weniger idealisch ist, als man meinen möchte. Ich halte auch davon, dass er in der Tragödie mit Nutzen angebracht werden kan, wofern er so mit der gehörigen Verabscheuung vorgestellt, und der Vorzug, den Canut und Godwin über ihn haben, in starken Zügen gezeichnet wird.

Wenn in dem Sittenmahler¹⁰ enthalten ist (welches ich nicht sehe) dass [eine] jede Provinz in Deutschland sich aus ihrer Mundart eine eigene Sprache machen solle, so ist das nicht meine Meinung, ich bin auch nicht

¹ See J. Cruger, art. cit., no. II.

² Bodmer refers mainly to remarks on Aristotle's theory of tragedy and Gottsched's interpretation of it. He had replied fully to Schlegel's letter on 2 September 1747 (*Morgenblatt*, 1810, nr. 185) but Schlegel had not received his reply when he wrote on 18 September.

³ Cf. letter from Bodmer to Hagedorn, 14 February 1745 (*Hagedorns Werke*, ed. cit., v, 182, 183), where Bodmer says: 'Holberg ist es zufrieden wenn er in seinen Komodien nur etwa einen gemeinen Charakter in ein paar Gemuthsumständen folgen kann und er macht nicht selten starke Lucken; oder wenn Sie lieber wollen, Sprünge.'

⁴ *L. Holbergs Moralske Tanker*, Copenhagen, 1744. Two German translations of this work were published in Leipzig in 1744.

⁵ Thus in the MS.

⁶ Cf. Schlegel's letter to Bodmer, 18 September 1747 (J. Cruger, art. cit.) in which he refers to his plan for a comedy in prose entitled *Der strenge Ehemann* and inspired by Steele's *Tender Husband*. The play ultimately appeared as *Der Triumph der guten Frauen* (*Werke*, ed. cit., II, 323 ff.)

⁷ The hero of the tragi-comedy *Der Gartnerkönig* (*Werke*, ed. cit., II, 635 ff.) which Schlegel planned. Schlegel first mentions the *Gartnerkönig* in a letter to Bodmer, 8 October 1746 (Stäudlin, *op. cit.*, 39); with his next letter, 15 April 1747 (Stäudlin, *op. cit.*, 52, 53) he sends Bodmer a specimen of a few lines; in his letter of 18 September 1747, Schlegel explains that he does not intend the play to be a literary satire only, but to have general interest as well.

⁸ For this Vorrede see *Werke*, ed. cit., III, 213 ff.

⁹ The present was a copy of Schlegel's *Theatralische Werke*.

¹⁰ *Der Mahler der Sitten*, Zurich, 1746.

Erlebach. Ich vergonne zwar den [Einwohnern] einer Provinz solche Wörter, die ihr eigenthümlich sind, aber nur wenn solche ihre 16 Ahnen aufweisen können, wenn sie geschickt, [. . .] notwendig sind. Kurz, ich habe dessfalls kein andre Gedanken, [als] Ew. Hochedelg. Vielleicht hat Erlebach zu viel gefodert, damit man ihm wenigstens das was recht ist, angedeihen lasse.

Es ist mir lieb dass die belebte Bildsaule¹ Ihnen nicht missgefällt. Wiewol [ich] nicht glaube, dass ihre ersten Reden zu metaphysisch seyen,² so habe ich doch aus eigenen Ursachen ihre Empfindungen und Gedanken, die sie S. 13 14 offenbaret, sehr stark verändert und erweitert. Ich lasse sie sich über den Ton ihrer eigenen Stimme verwundern. Denn sie dacht erstlich nur leise. Sie sieht die Luft um sich her vor einen tiefen Abgrund an; wo sie keinen festen Fuss fas[sen] konnte. Ihre ersten Gedanken entstehen bloss von ihrem Gefühle, und sie hatte die Augen noch beschlossen. Als sie itzt die Augen eröffnet, kommen ihr die Dinge, die sie nur durch das Gefühl kannte, ganz verändert vor. Sie halt sich selbst vor verwandelt. Dann versichert sie sich durch ihre Hand, dass sie die vorige wäre. Doch ist ihr stets ein Geheimniss, dass sie die Figur von jeglichem Gliedmasse ihres Körpers gedoppelt sieht. Als sie die anderen Bildsäulen wahrnimmt halt sie dieselben auch vor Figuren ihrer eignen Gestalt; sie weiss aber nicht, was sie aus dem Kopf derselben machen soll; weil sie an den Bildern ihres eigenen Leibes den Kopf nicht sieht. Auch weiss sie nicht, was sie daraus machen soll, dass diese andren Statuen die Füsse nicht wie sie selbst thut, unterwärts sondern aufwärts gekehrt halten. . . Sie ruft einer von den Statuen, die ihr am nächsten steht, mit lauter Stimme zu. Sie versucht sich von der Stelle, wo sie sass, los zu machen. Wiewol der Boden sie stark an sich zieht dass sie nicht in die Luft hinausfällt, so fuhlet sie innerlich ein stärkeres Gewinde welches sie über denselben empor trägt. Ehe sie den Fuss über das Gestelle hinunter auf den Boden setzet, erforscht sie dessen Festigkeit mit sachtem Drucke, dann geht sie mit sanften Tritten fort. . .

Ich gedenke diese Veränderungen, die ich hier nur entworfen habe, in meine Sammlung Critischer neuen Briefe anzubringen, wenn ich ein Hundert werde gesammelt habe [*sic*]. Denn diese sollen nicht so weitläufig werden, wie die [wirklich] gedruckten sind.

Dünket Ew. Hochedelg. denn Pigmahons Verwunderung über den ersten Anblick der belebten Statue nicht genug ausgedruckt, wenn es

¹ Cf. *Neue Erzählungen verschiedener Verfasser*, Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1747, which contains *Pygmalion und Elise* by Bodmer.

² Cf. Schlegel's letter, 18 September 1747 (J. Cruger, art. cit.).

heisst: Sie konnte dieses alles *ununterbrochen* reden—er ward vor Verwunderung bis in seine innersten Adern so stark erschuttert, dass er entzuckt da stuhnd....Er dankte mit leisen Worten der himmlischen Macht...Ist das kaltsinnig?¹ Sonst ist auch wahr, und dieses hatte können gesagt werden, er hat sich mit den Gedanken von ihrer Belebung und der Möglichkeit dessen so lange bekannt gemacht, dass man nicht sagen kann, sie sei ihm gänzlich unvermuthet gewesen, oder er sey dazu gar nicht vorbereitet gewesen.

Wieder auf die Materie von der Sprache zu kommen, so muss ich Ihnen doch erzählen, dass eine Zeit gewesen, in welcher die schweizerische Sprache, die damahls wie bey nahe noch heutzutage mit der schwabischen eine Mundart ausgemacht, die herrschende und die Hofsprache war. Das war in der Zeit der Kaiser aus dem schwabischen Stamme, wie davon die Minnegesänge, von denen wir diesen Winter zwanzig oder dreissig Bogen liefern wollen,² genugsam zeugen. Es sind unter diesen schwäbischen Poeten auch Düringer, Sachsen, und Brandenburger, die alle in der schwäbischen Sprache schreiben, mit einem sehr kleinen Unterschiede, den die provinzial-Aussprache verursachte. Wir wollen nicht die Gelehrten allein sondern auch die ungelehrten³ und die Frauenzimmer selbst in den Stand stellen, diese alten Minnelieder ganz zu verstehen; und man soll ungeachtet der zwar alten aber nicht ungeschickten Sprache den artigen Geist der Poeten, der ganz Natur war, bewundern.

Ich habe die Ehre mit stets zunehmender Hochachtung zu verbleiben

Ew. Hochedelgeb.

gehorsamst ergebenst.

JOH. JACOB BODMER.

Zürch den 7. xii

1747.

My grateful acknowledgements are due to the librarian of the University library of Tartu for permission to publish these letters; and to the University of London Research Fund for a grant enabling me to visit Tartu in order to examine the MSS.

ELIZABETH M. WILKINSON.

LONDON.

¹ Cf. Schlegel's letter, 18 September 1747 (J. Cruger, art. cit.).

² This was *Proben der alten Schwabischen Poesie des dreyzehnten Jahrhunderts. Aus der Manessischen Sammlung*, published jointly by Bodmer and Breitinger at Zurich in 1748.

³ Cf. Schlegel's letter to Bodmer, 18 September 1747 (art. cit.).

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

THE 'ARMA CHRISTI' ROLLS

The 'Arma Christi' or 'The Arms of the Passion' is a religious poem which made its first appearance in Middle English before the end of the fourteenth century.¹ Devotion to the Passion had at that time been greatly intensified, and the preoccupation with the gruesome details of the physical sufferings of Christ on the Cross led to an interest in the several instruments which were employed in the Crucifixion. These English verses consist of a description, in stanzas of four or more lines each, of the two dozen instruments so used—Gladius, Virga, Spongea and so forth. English lines in a friar's note-book list a few:²

A corune of þornes, wonden kene;
A spere, a sponge, and nayles pre.

The extensive use of this poem is indicated by its survival in no less than fifteen MSS.—a number which is exceeded by only a very few of the shorter devotional pieces, such as the Long Charter of Christ (seventeen MSS.), Richard de Caistre's hymn (eighteen MSS.), and equalled by 'Jesus þi swetnes whoso myzte it see' (fifteen MSS.).³ But the considerable number of copies of the 'Arma Christi' is not so significant as the form of the MSS. in which it is preserved. Seven of the fifteen are written on rolls⁴ about 5 in. in width with an average length of between 5 and 6 ft., ranging from 5 ft. 6 in. in B.M. MS. Additional 22029 to 6 ft. 11 in. in B.M. MS. Additional 33036. No other religious poem or prayer written on rolls occurs in more than a single text;⁵ indeed, very little religious verse is preserved in this form, and even the one or two examples of these pieces which we have show marked similarity in content and purpose to the 'Arma Christi' rolls. Such are the Billyng MS. with four prayers and

¹ Carleton Brown, *A Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, Oxford, 1916, 1920, vol. II, no. 1588. A new text occurs in the Henry E. Huntington Library, MS. HM 142, f. 7a, and a new roll has come to light in the library of Mount Saint Alphonsus Theological Seminary, Esopus, New York. Its size is 158 by 13 cm., and its date is fourteenth century.

² John Grimestone's Commonplace Book, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS. 18. 7. 21, f. 120b; *Register* no. 66 (unpublished). Cp. B.M. MS. Royal 6 E vii, f. 15a, above the illumination: Cruci corone spinee / clausque dire lancee / honorem impendamus, etc. Cp. further the eight three-line stanzas in Latin enumerating thirty-three 'arms' in the York Psalter (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 1182) printed by Canon Wordsworth, *Survees Society*, vol. 132, 176-7.

³ *Register*, nos. 716, 1049 and 2644, 1055, 1095 respectively. See also *ibid.*, pp. ix-xi.

⁴ MSS. Bodleian 2975, Bodleian 29110, B.M. Additional 22029, B.M. Additional 32006, Stonyhurst, Blairs College 13, St Alphonsus Seminary.

⁵ Many historical chronicles are found written on rolls.

sketches of the Wounds,¹ and Bodleian MS. 8460 with an act of adoration to the Five Wounds²

Another striking peculiarity of the 'Arma Christi' is that the verses, whether written on rolls or otherwise, are generally accompanied by coloured drawings of the instruments described in the text. These crude pictures were reproduced by Morris as long ago as 1871.³ A long series of sketches is very rare among Middle English texts.

These two unusual features, the roll form and the illustrations, clearly indicate that the 'Arma Christi' was not originally designed for use as private meditation; and thus suggest a hitherto unsuspected means employed by the mediaeval preacher in stimulating the devotion of his congregation. It is hardly to be supposed that an individual reader would take the trouble to unroll a long sheet every time he wished to pray or meditate. Of the B M. MS. Egerton 3044, a Book of Latin Hours in roll form, admittedly nearly five times the length of the average 'Arma Christi' roll, the writer in the *British Museum Quarterly* states:⁴

The daily handling of this roll, which measures approximately thirty feet in length, must have added greatly to the discipline of private devotion. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that both the handwriting and the decoration indicate by their freshness that the roll has seen little service since its execution in the fourteenth century.

Persons wishing to employ the 'Arma Christi' for frequent use would have found it far more convenient to turn the pages of a small book. And this is exactly what happened. The Amherst MS. of the fifteenth century retains the coloured drawings, but is in a convenient format of fifteen folios $4\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.⁵ Here the 'Arma Christi' is preceded and followed by two allied prayers,⁶ which are also found in Bodleian MS. 21575, of the mid-fifteenth century, a collection of Latin and English offices, prayers and devotions. That it was intended as a prayer book for personal use is shown by the prefatory prayer reproduced here:⁷

¹ W. Bateman, *Billyng's Five Wounds of Christ*, Manchester, 1814. The roll is $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards long. The MS. is now lost.

² 'A parchment scrolle of the adoration of the five principal wounds of our Saviour.' This MS. also is reputed to be missing. Is it possible that this Bodleian MS. and the Billyng MS. are one and the same? For a prayer roll in the Morgan Library, New York, see C. F. Buhler in *M L N.*, LXX, 555-62.

³ Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E.E.T.S., XLVI, 170-93.

⁴ iv (1930), no. 4, p. 111. But cp *Quartich Sale Cal. Illuminated MSS.* (1931), item 82, a roll of private prayers from the Sarum Breviary, 18 ft. by 7 in.—a miniature at the head is 'now much rubbed with rolling'. Also Bodl. MS. 30560, two membranes 2 ft. 7 in. by 5 in., fifteenth century. 'Part of a roll of prayers for private use, consisting of a Memoria of St. Christopher, then an office connected with the Passion, with repeated rhymed prayers and varying psalms. A good deal worn and partly illegible.'

⁵ See de Ricci, *Catalogue of the Amherst MSS.* 'Devout prayers of the Passyon of God' with 39 coloured pictures; MS. 673, c. 1440.

⁶ *Register*, nos. 1499 and 625.

⁷ Bodleian MS. 21575, f. 54b. Printed by Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, Oxford, 1939, p. 221.

O glorius God, Redemer of mankynde,
 Whiche on the Crosse hyng full of compassyon,
 Graunt of Thi grace within my herte and mynde
 Holly to remember the armes of Thy Passion.
 Enrote, good Lorde, Thi greuous paynes stronge
 Depe in my thought, auoydunge all synne;
 And purge the vyces þat hathe ben in me longe,
 With contrite herte these verses to begynne.
 Enclyne alowe of mercy now Thyne ere,
 Contemplynge Thy paynes vnto my peticion,
 And graunt me grace so to serue The here
 After this lyfe to be in Thi tucion.

The text of the 'Arma Christi' in MS. 207 at Queen's College, Oxford, found at the end of a Latin Horae, is illustrated with drawings, and followed by a short English verse prayer.¹ Another text, which likewise poses the poem as typical material for private meditation, occurs in a manual of Latin and English prayers and devotions, along with many other religious verses, in Cambridge University MS. 11. 6. 43.²

But the presence of seven copies in rolls, which are generally earlier than the other MSS., implies that the devotional-book entries had been originally taken from a roll; and thus prevent us from assuming that the 'Arma Christi' was first designed for private devotion. The evidence which we have is sufficient, I believe, to show that this poem was made for public use, and—to anticipate our conclusions—that it was intended to be publicly displayed in churches to stimulate the devotion of the 'lewd' folk.

At the end of all the fifteen texts appears a long rubric in verse (with some variations in each MS.) granting an indulgence. The relevant lines from the Royal MS. printed by Morris (incidentally not a roll) run as follows:³

þese armus of Crist boþ god and man,
 Sent Petur þe pop discruet hem.
 Wat man þis armes ouer-se,
 For his sinnus sori and schereuen be,
 þre ȝer of pardon is þe summe...

Further pardons follow, and then comes the significant line:

And ich bischop sayd to-for-hand
 For syȝt of þe uernacul hath graunt
 xl dayus to pardon...

¹ *Register*, no. 832.

² See *Register*, I, 196. Cp. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS. 55, Horae containing Psalms of the Passion with drawings of the instruments. Cp. also the *Speculum Spiritualium*, Paris, 1510, f. cxxvii.

³ E.E.T.S. XLVI, 195 (f. 79b). For a Latin version see B.M. MS. Royal 6 E vii, f. 15b: 'Quicumque arma superius descripta siue insignia domini nostri Iesu Christi deuote inspexerit a summis pontificibus subscriptam indulgentiam consequetur.' See also B.M. MS. Additional 37787, item 28, f. 62b, rubric to a missing drawing of the Arma Christi with indulgences of St Peter and other Popes.

and again:

And also who þat eueri day
þis armus of Crist be-hold may,
 þat day he ne sal dee no wiked ded....
 þe soum of wekeus to se hit *ich day*....
To sen it ich day in þe moneþ also....
To sen it a twelf-moneth ich day enter....

The important point to observe is that the indulgence does not mention the saying of prayers. Contrast this indulgence with almost any other—for example, the unpublished rubric to a Latin ‘oracio bona’ in B.M. MS. Harley 2869:¹

Hyt is y-founde in Holy Wryt
 That þe dede seyde to þe quik:
 Ther is non so foul a holur,
 Ne noon so gret a lechour,
zif he ofte sey þis orisun
 Of his synnis he schal haue pardon.

In this instance the indulgence is given for oral prayer—‘sey þis orisun’; and not for ocular prayer—the syzt of the uernacul’. We are dealing primarily in the ‘Arma Christi’, then, not with a verbal but with a pictorial aid to meditation and piety.² Direct confirmation of this view is supplied by a passage in one of the roll versions, B.M. MS. Additional 32006, not given in any printed texts:

Instrumenta Passionis:

These instrumentis þat here peynted beth,
 In memorie of þi bitter deth,
 þei helpe vs to oure sauacioun,
 ffor þei greued þe ful sore.

Evidence even more definite is found in a MS. in the Cambridge University Library, Ff. 1. 14, of the first half of the fifteenth century, where there is a page of indulgences, f. 212b:

These perdons foluyng ar wreten in a table at Rome in a churche of Our Lady callyd Ara Celi.

Among the pardons for ‘saying’ a prayer is one not of the usual order, f. 213a:³

Item: He þat deuoutly behaldeth þe Armes of þe Passyone of Our Lorde haþe x yere and xl days of perdone.

This undoubtedly suggests a series of illustrations such as are painted on the rolls, and the title is identical, ‘armes of the passyone’.

Here is an instance where the Church was especially catering for the pious Christian who could not read. Such a man could of course keep on

¹ *Register*, no. 985.

² But cp. p. 420, n. 4.

³ Two of the indulgences are to be gained at the mass; the others at non-public devotions.

repeating his *Pater noster*, and there was no doubt but that the prayer was most valuable:¹

Peraventure ye wolde axe a questione and sey I can not but my Pater-noster; is þat prayer goode? I say, like as goulde passithe in valure all metalle in his quantite; so þat prayer þe Pater-noster excellethe and passithe alle oper prayers.

But there must have been occasions when the clergy wished to broaden the field of his devotions; and the rolls with their coloured pictures and short verse descriptions (which the priest might read aloud to those looking at the pictures) would make an excellent means.² Let us consider in what way the Church presented this material, the 'Arma Christi', to its 'lewd' folk. A lead is given by an unpublished story in another Cambridge University MS., Ee. vi. 6, of the fourteenth century. It tells of 'an holi eremyth pat hyth Ernald'³ who had a vision in which the Blessed Virgin appeared and told him an orison, the saying of which would bring miraculous benefits (f 2a):

Anon, then, wook that holy man the Ermyte, and be-thowt hym of that amsyon, and sadly lokyd abowt hym and sey a rolle lyn on hys bed, weche that Blisful Lady had left there wyth hyr own hondys. He toke it up and red it wyth good deuocion, and fel down on hys knes, and thankyd that good lady of her gret grace and goodnesse and of that hye worchepe that sche had don to hym. And hyed hym to his byschop, and told of that amsyon, and schewyd to hym the rolle, of weche he had gret ioye. And deuowtli dede it prechn and techyn thorw owt al his dyosise, so it is now cum to vs. Blissid be God Almytty! Amen.

In other words, the hermit or the bishop or the priest went from church to church, calling the congregation together, and told them about this miraculous prayer; as evidence for this pious deception they would unfurl to the gaze of the people assembled that very roll which the Blessed Virgin had left behind her.⁴ If a roll without pictures would be displayed, how much more probably would a roll with pictures be shown. The final clinching of the argument is given by the condition of one of the 'Arma Christi' rolls, the Stonyhurst MS. 32:⁵

Two leaden weights are affixed at the bottom of the third membrane for the purpose of facilitating the unrolling. Holes for similar weights are visible at the beginning also, but the weights themselves no longer exist.

The original function of the 'Arma Christi' was congregational. A friar or a parish priest would display such rolls, either holding them up

¹ An unpublished sermon in B.M. MS. Harley 2247, f. 107a.

² Cp. *Biblia Pauperum*; one version (German) incidentally has a fyleaf with sketches of the instruments; B.M. MS. Additional 15249. See also Pecock's *Repressor*, Rolls Series, I, 213.

³ The same story occurs in B.M. MS. Additional 33381, f. 163b, and in French in B.M. MS. Egerton 2781, f. 28a.

⁴ Cp. Wright's suggestion that minstrels carried about rolls with popular poems in *The Political Songs of England*, Camden Society, VI, 356.

⁵ *H.M.C.*, Second Report, p. 146.

himself,¹ or hanging them from a convenient ledge or niche in the wall,² or suspending them from the pulpit.³ The worshippers would gain the indulgence by gazing at the roll, and while listening to the priest read the descriptions of the instruments, repeating the *Pater noster*.⁴ A similar display is seen in the procedure of teachers who hung up the Abecedarius before their classes.⁵ As the Passion is treated in such great detail in the

¹ Cp. Emmanuel College, Cambridge, MS 230 Episcopal Offices in roll form 8 ft. 7 in. by 7 in. which was 'intended to be held up before the Bishop while the offices were being performed' (James, *Cat.* p. 131). See further M. R. James, 'The Verses formerly inscribed on Twelve Windows in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral' in *Camb. Ant. Soc. Publ.* no. 38, 1901, and (p. 2) reference to MS. C. 246 in Canterbury Cathedral Library, a fourteenth-century roll with the same Latin verses. 'The largeness of the writing suggests to me the conjecture that the roll may have been hung up in the church itself for the perusal of visitors, just as "tables" containing lists of relics, short histories of the foundation, and particulars about distinguished persons buried there, were hung up in various churches. A specimen of such a table, from Glastonbury Abbey, is, I believe, now at Naworth. These documents were generally written upon parchment and affixed to boards.'

² See Botoner's notebook describing the Shene Charterhouse, in Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, London, 1897, p. 298 'Memorandum that on both walls of the nave of the church there hang some four and thirty tabulae with curious devotions and practices proper for exciting devotions for the souls of all Christians, both high and low. These tables are written in a good text hand, in bastard letters and I have never come across any church or monastery with so many or indeed even the twentieth part of the number of these tabulae.' See also *Register*, no. 695, by Lydgate. 'That I shulde graunte myn assent / Ofe that kynrede make a memorial / With De Profundis whan so that it be sent / At his Chirche to hang it on the Wal.'

³ Cp. B.M. MS. Additional 30337. 'Exultet Roll, containing the service beginning: Exultet iam angelica turba coelorum, used at the benediction of the Paschal taper on Easter Eve. Written in Italy in Lombardic or Beneventine characters of the twelfth century, with pneums; and illustrated with paintings the width of the roll, and with ornamental initial letters. The paintings are reversed, so as to be seen in their right position when the roll was displayed over the front of the ambo, as the service proceeded.' Length of roll 22 ft. 6 in. by 11 in. For an interesting Middle English poem originally written on a triptych, and now preserved in Lambeth MS 935, art. 8, see *Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, xix, 238-67, M. R. James, 'Lives of St. Walstan'. For a discussion of a similar use of 'tables' in churches, see G. H. Gerould, 'The Legend of St. Wulfhad and St. Ruffin at Stone Priory', in *P.M.L.A.*, xxxiii, 323-37 (esp. pp. 331-7), and by the same author 'Tables in Medieval Churches' in *Speculum*, i, 439-40, with several references to Dugdale.

⁴ See B.M. MS. Additional 33381, f. 90 a. 'Indulgences granted by St. Gregory and other popes to all who shall say five Paternosters and five Aves before a figure of Christ with the Instruments of the Passion as depicted on the opposite page.' See further Henry Bradshaw, 'On the earliest English engravings of the Indulgence known as the Image of Pity', in *Camb. Ant. Soc. Communications*, iii, 135-52; discussing the relationship between the indulgences for St Gregory's Trental and the 'Imago Pietatis' or 'Arma Crucifixi' often prefixed to the Psalms of the Passion, with a rubric: 'To them that before this ymage of pyte devoutly say V pater noster, V Auyes & a Credo pytously beholding these armes of Cristis passyon ar graunted xxxii M. viij C & lv yerres of pardon.' This identification of the Image of Pity and the Instruments of the Passion should be modified, however, by Lydgate's 'devoute exortacion to moeve men devoutely to pe ymage of pyte' (*Register*, no. 1595), emphasizing the Blessed Virgin and not Christ or His torments. In this case the *Pieta* (Our Lady of Pity) is clearly indicated; and in some cases the 'Image of Pity' must be so interpreted. See Henry A. Hudson, 'Some notes on the Pieta', in *Trans. Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, xliii, 125-30.

⁵ See Bernhard Bischoff, 'Elementarunterricht und Probationes Pennae in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters' in *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Edward K. Rand*, ed. L. W. Jones, New York, 1938, pp. 9-10: 'Sicut enim carta in qua scribitur doctrina parvulorum quatuor claus affigitur in poste, sic caro Christi extensa est in cruce. Hec fuit pella arietis quem interfecit Abraham... cuius quinque vulnura quasi quinque uocales pro nobis ad Patrem per se sonant. Tetera circumstantiae sunt consonantes, et sicut abecedarium uiam aperit in omnem facultatem, sic passio Christi aditum aperit paradisi ubi perfecti erit cognicio.'

'Arms of the Passion', no doubt it would be especially popular during Holy Week; and if the rolls were shown only for a comparatively short time, this would account for their preservation; for if on permanent exhibition they might soon have perished. It is probable that on the occasions when prolonged viewing was advised, 'a twelf moneth ich day enter', the church possessed a wall painting of the Arma Christi.¹

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NOTE ON THE TEXT OF SHELLEY'S TRANSLATION OF THE
'SYMPOSIUM'

Mr B. Farrington has pointed out in a valuable paper² that what appeared to be Shelley's blunders in translation were in some instances mistakes which Mary Shelley made in transcribing Shelley's manuscript for the printer. I should like to add to his list the following which I have noted in the translation of the *Banquet* which appeared complete for the first time in The Julian Edition of Shelley's works.³

Page 185, line 27: 'And the *Naetenstriae* belong to this division.' As the Greek for this word is *ἐταίριστροφίαι* (191 e 5), *Naetenstriae* looks like an error of transcription for *Hetairstriae*. For a similar error cp. *pselta* for *psetta* which is a transliteration of the Greek *ψήτται* (page 185, line 19.)

Page 213, line 6: 'As soon as *I thought I perceived* this I sent away the servant.' Here Shelley made two variants for *διανοηθείς* without deleting one of them. Mary Shelley incorporated both variants in the transcript. In the text we must bracket one of the verbs, preferably the first.

The text which Shelley used in his translation turns out to be the Bipont edition of Plato.⁴ This is not only evident from a comparison of the Greek with Shelley's translation, but also from Shelley's 'Note on the *Banquet* of Plato' which is dated in 1817. In this brief note Shelley

¹ See the discussion concerning the wall paintings in churches in Cornwall, first mistaken for Piers Plowman surrounded by peasant tools, later properly understood as Christ and the Arms; London, *Times Literary Supplement*. The 'Arma Christi' were also portrayed in stained-glass windows (especially roundels) in England from the fifteenth century. At Mayence, a heraldic shield displays the Instruments for the arms of Christ the Knight, see *Gentleman's Magazine*, CCIX. It has been suggested that the paucity of the windows and wall paintings with the 'Arma Christi' may be explained by their destruction during the Reformation; see Hudson, *loc. cit.*, p. 128, footnote 9.

² B. Farrington, 'The text of Shelley's Translation of the *Symposium* of Plato', *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xiv, 325.

³ *The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, newly edited by Roger Ingpen and Walter E. Peck (London and New York), vii, 165-220.

⁴ Πλάτων / Platonis Philosophi / Quae Exstant / Graece Ad Editionem Henrici Stephani / Accurate Expressa / Cum Marsili Ficini Interpretatione / Accedit Varietas Lectionis / Studii Societatis Bipontinae / Volumen Decimum / Biponti / Ex Typographia Societatis / c1810cclxxxvii /.

writes, 'The wonderful description of Love in Plato, *Symp.* p. 214—particularly 214, l. 8—*l. ultima, et passim* 218.' The page references are to the Bipont text of the *Symposium* and all refer to the speech of Agathon: p. 214=195 c 7 (Stephanus pagination in J. Burnet's edition of Plato, *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*), p. 214, l. 8=195 e 1, "Ἐρωτα ὅτι ἀπαλός . . .", p. 218=197 b 7—197 e 2 'ἔπειδ' ὃ δ' θεός . . . *σμπάντων τε θεῶν καὶ . . .*'. The juxtaposition of Ficino's Latin translation to the Greek text aided Shelley considerably in his translation and partly accounts for the speed with which he translated the *Symposium* (he started the translation on 9 July and finished it 17 July 1818).

Hogg also makes mention of the Bipont Plato as the text which Shelley used at Marlow. 'He had', he says, 'a very legible edition of the works of Plato in several volumes; a charming edition, the Bipont, I think, and I have read passages out of it with him.'¹ Shelley took the Bipont edition of Plato with him to Italy and we have an inkling of his attachment to it from a letter to Hogg from Bagni di Pisa, 22 October 1821, 'I receive with delight your milkwort. It reposes between the leaves of a folio Plato,² whose incredible contractions and abominable inaccuracy torment me to death, as I have only 3 vols. of my own edition as yet here.'³

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BISHOP BLOUGRAM

Bishop Blougram's Apology (1855) is almost Browning's first poem on a subject drawn from contemporary English life. Though published in *Men and Women*, a world of old pictures, idealized people, and dead artists, it stands apart from them all on account of its crabbed style, its lack of detachment, and its obvious reference to the immediate situation in England. The occasion of its writing was the so-called 'papal aggression' of 1850, a cyclonic storm having for its centre the new Cardinal Archbishop, Nicholas Wiseman. When, shortly afterwards, *Bishop Blougram's Apology* appeared it was at once taken for a squib at the Cardinal, and on being challenged Browning said: 'Yes, . . . Bishop

¹ T. J. Hogg, *The life of Shelley* (London, 1933, ed. H. Wolfe), I, 121-2.

² This edition of Plato is probably Forster's *Plato* (Platonis Dialogi v: [*Amatores, Apologia, Phaedo, Euthyphro, Crito*] / Recensuit, Notisque illustravit / Nath. Forster A.M. C.C.C. Socrus / Editio Secunda / Oxonii / E Typographeo Clarendiano / Impensis Jac. Fletcher Bibliopolae / MDCCLII /).

³ Julian edition of Shelley's *Complete Works*, VII, 312.

Blougram was certainly intended for the English Cardinal...¹ This identification has been generally believed, even by Wiseman himself.²

The traits in Browning's sketch of Blougram, however, which correspond with facts in Wiseman's career are all superficial: for example, the reference to the recent change in title (ll. 972-4), his quarrel with the architect Pugin (ll. 3-8), his influence in the journalistic world (ll. 954-60), and his state coach, an object of much curiosity in London (ll. 536-8). As a sketch of the Cardinal's personality it is apparently quite untrue, and is denied not only by his official biographer, Wilfred Ward,³ but also by Lytton Strachey.⁴ Moreover, certain fundamental traits in the sketch of Blougram seem to have been taken not from Wiseman but from John Henry Newman. All his life Newman had been interested in miracles. In 1851, six years after his conversion to Rome, a series of letters on the subject passed between him and the Anglican Bishop of Norwich, and appeared subsequently in print in the *Morning Chronicle* of 21 October. The Bishop quoted a passage from Newman's *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* in which he had discussed the liquefaction of the blood of St Januarius at Naples and the motion of the eyes in pictures of the Madonna:

I think it impossible to withstand the evidence which is brought for the liquefaction of the blood of St Januarius at Naples, and for the motion of the eyes of the pictures of the Madonna in the Roman States.... Many men, when they hear an educated man so speak, will at once impute the avowal to insanity, or to an idiosyncrasy, or to imbecility of mind, or to decrepitude of powers, or to fanaticism, or to hypocrisy. They have a right to say so if they will....⁵

This controversy caused some little stir, to judge by the issues of *The Times* for several days following. Browning, who was devoted to the newspapers, may have read the letters; at any rate Newman's two miracles are referred to in *Bishop Blougram's Apology*:

I pine among my million imbeciles
(You think) aware some dozen men of sense
Eye me and know me, whether I believe
In the last winking Virgin, as I vow,
And am a fool, or disbelieve in her
And am a knave.... (ll. 374-9.)

Here, we've got callous to the Virgin's winks
That used to puzzle people wholesomely:
Men have outgrown the shame of being fools.
What are the laws of nature, not to bend
If the Church bid them?—brother Newman asks. (ll. 699-703.)

¹ Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres* (London, 1898), II, 261.

² *The Rambler, A Catholic Journal and Review*, N.S. (1856), v, 61. This review is certainly by Cardinal Wiseman.

³ *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman* (London, 1897), II, 157.

⁴ *Eminent Victorians* (London, 1918), pp. 57-8.

⁵ Most readily accessible in Newman's *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* (London, 1851), pp. 410-11.

I have read much, thought much, experienced much,
 Yet would die rather than avow my fear
 The Naples' liquefaction may be false... (ll. 726-8.)
 First cut the Liquefaction, what comes last
 But Fichte's clever cut at God Himself? (ll. 743-4.)

Not only is the reference to Newman obvious, but the language of the passages suggests the influence of the prose quoted from Newman.

Moreover, when Gigadibs, the Bishop's interlocutor, had had his turn the 'home-truths' he had hurled were apparently charges of hypocrisy, of scepticism concealed under the ecclesiastical garb. The Bishop himself sums up the attitude of Gigadibs:

Nay, I too, not a fool, you please to think,
 Must find believing every whit as hard:
 And if I do not frankly say as much,
 The ugly consequence is clear enough. (ll. 157-60.)

No one who has read Newman's *Apologia* (1864) can fail to recall that for years Newman had to bear similar charges against his veracity, charges that culminated in the famous attack of Charles Kingsley. Kingsley wrote:

Truth, for its own sake, has never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be...¹

In his *Apologia* Newman wrote in reply:

For twenty years and more I have borne an imputation, of which I am at least as sensitive, who am the object of it, as they can be, who are only the judges... I am bound now as a duty to myself, to the Catholic cause, to the Catholic Priesthood, to give account of myself without any delay, when I am so rudely and circumstantially charged with Untruthfulness. I accept the challenge; I shall do my best to meet it, and I shall be content when I have done so.²

Since Newman, then, was commonly held to be an economizer of truth and equivocator even before *Bishop Blougram's Apology* was written, he would seem to have been the subject of it in a sense just as real, at least, as Wiseman was, against whom no public charge of dishonesty was ever made.

One may go even further and point out that in *Bishop Blougram's Apology* Browning has reproduced one of Newman's leading ideas. About 1842, Newman wrote in the *Apologia*, he 'came to the conclusion that there was no medium, in true philosophy, between Atheism and Catholicity, and that a perfectly consistent mind, under those circumstances in which it finds itself here below, must embrace either the one or the other'.³ Blougram, too, declares that it is quite impossible for him to

¹ *Newman's Apologia Pro Vita Sua, etc.*, ed. Wilfred Ward (Oxford, 1913), p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 88. Cf. pp. 261, 333; and Strachey, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

purify his faith of supernatural elements, for there is no stopping-place short of complete rationalism:

To such a process I discern no end.
 Clearing off one excrescence to see two,
 There's ever a next in size, now grown as big,
 That meets the knife: I cut and cut again!
 First cut the Liquefaction, what comes last
 But Fichte's clever cut at God himself? (ll. 739-44.)

For Blougram as for Newman there was no alternative to Catholicism other than the rationalism of the Liberal movement. Since Browning cannot be proved to have read any of Newman's books, it would be useless to go through them to find where he might have seen this opinion expressed. But it might easily have come also from the newspapers, or from hearsay.

Bishop Blougram, then, is not the portrait of an individual, but an amalgamation of traits taken from two of the leading English Catholics of the times. As one might expect, the resulting portrait is not a likeness in any real sense of the word. The process of composition must have been similar to the one Browning described as having taken place in the writing of *A Lost Leader*:

I undoubtedly had Wordsworth in my mind—but simply as 'a model'; you know, an artist takes one or two striking traits in the features of his 'model', and uses them to start his fancy on a flight which may end far enough from the good man or woman who happens to be 'sitting' for nose and eye.¹

Why, then, did he allow the notion that Blougram was Wiseman to circulate under his own sanction? No doubt because it was Wiseman who sat for 'nose and eye', who supplied the superficial marks of identification already noticed. He intended the world to suppose Wiseman was the speaker because he was always careful to write in the 'dramatic style', but it was not Wiseman's voice that came from the puppet. Browning's real purpose was to comment on the problem of faith in a sceptical world, and he carried it out by devising for his mouthpiece the figure of a representative Catholic having some obvious resemblance with a well-known Catholic of the times. Unconsciously perhaps, in the development of his theme he used ideas on the general problem which had been first suggested to him by Newman. In any case, the poem throws an interesting light on Browning's 'dramatic' methods.

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¹ (Mrs) Sutherland Orr, *Life and Letters of Robert Browning*, revised by F. G. Kenyon (Boston, 1908), p. 123.

LINE 8a OF THE WESSOBRUNNER GEBET

Dr W Perrett in the second instalment of his valuable textual notes on the metrical portion of the *Wessobrunner Gebet* (in *London Mediaeval Studies*, 1, 2 (1938), 140 ff.), raises a point on line 8a which may bear further discussion. He declares (p. 148), 'this *manno miltosto*,¹ line 8a, is to me the greatest difficulty in the whole text'.

For the O.H.G. *manno miltsto* the equivalent O.E., in the presumed prototype for these alliterative lines, would have been *manna mildost*, a phrase which does occur twice in O.E. verse, applied to Moses (*Exodus*, 550) and to the hero Beowulf after his death by sorrowing retainers (*Beowulf*, 3180 ff.):

cwædon þæt hē wære wyruldecyning[a]
 manna mildust ond mon[ðw]ærust,
 lēodum līðost ond lofgeornost.

Its legitimacy here in the *Gebet* as an epithet of God (*almahtīco Cot*, 7b) is denied by Dr Perrett, who argues that such use of the term 'kindest or most generous of men' would involve confusion of the Persons, incarnation of the First Person being a dogma which 'the church of Rome has never taught'.

Unfortunately, no good alternative explanation of *manno* was forthcoming. Perrett mentions and rejects two attempts (p. 148): 'The easy way out, by the assumption that the genitive stands for the dative plural, was taken by Reinwald as far back as 1805, and is not recommended. Ehrismann's statement that it is equivalent to *Deus mitissimus* is unacceptable: evidently the Latin corresponding to lines 7b, 8a would be *Deus omnipotens, hominum mitissimus*.'²

Nor is there a ready way of avoiding the phrase by plausible emendation. Perrett (p. 149) suggests *Metod* 'Lord, Creator' and not *manna* was in the O.E. original; since no O.H.G. cognate **mezzot* is recorded the translator 'found himself in a quandary' and was forced 'by the severe demands of alliterative verse' to hunt for a substitute. This is not in the least satisfactory. *Metod* is the commonest though by no means the only O.E. synonym for God which starts with *m*; the palaeographic remoteness of *manno* would not of course matter if it were a substitution, but *Metod*

¹ The actual MS. (reproduced *loc. cit.*) has *manno miltsto*.

² It is of interest historically to note (since Dr Perrett does not) the O.E. version of the *Gebet* made by J. J. and W. D. Conybeare in 1826 (*Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, pp. li-liii), side by side with the original and a translation, the O.E. being given only (p. li) 'in order to illustrate . . . the close affinity of that language with the kindred dialects of the continent'. On p. li, line 8a is rendered by the curious *mannan mildost*, and translated 'most merciful to man'. This translation appears again, probably borrowed, in Brother Azarias (P. F. Mullany), *The Development of English Literature: The Old English Period*, 1879, p. 208.

mildost would be metrically inadequate and syntactically most strange and difficult to parallel.

It seems to me that *manno* is quite capable of defence. Perrett himself suggests (pp. 147 f.) that the O.E. original 'probably went on to expound the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and it may be that this later part, when speaking of the Saviour, employed the hemistich *manna mildost* transferred in the German poem from the Son to the Father'. Certainly the O.E. formula, applied to Moses and Beowulf as two elect and saintly persons, would be unquestionably appropriate to Christ.¹ Moreover, it is worth mentioning that such confusion of the Persons is not unknown in O.E. religious poetry. In the *Dream of the Rood* Christ on the cross is referred to as 'God Almighty', 39, cf. 51, 60, 64, 98. At *Genesis (B)* 318 ff. God's banishment of Satan and his followers in hell is thus mentioned: *worhte man hit him tō wīte, . . . fylde helle mid þām andsacum*. . .

The last point is some defence of *manno*. But it is magnifying the problem unduly to stress the word as a reference to human beings. On the phrase of *Beowulf*, 3180 f. Klaeber (3rd ed., p. 230) points out that *manna* with superlative is 'fundamentally an amplifying (partit.) element', the chief function of which is simply 'to strengthen the superl. idea ("the mildest of all")'. He compares *Beowulf*, 2645, 3098 f., etc. The context of the *Wessobrunner Gebet* does refer to God not man, but also significantly to the pre-Creation; in the original O.E. the vague use of *manna* (equivalent to *ealra* 'omnium' in *Beowulf*, 1727, just as in *Gen. (B)* 318 *man worhte* is equivalent to a passive construction) would thus cause little if any confusion.

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¹ The *Beowulf* context may have to do distantly with the analogy of Christ, cf. Klaeber's edition (3rd, 1936), pp. 1 f., cxx ff. A stray parallel the M.E. rhymed stanzas 'Love is Life' (attrib. to Richard Rolle, ed. in K. Sisam's *Fourteenth Century Verse & Prose*, 1921, 37 ff.), line 74: 'It es Iesu, forsoth I say, of al mekest and mylde.'

REVIEWS

Medieval Number Symbolism. By VINCENT FOSTER HOPPER. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1938 xii+241 pp. 15s.

This book will startle and mayhap instruct those readers, if any such read it, who have not already become aware of the degree to which even serious and competent minds in the past have become entangled and fascinated with fantastic notions concerning *number*. Unfortunately the author's approach and method tend to blur the basic fact, and even leave the impression that he himself has fallen prey to numerological superstition; although one knows that this is not the case the effect on the book is unfortunate. For sound enlightenment on numerology itself, accompanied by delightful humour, one might better turn to E. T. Bell's *Numerology*—which is among the three or four hundred titles in Professor Hopper's bibliography.

The scholarly apparatus is imposing. Footnotes adorn every page—although necessity and even relevancy are not always obvious. A rough count indicated that there were a total of 1111 such footnotes—one wonders if there might be numerological significance in that! Great names are cited abundantly with a not quite happy effect: Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Roger Bacon, Dante—to mention only a brilliant few—seem to be testifying in behalf of fantastic numerological mummary.

The book struggles to cover too much ground; it peers back into the prehistoric, treats Pythagoras, the Gnostics and the early Christians; bears heavily on the Middle Ages, but oozes into modern times far enough to touch Montaigne, Spenser, Shakespeare, and even Goethe's *Faust*. The most imposing chapter deals with 'Dante: the beauty of order'. The mass of material crowding into the pages of the text, hinted at by the multiplicity of notes and the extensive bibliography, seems to have defeated the purpose of the book by resisting necessary control and systematization. Or perhaps one should say that from such motley and irrational matter no order could be achieved and no useful results could emerge—sacred numbers, perfect numbers, triangular numbers, blessed and cursed numbers—the same number often being both blessed and cursed—seven, for example, the most 'sacred' of all.

A curious inversion of the comic interlude occurs on p. 123 where a fragment of genuine number-science trots upon the stage—or rather peeps from the wings—a note explaining the arithmetical trick of 'casting out the nines'. The page thus annotated itself deals with Og, King of Bashan, the 'weird sisters' of Macbeth, Zoroastrianism, the Rigveda, and 'other fragments of eastern learning'.

The book, on the whole, has hardly justified itself.

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The Connection between the Ballade, Chaucer's Modification of it, Rime Royal, and the Spenserian Stanza. By THEODORE MAYNARD. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America. 1934. 139 pp.

This is an attempt to trace a continuous development from the ballade through Chaucerian Rime Royal to the Spenserian stanza. The preliminary quarter—a survey of Latin, Anglo-Saxon and French verse before Chaucer—is marked by persistent documentation of the self-evident and continual citation of the most obvious standard works of reference. The only judgement on Layamon is that of Saintsbury (p. 25) and on Marie de France that of Courthope (p. 31). To the ‘as Saintsbury says’ or ‘of whom Courthope has said’ type of quotation the author reverentially adds nothing by way of exegesis or addition.

When an opinion is advanced it is often too vague. Three authorities on the origin of the ballade are cited and then the author ‘ventures to guess’ the origin of the three stanzas (p. 41). As the guess depends on the ‘symmetrical value’ of the figure three it does not get us very far. The writer sees in seven-line ballade stanzas the origin of Chaucer’s Rime Royal, though admitting that the conclusive link he postulates—the existence of seven-line early ballades by Chaucer—is inferential. Later (p. 84) he goes so far as to abandon the necessity he had just demanded—‘It may well be there was no connecting link, and that Chaucer went at a single stride from one to the other.’ Why, then, all this pudder and preparation for eighty-three pages?

Further, he claims, Rime Royal develops into the Spenserian stanza—one connecting link he offers being Skelton’s twelve-line stanza in the *Edward the Fourth Elegy*! The ‘Spenserian development’ (p. 103) of the latter has eluded me for some years of Skelton study, and it is still beyond me, I fear. The author rejects all the conventional origins of the Spenserian and claims that it was ‘in the air for a long time before Spenser reduced it to actuality. This, I admit, I cannot prove beyond doubt.’ His caution is admirable. When (p. 125) we find his conclusions are ‘speculative’ and that the connexion between the stanzas which is the thesis he offers can be proved ‘with moral though not with absolute certainty’, one can only lament the misapplication of so much hard reading. The whole argument is about as convincing as an attempt to show that the Stanza of Gray’s *Elegy* develops from the couplet of *The Rape of the Lock*.

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John Skelton. An Account of his Life and Writings. By L. J. LLOYD. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1938. 152 pp. 10s. 6d.

Revival of interest in Skelton has already found expression in the editions of his poetry by Mr Richard Hughes and Mr Philip Henderson. But the work of these editors, though admirable within its own compass, still leaves room for a complete critical edition to supersede that of Dyce and also for a more intensive critical study of Skelton’s life and

works. Mr Lloyd does not claim to have produced more than an introduction to the subject; and, as such, broadly speaking, his monograph fulfils its purpose. It is more readable and more compact than the average product of a research studentship, the writer being evidently more interested in the intrinsic qualities of Skelton's poetry than in the discovery of new facts relating to his life and work. Indeed one could wish that Mr Lloyd had been a little more adventurous at certain points, for instance in his chapter on the Satires or in his note on Skelton's translation of Diodorus Siculus, extant in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which is summarily dismissed with an unsupported reference to 'the muscular, vigorous Skelton stumbling along carelessly with the majority of the other fifteenth-century prose-writers'. In the region of hypothesis, on the other hand, Mr Lloyd is apt to let his fancy run away with him: 'He [Skelton] cannot have failed to be a stimulating teacher, enthusiastic and skilful, again and again Henry's mind must have caught fire from such a man', 'A man like Skelton must have seen the impassable gulf which lay between the stories, "some sad, some mery", of the Knight, the Pardoner, the Miller and the rest.' There is even less ground for such assumptions than for tacitly accepting and improving upon Caxton's naive advertisement of 'mayster John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the unyversite of oxenforde' Special pleading in the interest of his subject not infrequently betrays Mr Lloyd into exaggeration and inconsistency. The estimate of *Magnyfycence* as 'an exhibition of supreme craftsmanship' and as Skelton's finest work 'regarded simply as a piece of academic writing' does not carry conviction; nor is there reason to believe that the burlesque of the Sacred Office in *Phyllipp Sparowe*—a mode of profanity familiar and well established since the days of the wandering scholars, as Mr Lloyd himself admits—was either offensive to the orthodox churchman or 'a form of amusement difficult for some to condone'. Enthusiasm is misspent when it gives rise to injudicious generalisations like 'Even Catullus can do little better than Skelton at his best' or 'Elynour Rummyng... is at least a good deal more wholesome than much of *A Sentimental Journey*', a comparison too irrelevant to serve any useful purpose. 'Thomas' Puttenham (p. 58) is merely a slip. But the most serious defect is the absence of a bibliography, a regrettable omission in a work of this character, providing a succinct and suggestive survey of a field which affords wide scope for further exploration.

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LONDON.

The Works of Edmund Spenser. A Variorum Edition. Edited by E. GREENLAW, C. G. OSGOOD, F. M. PADEFORD and RAY HEFFNER. Vol. II. Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins Press; London: H. Milford. 1938. xii+506 pp. 27s.

Book VI of *The Faerie Queene*, the most humane and mundane of the Books and in many ways the most attractive, has been unduly neglected,

and the young are usually forced into Books I and V, which are more difficult by reason of their heavier dose of orthodox philosophy and book-learning. Here commentary resolves itself into pleasant wanderings among the romances, and the significant analysis of the one set piece, the brilliant vision of the Graces that is at once Spenser's apotheosis of himself, his apology for poetry, and a glorious piece of Renaissance painting. The editors wisely refrain from forcing historical interpretation too far. There are temptations—the episode of the suborned murderers in Canto VII, for instance, sets one thinking of the conspiracies against Elizabeth and of Irish alarms and of the troubles of Perrot, and other episodes also force one to remind oneself of the perils of Spenserian interpretation. The appendix on Sir Calidore, on the other hand, leaves an unfortunate impression of flat controversy between Sidneyites and Essexites, victims of those historical *béguins* to which some moderns are so prone; as if Spenser could only think of one man at a time, and were not also conspicuous in his loyalty to old friends.

Anyone, of course, could add his mite of light coin: the Salvage Man's fear of the horse (IV, vi. 5) seems to recall an episode of the conquest of Peru, and the conventionality of the Hermit might be illustrated from the plan of *The Ordre of Chyvalrye*. (A search among Caxton's works might indeed add him to Spenser's long list of creditors, and the same is true of Louis Leroy.) One feels as if an opportunity had been missed by the lack of a neat essay on Courtesy as a Virtue, summing up the (very valuable) lessons of the Book. It would require a lighter hand than that of Dr Heffner, the editor of the commentary, whose style is apt to be more positive than his views are convincing, but there are men in America who could do it.

Book VII is another matter. The discussion of the date was closed by Dr Padelford some time ago, but fruitful meditation over the philosophy, the sheer poetry, and over Spenser's state of mind, may—and, one hopes, will—continue for a long time to come. The fragment is the more interesting that interpretation must depend more on the individual and less on the adduction of facts. Here the known facts—sources and so on—are clearly and orderly given, and the reader's mind is prepared to play over this grand music in his own way. It is perhaps one value of a variorum edition that such liberty is possible to such as care to take it. For myself, I would deprecate over-emphasis on the two stray stanzas which chance to come at the end of the poem as we have it: Spenser may well be resting, as he has done before, on the God of Anglican orthodoxy.

The text is, as ever, so entirely reliable that any differences are but differences of judgement or preference. All the readings required to form an opinion are given, and a good deal more. The most notable thing (in its way) in the whole volume is Dr Padelford's patient and honest analysis of the punctuation of *The Faerie Queene*. This piece of work is final, and may be resorted to by all who have to tackle that problem of editing. It might have been worth while to bring in the evidence of the two states of *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, where the drastic revision of the punctuation suggests the author's intervention, but that need not have

disturbed Dr Padelford's conclusion that the customs of the printing-shops had more to do with it than any principles of Spenser's.

With this volume the Johns Hopkins' *Faerie Queene* is complete. One can only congratulate the editors on a great work ended, and hope that when like their poet they have refreshed themselves after so long a course as they have run, they may carry through the rest with the same indefatigable energy and unfailing accuracy.

W. L. RENWICK.

STOCKSFIELD, NORTHUMBERLAND.

La Poesia Lirica di Edmondo Spenser. By FRANCESCO VIGLIONE Genoa: Emihano degl Orfini. 1937. 374 pp. L. 20.

The minor poems of Spenser must always be more or less eclipsed by *The Faerie Queene*, and for this reason the many topics of interest attached to them are the more deserving of special treatment. Though Spenser's sense of epic form and his capacity for dealing with epic material were not so defective as they have generally been represented to be, it is indisputable that his natural genius found expression in the lyric rather than in the epic and that he achieved his greatest triumphs in pieces of limited dimension, including passages or episodes detachable from the main body of larger works. Signor Viglione's study is an analytic survey of all Spenser's minor poems together with the pastoral episode at the close of *The Faerie Queene*, Book VI, which are classified as elegiac, pastoral, satiric and erotic. The analysis is preceded by an introductory chapter dealing at length with the historical background to the poems under consideration and with allusions to contemporary individuals; and it is concluded with a summary estimate of Spenser's achievement in 'lyrical poetry' as represented therein. Signor Viglione has made full use of the available authorities both early and recent, and his survey adds little to the actual facts already known; but it is systematic, scholarly and comprehensive. Some new ground is touched with respect to sources and analogues. The parallel drawn between the *Visions*, the emblems to *The Shepheards Kalendar* and the tradition of emblematic literature suggests a line of investigation hitherto but little explored. Points of similarity are noted between Spenser's pastoral poetry and the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro as well as between *Astrophel* and the *Aminta* of Tasso, whose influence upon Spenser's minor poems appears to have been overlooked. In the rich poetic ornamentation which culminates in *Epithalamion* Signor Viglione detects the beginning of a new manner of writing characteristic of 'secentismo' and metaphysical wit. The suggestion that the 'New Poet' was also the first of the metaphysicals is interesting, though at the same time it must be remembered that the fine excess and flamboyance of Spenser represents the natural fulfilment of a tradition already well established during the sixteenth century and encouraged by the tendency to identify poetic 'invention' with a lavish display of figure and ornament. In this connexion Signor Viglione considers that *Epithalamion* has been overrated by comparison with *Prothalamion*, which he regards as a more

authentic imitation of the Petrarchan canzone, 'more regular in metre, more harmonious in design, more sober in expression'. Other readers may accept his view; but in so doing few would go to the length of dismissing *Epithalamion* as 'a literary exercise', or, allowing for obvious differences between the poetic idiom of the sixteenth century and that of the nineteenth, of rating it below *Sonnets from the Portuguese*.

A few smaller details call for criticism. On p. 69 it is implied that Sackville wrote the 'Induction' to *A Mirror for Magistrates* and not simply to his 'Complaint of Buckingham'. On p. 157 *Lyrical Ballads* is assigned to Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey. The conclusions of P. W. Long regarding the dedication of the *Visions* to Lady Carey are assumed as proven facts, and on p. 64 the reference to an unnamed 'faire Ladie' is placed in *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* instead of in *Visions of Petrarch* where it occurs. Signor Viglione appears to accept the obsolete and quite unsupportable identification of 'our pleasant Willy' with Shakespeare; and in connexion with the 'Palin' reference of *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* he does not mention Peele's burlesque of Spenser's 'rustic quill' in *The Arraignment of Paris*. Finally the representation of Spenser as the precursor not merely of Hall and Donne but of Dryden and Pope in verse satire fails to take into account the distinction between 'Varronian' satire—already well established in England long before Spenser—and *satira* of the Latin type in which Hall could justly claim to be a pioneer. With these qualifications Signor Viglione's book can be recommended as a competent study which, while better adapted to Italian than to English readers more familiar with the material under consideration, should serve as a useful work of reference to all students of Spenser.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

LONDON.

Shakespeare Man and Artist. By EDGAR I. FRIPP. London: Oxford University Press. 1938. Two Volumes. xxii + 1-464 pp ; xii + 465-939 pp. 38s.

The late Mr Edgar Fripp's life's work has taken the form of two bulky posthumous volumes, which have been awaiting final completion and preparation for the press since his death in 1931. An indication of Mr Fripp's outlook upon his great subject is the lavish supply of illustrations, which show how far he was from considering Shakespeare as a book only. His interest lay always in relating the book to the man behind it and to his environment, a position which indeed he explicitly sets forth in his 'Introduction'. In so doing, Mr Fripp will surely gain common consent to his thesis that Shakespeare should be approached mainly from his antecedents, in the light of an older England of which he was the heir. Yet such consent will be more difficult if these antecedents are glossed, as by Mr Fripp, with a predominantly Protestant and 'Liberal' bias, the inevitable concomitant of Mr Fripp's own strong convictions. It is this trend of his thought, for example, that gives him such confidence that the poet's father was an 'obstinate Puritan' in his recusancy (p. 306). As

for Shakespeare himself, the concluding paragraph of the whole book describes him as a 'Reverent Liberal', a position which Mr Fripp, whom the phrase well describes, finds easy to reconcile with Davies' report that Shakespeare 'died a Papist'. But it will not do for an Elizabethan. Contempt for 'sects', or a view of religion transcending creeds, is not consistent with the age and the environment with which Mr Fripp is so deeply, and so properly, concerned.

So also in Mr Fripp's interpretation of history, he is a devotee of the Whig school which sees virtue in Henry and Elizabeth and none in James, and blames James for all that went wrong with England, while crediting him with nothing that went right. He quotes Bacon in favour of Elizabeth, but not in favour of James. His James is the James of Macaulay, and of Professor Dover Wilson, and he is even denied his desire for toleration in religion (p. 638). In some early pages Mr Fripp achieves a strange identification of Protestantism with the drama and its practice, and limits the period of the literary excellence of the drama to its devotion to moral earnestness, i.e. until 1616. On the other hand, there is no questioning Mr Fripp's immense industry, and the infinite and patient sweep of his explorations into all sources of material information. He is, for example, authoritative upon local archives of Warwickshire. He has the records of Stratford-upon-Avon at his finger tips. Had there been a bibliography appended to these volumes—as we could have wished—it would have borne witness to the reading that went to the making of the work, but it could not have represented all Mr Fripp's sources of knowledge.

It is not possible to hold that this mass of information has been shaped into sequence and unity throughout—a difficult task indeed. It may well be that the book will serve, for its main purpose, as a mine and repertory, for the consultation of scholars. It is the more unfortunate, therefore, that the Index is not more ample and detailed, particularly with reference to Mr Fripp's footnotes. There is, for instance, an important and un-indexed footnote upon *As You Like It*, in conflict with the New Cambridge Shakespeare editors in their conclusions from bibliographical analysis, a question upon which Mr Fripp preserves a sturdy scepticism (p. 539, cf. e.g. p. 433, n. 3).

It would have been desirable to have precise information upon the origin of all the many, and excellent, illustrations, and not only in some instances. It is not sufficient to describe a jig as a 'dialogue in rhyme', with dancing (p. 511). It was sung dialogue, a kind of comic operetta. It is very pleasing to find a book of this importance dedicated to the memory of a great teacher of a bygone generation, Henry Morley, who has done more for English studies than can readily be estimated. No wonder that Mr Fripp, who graduated in London in 1883, towards the end of Morley's great career as Professor in University College, bears this testimony even after an interval of nearly fifty years. It does honour to both men.

C. J. SISSON.

The Hamlet of Shakespeare's Audience. By JOHN W. DRAPER. Durham: Duke University Press. 1938. xii+254 pp. \$ 3.

Professor Draper's intention in this book is to reinterpret *Hamlet* by restoring to the characters those personal and social values which would have been normal and natural to Shakespeare's audiences, but have become distorted in the passage of time. It is a profitable kind of study: though the book is itself in some ways reactionary. Although Professor Draper differs in outlook fundamentally from A. C. Bradley, yet he returns to the older manner of regarding Shakespeare's characters as men and women living in a real world, whose behaviour can therefore be judged by the actual standards of Shakespeare's day. *Hamlet* thus becomes not a play but a document of social history.

Professor Draper's attempt to restore the characters, and especially the minor characters, to their original environment is most successful in the earlier chapters; and a producer looking for a legitimate novelty in staging *Hamlet* might well note the suggestion that Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are not villains, but a pair of pleasant young men, genuinely anxious to help Hamlet; and that Polonius, far from being a dotard, is, in fact, still an experienced, competent statesman in the early forties. Professor Draper suggests that our view of these gentlemen has been jaundiced by Hamlet's prejudices.

In these first three chapters, Professor Draper is persuasive and stimulating, whether the reader agrees or not. Unfortunately, in succeeding chapters, he lapses into the scholarly laborious style, which makes neither for easy reading nor for clear argument. In twelve pages on 'Young Osric', the reader's attention is distracted from text to footnotes fifty-six times. Professor Draper is puzzled by Osric: 'Why', he asks, 'has Shakespeare so fully developed the part of a minor character and given him so sharply defined a personality in a play already long?' The simple answer is that, when a company possesses a Claude Hulbert, his talents should not be wasted.

Indeed, the weakness of the book as a whole is that Professor Draper seems often to forget that *Hamlet* is a play. It is too much to assume that the details of life in *Hamlet*, or in any of Shakespeare's plays for that matter, are entirely true to life. As Miss St Clare Byrne has amply demonstrated in her chapter on the 'Social Background' in the *Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, Shakespeare was certainly of the Elizabethan age, but his plays are for all time largely because they are of no time.

G. B. HARRISON.

LONDON.

Classical Mythology in the Plays, Masques, and Poems of Ben Jonson.
By CHARLES FRANCIS WHEELER. Princeton: University Press;
London: H. Milford. 1938. ii+212 pp. 16s.

This book is a cyclopaedia of mythological allusions in Jonson done with vast labour and great care. It will be extremely useful to non-classical readers. It is a pity it is based on the nine-volume edition of

Gifford, revised by Cunningham in 1875; the working edition in three volumes is so much more accessible. Cunningham's misprints turn up in 'Catui.' for 'Catul.' (p. 119), 'Æn. i. 11' for 'l. 11', i.e. 'liber' (p. 88), and Ulysses' 'slights' for 'sleights' (p. 189). Of the author's own errors it can only be said that, in such an elaborate compilation, a certain number were inevitable. the less venial are (p. 2) the 'blue-ey'd maid' Diana for Pallas, Homer's γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, and the 'many-mouthed vulgar dog' Cerberus—this is only the 'many-headed' multitude. how could Cerberus bark at an English farmer's door?—and a wildly irrelevant reference to Io, the daughter of Inachus, to explain 'Io Paean' (p. 120); 'io' is the interjection as in the Greek ἰὼ Παῖάν and the Latin *io triumphe*. 'J's inspiration for Nestor's hernia' (*Volp*) is unknown' (p. 152): it is a quotation from Juvenal, *Satire* vi, 326.

Mr Wheeler's detective zeal hunts down allusions so thoroughly that, when he is at fault, instead of dropping the scent, he is apt to suggest it is a false trail of Jonson's. May we remind him of Jonson's pungent remark, 'That which was not will not be found—no, not by the most curious'? It borders on the ludicrous to be told that there is no authority for the Sirens' tresses and Jupiter's beard (pp. 179, 130): should Jonson have pictured the Sirens as bald or made the Father of the Gods a beardless Apollo? In *Cynthia's Revels*, when a tomfool fobs off a dirty old hat as that which Ulysses wore in his travels, must we suppose that Jonson should have searched for this treasure-trove in Homer? 'Orion's horn is mystifying' (p. 157): Orion was a hunter and why should he not wind a horn? 'No source is known' for Mars 'giving Vulcan a lantern for a crown' in the *Execration upon Vulcan* (p. 139): what Mars gave him in Jonson's spelling was a 'Lanthorne', the innuendo of which is obvious. On the other hand, classical parallels are found for light's 'golden splendour' and 'blushing Aurora' (p. 54), as if Jonson could not have hit on these commonplaces unaided.

A few purely historical personages intrude into the book—Liburnian porters, Locusta, Poppaea, and Mira, the last an imperfect anagram of (Henrietta) Maria.

The points we have criticized emphasize the mechanical dangers to which research is liable. But Mr Wheeler's book surveys a wide field, and his collection of examples amply fulfils the purpose he had in view.

PERCY SIMPSON.

OXFORD.

An Humorous Day's Mirth (1599). Edited by W. W. GREG with assistance from DAVID NICHOL SMITH. 1937 (1938). xx+65 pp.

Charlemagne, or The Distracted Emperor. Edited by JOHN HENRY WALTER. 1937 (1938). xx+102 pp. (Malone Society Reprints.)

Most of *An humorous dayes mirth*—signatures A to G—is reproduced in type-facsimile from one copy of the only old edition (1599), with variants from three other copies incorporated in the list of misprints and doubtful readings. The final half-sheet H of the quarto exists in two

settings, both of which are reproduced. The editorial introduction states the bibliographical facts, and adds evidence concerning the original performances of the play in 1597 and speculations as to the source of the text. It would seem that the printer found the speech prefixes written in excessively abbreviated forms, which he sometimes reproduced and sometimes mistook. The editors think that this 'inadequate indication of speakers would be more likely to occur in an author's rough draft than in a revised prompt book', and offer in support a brilliant analysis of one corrupt speech (lines 928-41) as an over-faithful reproduction of Chapman's false starts before he had settled on the final form of expression. Nothing suggests a prompt copy, and the printing of all the verse as prose does not necessarily indicate a reported version, but some of those 'more serious or doubtful corruptions' which led T. M. Parrott to describe this text as 'one of the most corrupt of all Chapman's dramas' look very like errors of hearing, for example the mangled Latin in lines 836-7:

quæ æterni omnes to thy ousque notas sic omnibus magna tutor
for

cui æternitas omnis totiusque nota sit mundi magnitudo.

Such errors might arise in the printing-house (as Professor Parrott assumed), but I feel a little uneasy about a reconstruction of the printer's copy which leaves them out of account.

Dr Walter prints from MS. Egerton 1994 a more accurate text of *Charlemagne* than was previously available. In about 280 lines which are reproduced in collotype I have noticed half a dozen verbal corrections and dozens of literal ones which he has made, as against only two fresh misprints in his text of these passages, line 593 *meanlye* for *meanelye* and line 2783 *prosterytie* for *posterytie*. On bibliographical and other grounds he dates the play about 1604, and rejects the ascription to Chapman, which is less plausible at this late date than if the play were as F. L. Schoell believed 'une œuvre de début' of 1598-9.

Both these plays have been edited before, but never with such fullness of textual information. The Malone Society's editors furnish the material for that further analysis and speculation which they stimulate.

A. K. MCILWRAITH.

LIVERPOOL.

The Holy State and the Profane State. By THOMAS FULLER. Edited by MAXIMILIAN GRAFF WALTON. (*Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literatures*, 136.) New York: Columbia University Press; London H. Milford 1938. 2 vols. xv + 282 pp. + facsimile 55 pp.; viii + facsimile 441 pp. 35s.

The Formation of Thomas Fuller's Holy and Profane States. By WALTER E. HOUGHTON, Jr. (*Harvard Studies in English*, xix.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1938. 259 pp. 12s. 6d.

Mr Walton has followed the excellent plan of devoting his second volume entirely to a reduced facsimile of the original book, and confining

all critical matter to vol. 1. He thus leaves his reader free to make his own approach to Fuller, if he likes, without the irritating sensation of being ushered by an editor and nudged by learned notes. For those who require it, be they professed students or casual readers, he provides in his first volume a useful introduction to the book and notes to the different items. My only complaint is that the notes are not clearly enough related to the text by page-references.

Mr Houghton's book is a piece of research addressed more definitely to the student, and is based on a wider and more systematic survey of the different types of literature with which Fuller's work has affinities, or to which it owes a debt.

Such a survey is indeed a large undertaking; for Fuller had an appallingly retentive memory, and the back of his mind seems to have been tessellated with undissolved bits from his reading. Mr Walten in dealing with this problem is content with five categories: essay, character, pen-portrait, courtesy book and biography. Mr Houghton, sifting the material more finely, shows that in addition to these we must take into account the literature of Estates, manuals of Christian Economy, treatises of Policy, and, above all, the literature of Casuistry or Case-Divinity, to which he proves that Fuller owes a good deal more than has been realized.

The difficulty in such an inquiry is to know where to stop. Neither Mr Houghton nor Mr Walten mentions those queer school-books like Reusner's *Symbola Heroica*, by which boys were introduced to a Roman Emperor first through a motto, then through a series of aphorisms or 'sentences' by learned commentators on his reign, and finally through a sort of topiary-work biography, in which the hero was clipped to fit the space thus prepared for him in the moral landscape. It would be interesting to know if Fuller ever suffered from the *Symbola Heroica* in his school-days. One fancies that a docile little boy with a retentive memory who had been subjected to such austere and un-Baconian methods of instruction might easily have found himself in middle life trying to write his books from the wrong end. For that is what Fuller is doing in the Holy and Profane States. He is supposed to be 'teaching by example', but instead of beginning with his example, and proceeding to draw rules of conduct from it, he begins with the rules and tries to erect out of them synthetic and exemplary men. Mr Houghton shows clearly that some of his 'characters' are composed simply of pious injunctions in which the imperative has been replaced by a noun and a verb in the third person indicative. True, they are enlivened by anecdote and illustration; but nothing will make such characters come alive. If Fuller had been willing to follow the example of Theophrastus, and satirize departures from pious rule, he might have done better. But throughout the greater part of his book he is concerned with those who conform to rule, and this puts him at a serious disadvantage. When Theophrastus makes his country boor say that the perfumes sold in town don't smell a bit better than thyme, he does at least amplify his subject, for one could have thought of a hundred examples of rusticity without chancing upon

one so apt. But when Fuller says that his 'good master' provides his servants with 'victalls wholesome, sufficient and seasonable' and that he 'truly pays' their wages, he adds nothing, for such honest dealing is necessarily implied in the words 'good master'. Nor can such tautology (for that is what it practically amounts to) be defended on grounds of its possible utility in a case of conscience, for it envisages the case that could not conceivably arise. Nobody, even in remote Broadwindsor, ever said 'I want to be a good master, but can I bulk my servants of their pay?'

It was no doubt a misgiving about his method that prompted Fuller to tag these synthetic 'characters' with short biographies of real people, much as a despairing confectioner will sometimes put a real strawberry on the top of a too evidently synthetic strawberry-ice. But it is not a successful device. The biographies are often, as Mr Walten points out, inadequate or ill-chosen for the purpose in hand, and Mr Houghton is almost justified in maintaining that they are not an organic part of Fuller's design.

His design, as both agree, was probably suggested by a passage in *The Advancement of Learning* in which Bacon recommends a more systematic study of 'the respective or special duty of every man in his profession, vocation and place', together with a more comprehensive and serious analysis of 'the frauds, cautels, impostures and vices of every profession'; but it is impossible to suppose that Bacon would have approved of Fuller's method. And this deserves, I think, more emphasis than either of these scholars has been willing to give it. Mr Walten speaks of Fuller's 'splendid imagination', and Mr Houghton, not to be outdone, claims that the design of Fuller's book exhibits that 'synthetic and magical power' which, in Coleridge's phrase, 'struggles to idealise and unify'. But I can find no more 'synthetic and magical power' in the *Holy and Profane States* than in a child's sand-castle. The thing is patted together, but it never really coheres. There is no discoverable reason, for instance, why there should be a biography of a 'Good Servant' and not of a 'Good Master', or why the 'Good Physician' should be followed by a life of Paracelsus (here represented as a drunken charlatan), or why 'The Generall Artist' should be tucked in between 'The True Church Antiquary' and 'The Faithfull Minister', or why Book III should be given over to essays on general subjects, ranging from 'Naturall Fools' to the 'Maintenance of Ministers'. The reason which Fuller himself gives for the position of these essays really disposes of his claim to 'imagination' in the proper sense. They are put in the middle, he says, in order 'that the Books on both sides may equally reach to them; because all Persons therein are equally concerned'. Could anything be more Puckish? This is a reason for putting a bathroom near the middle of a hotel-landing. In the non-spacial architecture of thought it is grotesque, and serves only to reveal the fact that Fuller is thinking of his design fancifully.

It is Fuller's inability to concentrate that in the end tires his readers, and accounts for the decline of his reputation in this iron age. He potters: potters at history, potters at morality (Mr Houghton notes a curious instance of this on p. 232), potters at thinking. Nature meant him to

write familiar essays, but he lacked Montaigne's courage, and so fell back on those little set forms of rhetorical exercise—the character, the meditation, the emblem in words, the encomium—which provided a timid author with attitudes ready made, and enabled him to sidle through his subject from shelter to shelter like a crab in shingle.

But this is not to say that he does not repay study. Mr Houghton has made a useful addition to our knowledge of the seventeenth century, and his last two chapters, on Fuller's audience and on the qualities of his wit, are of first-rate interest.

J. CROFTS.

BRISTOL.

The Letters of William Shenstone. Edited by DUNCAN MALLAM. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; London. H. Milford. 1939. xxxvi+475 pp. 34s.

Mr Duncan Mallam and the University of Minnesota Press have prepared another edition of the letters of William Shenstone. With the painstaking care characteristic of American scholarship the editor has arranged the letters in chronological sequence, though one may truly say with Thomas Hull, one of Shenstone's early editors, that accuracy in this respect matters little as no 'chain of Events is interrupted' by letters erroneously placed.

Mr Mallam has found many unpublished letters but he frankly acknowledges that 'any edition can offer only a fraction of the total number.... The present collection cannot make any pretense of even approaching the definitive. It does contain all the letters, and even fragments, to which I have been able to gain access, either in print or in manuscript. Other letters are bound to turn up from time to time, though it is hard to believe they will be of sufficient number or importance to change our estimate or greatly increase our understanding of the man who wrote them.' That is the final word that can be said upon the subject.

In some respects Mr Mallam has been more fortunate than the present writer in preparing his edition. For instance, her application to Lord Cobham failed to produce the interesting letter in the Hagley Collection (p. 334). On the other hand, Messrs Maggs, R. N. Carew Hunt, Esq., Lady Charnwood and the Society of Antiquaries yielded up treasures to her which are not contained in this collection.

Nor has Mr Mallam thought it worth while to include Shenstone's 'Billets' which form an interesting addendum to the Shenstone-Percy correspondence. He tells us that he has supplied only those notes necessary 'to clarify the obscure allusions' and he has provided a useful index to the book. His work has been well done, and 'in recognition of the steady interest in Shenstone manifested in recent years' the editor has provided 'a documented edition of letters for the use of students and other enthusiasts'.

These, including the editor, may like to hear of a letter which has come to light only in the last few days. This is not only delightfully characteristic

of Shenstone but is also addressed to a correspondent hitherto unknown, a neighbour. The poet hopes the friend will like a kyd he is sending him better than himself has enjoyed the rearing of it. For it 'and its kindred' have done his young shrubs much injury.

MARJORIE WILLIAMS.

GUILDFORD.

Robert Burns. His Personality, His Reputation and His Art. By FRANKLYN BLISS SNYDER. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1936. 119 pp. 6s. 6d.

This short volume is a reprint of three lectures given at the University of Toronto for an obviously popular audience, and should not be criticized as anything else. But Professor Snyder has strained his material now and again to prove what is hardly worth proving even before a non-academic group of hearers. The first essay is on Burns's personality, and quite a section of it is given over to a documented proof that Burns was intelligent, surely a little unnecessary in these days. To prove Burns's 'concern over politics' the author quotes *To a Gentleman who had Lent a Newspaper* and invites our admiration for the poet's grasp of international affairs because he mentions (and mention is all that he does do) fourteen European countries in sixteen lines. Whatever the merits of the poem it certainly does not prove Burns's 'familiarity with the matters under discussion'. The second essay on the reputation of the poet is a more straightforward and satisfying piece of work, an account of the steady rise of Burns into favour both in his lifetime and since. The author gives an outline of the main editions of the poet in Scotland and later in England and America, and illustrates well from the detractors of Burns (we could do with more of Alexander Tait the tailor-poet of Tarbolton than the author cares to quote), from his imitators, that wearisome group of nineteenth century 'working-men' Scottish poets, from the centenary celebrations as reported by *Punch* (this is a good page!), even from the poet's Obituary Notices. The essay concludes with a survey of Burns's reputation on the Continent and in America.

The final essay on the Art of Burns is disappointing. Does it prove anything of importance—the author seems to consider that it does—that the vocabulary of Burns was 12,500 words? This is worth while neither as criticism nor as scholarship, and is on a par with the invitation given on p. 87 that the reader should underline the verbs in any fifty lines of Burns to 'see almost at a glance his mastery of these significant parts of speech'. Professor Snyder's least happy criticism is his quite unnecessary attempt to prove Burns's ability to write poetry in English as well as he did in Scots. *My Love is like a Red, Red Rose* is saved from being pure English, the author claims, by four Scots words—bonie, gang, a', weel. But surely it is essential to realize that the language of Burns's Scots lyrics—whatever the spelling may be—is Scots and nothing else. One has heard only too often well-intentioned readings of Burns where the only words pronounced as Scots were those spelt differently from standard

English. '*Sweet Afton*', continues the author, 'shows not a syllable of Scots'. Has he considered carefully the first line?

Flow gently sweet Afton among thy green *braes*.

Burns, he continues, wrote much 'in an English barely tinged with a suggestion of Scottish dialect'. Burns conceived his lyrics in Scots, thought them in Scots, spoke them in Scots, but—and it is an important but—he was generally *printed* in English with an occasional 'Scots' spelling. There is a difference and it is the business of anyone writing and working seriously on Burns to realize it

The essay concludes on safer ground with praise of Burns as a lyrist and a satirist. But even here the author finds that the lovely phrase in its Scots form, the 'trysted 'oor' in *Mary Morrison*, is merely 'conventional phraseology'; and *Ae Fond Kiss* is 'marked by turgidity'. Turgidity is surely the last quality on earth to find anywhere in that spare masterpiece.

IAN A. GORDON.

WELLINGTON, N.Z.

Dostoevsky's English Reputation (1881-1936). By HELEN MUCHNIC. (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, April and July, 1939.) Northampton, Mass.. Smith College; London: H. Milford. 1938. vi+219 pp. \$1.50.

The writer puts this forward, very modestly, as a survey of the English and American estimates and interpretations of Dostoevsky, and of such foreign contributions to the subject as have served to mould English views. Of the latter, it covers not only those which have been translated, but also a number of French and some German works that evidently deserve to be. Though only indirectly a critical study of Dostoevsky himself, it is so intelligently arranged, and the comparisons are so thoroughly thrashed out, that it is a good deal more than a key to the vast literature of the subject; it will surely be henceforth an indispensable tool. As the preface explains, it is the only part finished of a much larger enterprise long cherished, to trace the influence of Russian on English literature, which we hope may eventually be carried to completion

A study in Dutch, by J. M. Romein (1924), dealt with Dostoevsky's influence in western Europe, and Theodorich Kampmann (1931) and H. F. Minssen (1933) did the same as regards Germany and France respectively. The novels actually appeared from 1846 to 1880; but it is urged here that it was not till the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth that they became part and parcel of European literature. One of the Russian's best critics, D. S. Mirsky, commented ironically on the 'Dostoevsky Cult' in his book *The Intelligentsia of Great Britain* (1935). The boom during the war-time, it is argued, was not accidental, except as coinciding with the appearance of the best translation of the works: 'It was a complex intellectual phenomenon, composed partly of war-time sympathies, partly of mysticism, partly of a new interest in abnormal psychology and in the revelations of

psycho-analysis.' 'The cult has not endured.' The enthusiasm has subsided to a more moderate appraisal, 'to the almost tacit neglect reserved for the "classics" of art'.

In four meaty chapters, the interpreters are discussed chronologically, from Melchior de Vogüé and Ernest Dupuy in the eighties to the present time. Even in what is described as 'The Interval', the years 1889-1911, important work was done. Here there is only space enough to enumerate the principal critics and translators—Georg Brandes, Havelock Ellis, Kropotkin, Merezhkovsy, whose comparison of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky was illuminating, Edward Garnett and the translator Constance Garnett, Saintsbury, Gosse, Brückner, author of *A Literary History of Russia* (translated 1908), Maurice Baring, Otto Julius Bierbaum, and W. L. Phelps. Those cited in the next chapter, 'The Dostoevsky Cult' (1912-21), are more exciting because more individual and more provocative. They comprise Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield, the would-be philosophical critic Janko Lavrin, Edmund Wilson, the biographers E. H. Carr and Avrahm Yarmolinsky, E. M. Forster, Mrs Woolf, André Gide, Thomas Mann, and the Russian Leo Shestov, whose work on Dostoevsky and Nietzsche (1902) cries out to be translated into English. The final chapter consists of an admirable 'Summary and Discussion'.

ERNEST A. BAKER.

LONDON.

Die Darstellung des Englischen Nationalcharakters in John Galsworthy's 'Forsyte Saga'. By WILL HÉRAUCOURT. Marburg: N. G. Elwert. 1938. iv + 110 pp. 4 M.

Dr Héraucourt's book, of which this is a second edition, is indeed 'eine Psychologische Untersuchung', but though it has all the external marks of German thesis-making, he would be an uncritical reader who did not recognize a penetration and an understanding of the English character which are usually denied to German psychology. True his categories are often in the way and his assumption that the study of Forsyte men and women will yield us the last essence of that character is perhaps a little naive. On the other hand hasn't everyone been saying that Galsworthy succeeded as well as anybody could in portraying the upper-middle and upper-class Englishman? And since the educated German is much concerned to understand that complex being, why not crush the quartz which Galsworthy has provided in such abundance? And of course valuable sidelights are available from Dibelius and Schucking on the German side, and from such authentic Englishmen as Dean Inge and Professor Macneile Dixon who have written with such understanding (and such love) of the politer section of their countrymen.

The value of Galsworthy's witness lies in the fact that he wrote the *Saga* (and earlier pre-*Saga* sketches and romances) wholly from the Forsyte point of view. In a sense it is a vast Browningsque monologue in which every reaction of the type to modern disintegration is faithfully registered. We may be sometimes tempted to smile at Herr Héraucourt's

types and categories, but we cannot withhold our admiration for the way in which he has carried his work of dissection down from Victorian England to the modern era in which 'manners, flavour, quality, are all gone, engulfed in one vast, ugly, shoulder-rubbing, petrol-smelling Cheerio'. In describing the male Forsytes he has probably erred in identifying their characteristics too closely with those of the upper class Victorians (his author invites him to do so and herein Galsworthy is to be read with as much critical awareness as Matthew Arnold when he is 'going for' the class), but it is instructive to have these characteristics brought out into relief with a wealth of relevant quotation. Most educated readers can guess what they are—an intense and self-regarding individualism; a denial or excessive control of the emotions, which makes the genuine love of art impossible (Soames's collecting is mere 'investing'); and above all the sense of property which is the *leit-motif* of all Galsworthy's dealings with the class. It is fashionable to find the clue to these things in puritanism and Herr Héraucourt is not behind his countrymen, who are intensely interested in the reactions of English puritanism, in tracing the connection. The Forsytes were originally dissenting bucolics or petty tradespeople; now they are Church-of-England. Nevertheless 'Der Puritanismus ist in die Seele des ganzen englischen Volkes eingegangen' and, Church-of-England or Dissent, the Forsytes carry into society the whole baleful cargo of repression and acquisitiveness, which, according to our author, characterizes the historic Englishman. There is also, to be sure, the 'innate sense of law and order' reflected on a lower plane in the superstitious regard for good form, top-hat, visiting card, and all the other paraphernalia of respectability. To bring all this into relief we have the antics of 'that fellow Bosinney'; but had he not Welsh blood, which means for Galsworthy and our author the impulse to 'impersonality' as opposed to Forsyte 'personality'? Dr Héraucourt rightly identifies his author with the former and Professor Macneile Dixon with the latter. For Galsworthy does not regret, as Dixon does, the disintegration of the old hard type.

Wide as our author's contemporary citation is, I wish, for his thesis's sake, he had been able to regard the *Forsyte Saga* as a late and splendid outcrop of the Victorian 'Condition-of-England Question'. Viewed in that light the Saga ceases to be merely a study of the propertied class in three generations. Beneath the objective study there is the teaching or doctrine and the presence of this, as in Arnold's satiric pictures of the classes too, ought to warn us against taking—too literally at least—the Forsytes as transcripts of English life. With this caveat, if it can be introduced into a third edition, Herr Héraucourt's admirable study can be safely put in the hands of German youth—such is his aim—as a handbook to English manners. Without it, a rather hateful picture of the English might be conveyed to them.

G. KITCHIN.

A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel. Volume Two: *The New World.* By EDWARD GODFREY COX. Seattle: University of Washington. 1938. vii+591 pp. Cloth \$4.25. Paper \$3.00.

The second volume of this valuable work will be welcomed especially by those who have proved the utility of the first (*The Old World*)—all the more because, the index to the earlier volume being at length prepared and included in this one, what was an unmanageable tome has been transformed into a real work of reference. Such bibliographies can rarely reach full accuracy and finality. The third impression of Sir Thomas Herbert's *Some Yeares Travaille*, for instance, first appeared in 1664, not 1665 as stated. But when none of Herbert's biographers seems to have known this edition, and no copy of it exists in the British Museum, a bibliographer could hardly be expected to trace a rare issue so dated to its home in the Royal Empire Society. A misleading citation of Herbert's book by another writer has resulted in its second edition figuring rather amusingly as an entirely separate work under *Fictitious Voyages and Travels*, while a modern reprint with a compressed name has further complicated the position, so that three Thomas Herberts appear in the index. The index, incidentally, would benefit from a thorough revision.

Knowing how liable men are to such errors, Mr Cox has preferred the modest title of 'Reference Guide', and has disowned any claim to exhaustiveness; but his books are nevertheless of considerable worth to all concerned with this increasingly important branch of literature.

N. H. MACKENZIE.

PORT ELIZABETH.

Travel and Literature: an attempt at a literary appreciation of English Travel-Books about Persia, from the Middle Ages to the present day. By Dr M. H. BRAAKSMA. Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 128 pp. 1938. f. 2.50.

Dr Braaksma deals with his subject from the right angle. Modern editions of travel books, even those published by the Hakluyt Society, in their excellent introductions and annotations have one serious shortcoming: they almost always ignore the literary side. One looks in vain for comments upon the author's skill as an artist, for an analysis of his merits and defects in the use of words. This omission Dr Braaksma has in some measure tried to remedy, and though he focusses his attention mainly upon books dealing with Persia, he contrives in the course of a clearly reasoned exposition to enunciate many general principles of criticism. He seeks to show how judgments in the past have been biassed by non-literary factors, so that Hakluyt's *Collectron of Voyages* has been absurdly called the 'prose epic of the modern English nation', and 'hard-boiled merchants and unimaginative sea-dogs have had seats reserved for them in the circle of Britain's great authors'. Where before utility and exactitude of fact have been the main criteria, Dr Braaksma substitutes considerations of effectiveness and style. His own style is sprightly, often colloquial—he speaks, for instance, of the 'ratio between genuine

art and tripe'—but his vigour and the numerous extracts included lend lightness to the book and make it very far from a cheerless treatise.

N. H. MACKENZIE.

PORT ELIZABETH.

Courtoisie in Anglo-Norman Literature. By C. B. WEST. (*Medieval Aevum Monographs*, III.) Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1938. 175 pp. 10s. 6d.

There will be little quarrel with the conclusion, reached by Dr West in her Ph.D. thesis, that 'while courtoisie is undoubtedly present in Anglo-Norman literature, it is hardly, for the most part, the courtoisie of the troubadours or of the French courtois writers, but something more pedestrian'. Whether this result justifies the publication of all the matter that the author has most diligently and conscientiously examined in her search after traces of courtoisie is another question, and the present reviewer for one would have enjoyed the fruits of Dr West's labours far more if they had been presented in the form of a substantial essay with most of the 'rough-work' omitted. In this respect the chapter on Thomas's *Tristan* is to be commended, since the author has assumed that the reader knows the story and has proceeded to discuss its courtliness straight away. In most of the other chapters we are taken through the plots episode by episode only to find at the end a similar remark. 'it is obvious from the preceding summary that there is little courtoisie in *Boeve de Haumtone*', p. 43; 'the relations of the sexes are uncourtly throughout the poem', p. 45; 'the dominant ideas are still uncourtly', p. 49; 'the attitude to marriage is for the most part uncourtly', p. 68, and so forth, which suggests that a different plan would have involved less repetition, and even makes one begin to wonder whether the book should not have been called *Absence of Courtoisie from Anglo-Norman Literature*, which might have enabled the writer to occupy herself more with her finds and less with her disappointments.

The examination of published and unpublished specimens of Anglo-Norman literature is set out against a general background represented by a discussion of courtoisie, its characteristics, possible sources, relation to Christianity, in the first chapter, and of history, to which and to remarks on the English character the eight pages of the second chapter are devoted; but it is not always easy to determine whether courtly features are being judged by comparison with a theoretical abstraction or with a recollection of an extreme Provençal form, and in any case the amount of comparative study is a trifle meagre, though the author shows by her concluding sentence ('...the work of Anglo-Norman writers may offer a fruitful field to the student of comparative literature') that she is well aware of this aspect of her subject. She has resolutely and of set purpose refrained from treating it, as we can see from her attitude to *Amadas et Ydoine*, 'Since it is only of the first part that there remains an Anglo-Norman version, that is all that will be considered here'. This decision, restricting the author to a reiteration of statements about the presence or absence of courtly elements, is to be regretted; Dr West with her tenacity

of purpose and power of critical judgment (cf. p. 124, where the theme that 'the mere use of particular terms is not in itself a sufficient proof of a courtois turn of mind' is developed) could certainly have made an interesting contribution to the larger subject. Comparison with the writers of north-eastern France might well have been used to show that the practical bourgeois mind and the didactic tendencies that forbid over-indulgence in courtoisie are no monopoly of the Anglo-Normans, or again, more explicit references to troubadour poetry could have opened up the question whether a high degree of courtoisie is not sometimes obtained by limiting its field of operation, following the hint given by Daude de Pradas, himself guilty of didactic writing, in the poem *Amors m'envida e'm somo*, 'De totz los bens qu'en amor so, / ai ieu ara calque plazer, / car ieu ai mes tot mon esper, / mon pensar e m'entencio / en amar dompna coind' e bella, / e soi amatz d'una piucella, / e quan trob soudadeira gaia, / deporte mi cossi qe'm plaia; / e per tant non son meins cortes / ad amor si la part en tres.' (Ed. A. H. Schutz, p. 70.)

This book then, even if it does not aspire to a high level of general interest, is a careful treatment of a set subject and its success may be judged by the fact that the editors of the *Medium Aevum Monographs* have welcomed it in their series.

R. C. JOHNSTON.

OXFORD.

Savaric de Mauléon, Baron and Troubadour. By H. J. CHAYTOR.
Cambridge: University Press. 1939. xii+96 pp. 6s.

In the chapter on 'The Troubadours and English Politics' in *The Troubadours and England* Dr Chaytor gave us an account of Savaric's activities in England and some references to his later career, and conjectured that he may have done something to encourage a taste for Provençal poetry in this country. A great deal is known about the life of Savaric; there are about two hundred references to him in English legal documents alone, further sources are chronicles, poems, *razos* and *vidas*, and though the last two are of no great importance and in any case cannot be wholly trusted, it is of interest to note that Dr Chaytor's estimate of Savaric's character does not differ excessively from the laudatory opinion expressed by the author of the *vida*. Here then we have what is likely to remain the definitive account of an eventful life and a vivid personality, well written, carefully documented and illustrated by pictures of Corfe Castle, a facsimile of King John's will and impressions of Savaric's coinage and seal. If the result is not the large book anticipated by the Provençal biographer, that is no fault of the author, but of time, which has left us so little of the literary production of our troubadour. All that we have, a share in two *tensos* and an isolated *cobla*, is collected and translated for us; we miss the Provençal text of the *vida*.

Most of the book is concerned with Savaric the Baron (pp. 1-61) and his share in events, English and French, of the reigns of John and young Henry III, and the crusade against the Albigenses. These events are

narrated in a spirited and graphic manner, and, speaking from the standpoint of the non-historical specialist, they gain in interest by the concentration of attention on one personality, and the story was worth telling from the side of Savaric, who was no mean performer, being at one time 'in theory the supreme authority from the Loire to the Pyrenees'.

There is far less to say about the troubadour aspect, and except for the *cobla*, which may possibly be better understood in the light of historical facts, Savaric the poet has to be treated apart. Imprisonment in Corfe Castle, signing John's will, and the like, have nothing to do with discussions of points of love casuistry, and of course Dr Chaytor keeps his account of the poetry to a separate chapter (pp. 65-79). Assuming that Savaric produced more verse than is extant, Dr Chaytor accounts for its loss by pointing to the social and political eminence of Savaric, as such eminence is usually held to account for the preservation of the poetry of William of Aquitaine, either there is an error in one case, or circumstances must have differed in the course of a century.

A few misprints have escaped the eye of the proof-reader; most of them are of little consequence (such as *Suthantonsensis*, note 2, p. 34, or the full stop instead of high point in E.1, p. 66, or the wrong division in *destre nhla*, p. 87), but something is wrong in the middle of p. 20 where apparently events of 1202 are presented as consequential on the murder of Pierre de Castelnau in 1208. Presumably we read 1208 or 9 for 1202.

This is a book to be warmly welcomed. English workers in the Romance field are rightly showing a growing interest in those parts of their study that touch England. If we would care for the present and future of our land we should not be unmindful of its past. Dr Chaytor by his earlier general study and now this detailed picture of a short period has large claims on our gratitude.

R. C. JOHNSTON.

OXFORD.

Le Roman en Prose de Lancelot du Lac: Le Conte de la Charrette. Edited by GWENETH HUTCHINGS. Paris: E. Droz. 1938. lx+147 pp. Frs. 30.

Dr Hutchings is to be congratulated on providing a valuable addition to the material available for Arthurian studies. She reproduces two MSS., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 45 and Oxford Bodleian MS. Q. b. 6, which represent the two distinct versions of the story furnished by the extant MSS. Minor divergences from these main versions are given in appendices.

In classifying the MSS. Dr Hutchings follows the example of previous editors of other sections of the *Lancelot* and considers only her particular section, the *Conte de la Charrette*. She does not claim that her classification would hold for the complete *Lancelot* MSS. This wider question is outside the scope of the present work, but she promises us a further study—which should be of great interest—of the results arrived at by the various editors from their independent consideration of the different sections. There are some discrepancies between Dr Hutchings's classification and that made

by M. Frapier in his recent edition of the *Mort Artu*. But this fact may be accounted for by the unique situation of the *Charrette* section. Here an external point of comparison exists—Chrétien's poem. The two groups into which Dr Hutchings divides the MSS. of this part of the cycle represent two independent adaptations of Chrétien. Why should not a copyist, on reaching this point in the *Lancelot*, and comparing the available prose versions with Chrétien, have preferred to substitute here another MS. for that utilized so far? Apart from the special considerations applying only to the *Charrette*, however, the conflicting conclusions reached by the editors of the *Queste* and the *Mort Artu* seem to indicate that the cyclical character of the MSS. complicates the business of classification. It may be questioned whether Dom Henri Quentin's method, which Dr Hutchings adopts, is not too mechanical to give an accurate picture of such an apparently arbitrary process as the transcription of a prose romance.

Dr Hutchings's conclusions on the authorship of the *Lancelot* agree closely with M. Lot's. She too regards the *Charrette* as an integral part of a cyclical romance by a single author.

In default of any serious charges, the reviewer may be allowed one or two criticisms of detail. The suggested explanation of *lates* (p. 23, 16) as *bois du lit-cage* is unconvincing. Comparison with Chrétien (v. 518 A mie nuit devers les lates Vint une lance) indicates that the passage means that the bed-coverings were whirled away up to the boarding of the roof. Keu's allusion (p. 88, 11) to a fight between Lancelot and three knights at Pedugrain refers to the incident in Sommer iv, pp. 60–6. In stating (p. 136) that she could not trace this allusion, Dr Hutchings seems to have forgotten her own reference to *le combat de Bedingran* on p. 1.

Some awkwardness in the style and several grammatical errors are doubtless explained—though hardly excused—by the fact that the book is an adaptation in French of an English thesis.

CLAUDINE I. WILSON.

LONDON.

La Vie et l'œuvre de François Rabelais. By GEORGES LOTE. Aix-en-Provence: Imprimerie Universitaire; Paris: Droz. 1938. 547 pp. 100 fr.

In the sober and rather too brief account of Rabelais's life with which his book opens M. Lote is almost too cautious. For instance, the evidence for Rabelais having studied medicine in Paris is stronger than he admits. Moreover, M. Abel Lefranc is probably right in believing that Rabelais, when there, lodged at the Hôtel Saint-Denis (see *Rev. des Études Rabelaisiennes*, vi, 38 ff.). M. Lote rightly lays stress on the shrewdness which Rabelais showed in conciliating protectors; but is it right to call it the shrewdness of a half-peasant? For Rabelais's father was an advocate and a man of property, and a person of some consideration in his neighbourhood.

There is nothing much to note in the third chapter, which treats of the

construction and publication of Rabelais's great work. M. Lote says about Book v that 'it may be by Rabelais, but also, with much greater likelihood, it may not'—which is not very helpful. And I may here note that my remark, 'tout juge compétent le reconnaît comme portant la griffe du maître', does not refer to the whole book, but only to c. 29, the account of the visit to the *Pays du Satin*. On the subject of Pantagruel's voyages M. Lote has made good use of M. Lefranc's epoch-making work. But the evidence for Rabelais's personal acquaintance with Jacques Cartier is stronger than M. Lote thinks. Certainly, his debt to the explorer's *Brief récit* is considerable.

Though Rabelais was a whole-hearted supporter of the Renaissance and of the revival of humanistic studies, he was steeped in medieval thought and literature. This is well brought out by M. Lote, whose fourth chapter is the fruit of much wide and careful reading. The chapter on Rabelais's humanism is, in parts, equally encyclopaedic; but the account of his debt to Italian and Greek writers might have been fuller. There is no mention of Machiavelli or Aretino, and the *Hypnerotomachia* and *Il Cortegiano* are only just referred to. Nor is Rabelais's acquaintance with Greek writers fully set forth. It is true that in a later chapter his obligations to Lucian and Plutarch are pointed out; but he was also well acquainted with Homer and the 'divine Plato', while Herodotus, Pausanias, Diogenes Laertius, Euripides, and Aristophanes all supplied him with material. Nothing either is said of his debt to Latin writers. But a far graver omission is the absence of all reference to Erasmus (except a bare mention of the famous letter to Salignac), whom Rabelais calls his father, and to whose *Adages*, *Praise of Folly*, and *Colloquies* he was largely indebted.

With regard to the difficult and much-discussed question of Rabelais's religion, M. Lote, though with some reservations, agrees on the whole with the view so ably expounded by M. Lefranc in c. III of his Introduction to the critical edition of *Pantagruel*, namely, that Rabelais, from the very beginning of the publication of his great work, was a confirmed opponent of Christianity. 'From the time of the Third Book', says M. Lote, 'there is no difficulty'—resting his argument chiefly on the testimony of Rabelais's contemporaries. This is not the place to open up the whole question. *Pace* M. Lote it is one full of difficulty; briefly, my own opinion is that Rabelais, though he gave up his belief in orthodox Christianity, was, up to his death, still searching for a form of religion that would satisfy his moral and intellectual needs.

In the chapters on Rabelais's art and style M. Lote is too much inclined to enlarge on his shortcomings. In Rabelais's day French vocabulary and syntax were in a highly fluctuating condition, and it is natural that his style should be sometimes cumbrous or obscure. But his narrative is often a model of straightforward brevity, as indeed M. Lote recognizes, though without laying sufficient stress on it. He makes no reference to the daring flights in which Rabelais's prose takes on the imaginative sweep of lyrical poetry—as, for instance, Panurge's panegyric on debtors (III, iii and iv), or the account of the plant Pantagruelion (IV, li). On the

other hand, M. Lote does full justice to Rabelais's wonderfully rich vocabulary, which, with the help of M. Sainéau's *La Langue de Rabelais*, he studies in some detail, to his love of popular language and comic expressions, and to his picturesque mimicry of the speech of his characters, as in the immortal dialogue between Panurge and Dindenault (iv, vi and vii).

It is evident that the comic and laughter-loving side of Rabelais's genius appeals more strongly to M. Lote than his serious side. That probably accounts for his proposed identification, made with considerable confidence, of Friar John with his creator. The idea is, so far as I know, a new one, but it does not commend itself as probable. Panurge, M. Lote truly says, is one of the most living creations of all literature, and he naturally points out the change which takes place in his character between *Gargantua* and the Third Book. While in the first two books his cowardice is only foreshadowed—it is a mistake, I think, to speak of him as brave—in the last three books he is an arrant coward, and while originally he is almost impious in his attitude to religion, he assumes later a narrow and conventional orthodoxy. Moreover, as with Falstaff, the conception of his character has become more philosophical and of wider import. M. Lote's idea (which is new to me) that Pantagruel, as he appears in the last books, represents Rabelais's conception of his patron Guillaume du Bellay, is happily inspired, and the pages (385–90) in which he develops it are, perhaps, the best in the whole book. It may be remembered that Du Bellay's life has been admirably told by M. Lote's colleague in the University of Aix, M. V.-L. Bourrilly, whose help with advice and proof-reading he gratefully acknowledges.

Like Villey's *Marot et Rabelais* M. Lote's book has practically no notes or references, and, what is worse, no index. This will impair its usefulness to serious students, while its length and wealth of detail must make it formidable for the general reader. It usefully supplements M. Plattard's admirable *François Rabelais* (1932), but it is very far from superseding it.

A. TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

French Realism: The Critical Reaction, 1830–70. By BERNARD WEINBERG
New York: Modern Language Association of America, London
Humphrey Milford. 1937. 259 pp. 11s. 6d.

In spite of *La Bataille Réaliste*, by E. Bouvier (which, however, only deals with the years 1844–57) and much work on specific authors, there have been few attempts to set out the stages of the polemic which raged round the productions of the Realists, and to gauge the development of public opinion in the way this has been done for Romanticism in, for example, *Le Débat Romantique*. The reasons for this are clear. In the first place, there was no 'debate' at all in the sense of controversy between partisans of rival systems of art because Realism was a much less definite creed than Romanticism in its militant phase. Whereas Romanticism had been a self-conscious doctrine set forth by a group of friends in

manifestoes, prefaces and periodicals, Realism was simply a number of tendencies which may loosely be described as 'modern' and which were perceptible in varying degrees in the work of many writers. Secondly, Realism was less challenging to conservative minds not only because of the gradualness of its penetration but also because, many of its battles having already been won for it by Romanticism, there was far less cleavage between it and Romanticism than between Romanticism and what had gone before.

Mr Weinberg has collected over a thousand reviews and articles on the work of authors with realistic tendencies, and so as to give as comprehensive a survey as possible of the evolution of public opinion he has used not only material from literary periodicals but also articles in newspapers, in particular *Le Constitutionnel*, *Le Journal des Débats* and *Figaro*. In order to keep the investigation within bounds he has narrowed down this material to critical opinion upon novelists, omitting realistic drama and those aspects of Parnassian poetry which are akin to Realism. Moreover he has had to adopt some necessarily arbitrary time limits. The point of departure taken is 1830, the year of the publication of *Le Rouge et le Noir* and of the real beginning of the *Comédie Humaine*, and at the other end the year 1870 is a convenient stopping-place because by then Flaubert had just published *L'Éducation Sentimentale* and the Goncourt collaboration had come to an end, whilst, with Zola now well embarked on the *Rougon-Macquart* series, the Realist phase was about to give place to the Naturalist campaign. The principal authors considered are Stendhal, Mérimée, Balzac, Champfleury, Murger, Duranty, Flaubert, Feydeau and the Goncourts, and an important chapter attempts a semantic study of the development of the meaning of the words *réaliste* and *réalisme* as used by critics and publicists from 1840, by when it was in common use as a critical term. As the words were widely used in art criticism there is a chapter on the reception of Realism in painting, particularly in the work of Courbet. In this connexion Realism, according to Duranty, means truth, portrayal of contemporary life and completeness.

The most interesting facts that emerge from the mass of evidence so patiently accumulated by Mr Weinberg are a steady widening of what public opinion will accept as a matter of course and the vicissitudes suffered by novelists owing to the influence of other novelists. With the passing of time the critics frequently have to readjust their standards, they have to retreat and take up new positions. Each new writer brings about a modification of the general attitude towards his predecessors, so that works formerly condemned are held up as standards by which later works are judged, or, inversely, certain qualities in a new writer bring about a slump in the stock of an old-established one who, having emerged from his original unpopularity, has been enjoying a boom.

Thus, between 1830 and 1840 Stendhal is attacked for immorality, bad style, lack of any sort of composition and excess of detail, but praised for accurate observation and penetrating psychology. Most of the obituary notices in 1842 sum up his work as acute observation spoilt by drab and inartistic form. During the same period Balzac, also praised for observa-

tion, detail and portraiture, is violently criticized for materialism, externality, tedious inventories and one-sided attention to the ugly, sordid and criminal aspects of modern life. To these strictures are added, after 1840, condemnation of Balzac's philosophical pretensions and of his immorality. But from 1846 onwards, as it becomes increasingly difficult to overlook the monumental proportions and undeniable qualities of the *Comédie Humaine*, critical opinion swings round in Balzac's favour. It is discovered that the novels are of great philosophical, social and moral import, Balzac's powers of description and characterization are disputed by none and he is praised for having achieved a masterly synthesis of the real and the ideal. Meanwhile Stendhal is regarded with esteem, if not enthusiasm. But when the collected edition of Stendhal is reviewed between 1853 and 1855 the novels are bitterly attacked, simply because Balzac has now become the accepted criterion. Measured by the Balzac standard the author of *Le Rouge et le Noir* is found to be artificial, insincere and anti-social, in fact a self-advertising poseur without morals or ideals. Not that Balzac's position as a classic is very firmly established, however, for it fails to weather the storm of abuse called forth by the appearance of *Madame Bovary*. The crimes of Flaubert are ascribed to the influence of Balzac, and the *Comédie Humaine* once more becomes the object of the attack, this time as the tainted source from which the disease of Realism comes. Balzac will only recover from this setback some years later, but then it will be to take his place as a real classic, hallowed by time. As for Flaubert himself, *Madame Bovary* is of course adversely criticized for many reasons. The old ones that have served to attack every realist writer for twenty years past are brought out again: immorality, excessively scientific and 'medical' point of view, materialistic fatalism, treatment of the dull and commonplace, but to these is added a new charge, that of being cold and impersonal, of having, as Cuvillier-Fleury puts it, 'ni imagination, ni émotion, ni morale'. Even the bitterest critics, however, have nothing but praise for Flaubert's technical achievements, his character drawing, accuracy of description, composition and style. But *Madame Bovary*, and with it the cause of Realism, understood as the faithful reproduction of contemporary life, come into their own after the appearance of *Salammbô*. The outcry that greets this novel 'as an impossible subject written in an impossible way', and the universally expressed regret that Flaubert has not repeated *Madame Bovary* prove that public opinion now expects and likes realistic novels of modern life. This conquest of the public is clearly shown by the relief and pleasure which people voice when Flaubert returns to commonplace daily life in *L'Éducation Sentimentale*. True, some exception is still taken to the lack of moral purpose, but the battle is won and Taine expresses the general sentiment when he writes to Flaubert (letter quoted p. 172, also in the Conard edition of Flaubert): 'Jetons un filet sur le boulevard et ramassons les individus qui passent. Les types très francs et très absolus sont faux, ils n'existent que dans l'esprit. Tout homme réel et vivant n'est qu'un à peu près, un hybride, un mélange de vellétés et d'inconséquences. Faire vrai, c'est faire le monsieur que voici, et non le personnage énergique et

grandiose que mon imagination aurait du plaisir à contempler.' It is this softening of public hostility which explains why, despite objections on the grounds of subject-matter and immorality to *Sœur Philomène* or *Germine Lacerteux*, the Goncourt novels are received on the whole sympathetically, almost all reviewers agreeing in their praise of the description, delineation of character and the richness and colour of the authors' sensitive style.

In significant contrast to all this is the consistent approval bestowed upon Mérimée throughout the period. Though described as 'réaliste' as early as 1846 he is seldom attacked as all his contemporaries are. This is partly because the purity and moderation of his style appeal to all readers as being in the best French tradition but also because, although he depicts truth and reality, he chooses in that reality what is poetic, colourful, passionate and flavoured with the exotic. It is clear once again that what public opinion objects to in Realism is ugliness and dullness of subject-matter and deliberately inartistic treatment after the Champfleury formula.

A very clear statistical summing-up shows that on the evidence examined by Mr Weinberg critics on the whole approved of certain recurring elements in the novels of the period. These were: truthful representation of reality, study of contemporary life and manners as opposed to the Romantic historical genre, approach through direct observation, analytical character-study. They were more divided over the question of impersonality, which was frequently condemned as coldness. But the same critics objected to emphasis on external details and what they considered to be undue stress on inanimate things instead of the analysis of man's soul; the scientific pretensions and determinist philosophy which in their opinion led to sensuality, immorality or at least indifference to moral principles and depressing fatalism; and, of course, low life, ugliness and triviality unworthy of art. Art is then the final standard of literary value, and ultimately those writers were accepted and their offences forgiven whose form satisfied the traditional artistic requirements, whilst those whose technical achievements were considered inadequate were rejected. It all reduces itself to the deep-seated French reverence for form, form which redeems almost any sins of matter or abnormalities of philosophy:

Il n'est point de serpent, ni de monstre odieux,
Qui, par l'art imité, ne puisse plaire aux yeux....

It is inevitable that such an exhaustive compilation, full of references and quotations, should make rather difficult reading. Inevitable also that it should involve some repetition. But it is not easy to see how else the book could have been done without sacrificing much of its very great bibliographical value. These small disadvantages are, however, compensated by very efficient arrangement, often under numbered headings, and by clear sectional résumés. Businesslike method is, indeed, the outstanding quality of the book. But there is one respect in which the statistical method may be misleading. Mr Weinberg assigns equal weight

to every opinion, each item quoted counts simply as one vote. In his introduction he makes out a case for this strictly democratic treatment and claims to be interested only in the average attitude towards Realism as brought out by the general election which he conducts. But it is questionable whether at any time an irresponsible and violent article by an anonymous journalist could have been as true an expression of educated public opinion as a carefully considered judgment by Sainte-Beuve or Taine. There is no doubt at all which of them had the greater influence upon the formation of that opinion.

L. W. TANCOCK.

LONDON.

Hommes et œuvres du XXe siècle. By HENRI PEYRE. PARIS: Éditions Corr  a. 1938. 345 pp. 36 frs.

This volume comprises a series of essays, or rather lectures, on half a dozen contemporary poets and novelists—all French except D. H. Lawrence—and a number of general studies on broader lines. Taken together, the two groups give a sort of panorama of French literature from just before the War until to-day.

All the studies are agreeably written, extremely readable and without any trace of pedantry. The author, though a *universitaire*, is sparing of footnotes and omits index and bibliography. The student cannot use this book as a work of reference, but with it as a guide he will make a very pleasant and profitable excursion through the complexities of modern literary production. He will make fuller acquaintance with the human elements of some outstanding writers, those whom M. Peyre deems vital, and at the same time be taken on a general survey of the literature of to-day and yesterday, of present-day drama, of the spirit of revolt, of the prestige of French literature abroad. All these problems are discussed with easy grace and sound judgment, and the result is a thought-stimulating volume.

Some may quarrel with M. Peyre's choice of representative men. Would everyone agree that the most characteristic and important figures of the French twentieth century are Claudel, Gide, Proust, Alain Fournier and a Victor Hugo who suddenly and unexpectedly looms in the midst like a wraith of his former self—not the Hugo of the anthologies but the portentous cosmic poet of *Dieu* and *La Fin de Satan*?

The inclusion of a revalued *Hugo resurgens* is explicable as an *actualit  * at the fiftieth anniversary of his death (1935), but where, many will ask, are Jules Romains, whose *roman-fleuve* flows so copiously over the book-stalls, Duhamel, Giraudoux, Morand, the stylist whose work seemed so new in the early post-War years, and Maurois, the adored of Anglo-Saxon readers? M. Peyre's choice appears to be based, in so far as omissions are concerned, on his suspicion of authors who are 'academic' in either sense of the term, on his distrust of those who are too exclusively intellectual, who do not manifest a proper scorn of the 'bourgeois paresseux et timor  s' and those who trust too much to publicity and the repetition of what has once brought success. In those he selects for the honour of

separate treatment he discerns a dynamic quality of perennial youthfulness. He regards *Le grand Meaulnes* and *Du côté de chez Swann*, both pre-War books, as those that come closest to the hearts of post-War Frenchmen and as the most youthful and poetical in contemporary literature.

M. Peyre makes some interesting points in discussing present trends. He sees the modern spirit as a revolt against what is clear and easily intelligible (Valéry and Claudel, inspired respectively by Mallarmé and Rimbaud), against history (as having encouraged the nationalist spirit which led to the War), against the bourgeoisie (especially as manifested in the family spirit, witness Gide, Martin du Gard and even Mauriac) 'La loi, aujourd'hui, qui préside à ces peintures, semble être celle de l'isolement des êtres, dans une société éprise par ailleurs de solidarité professionnelle et syndicale' (p. 36).

There are many observations and remarks which provoke thought and suggest discussion. In ch. vii M. Peyre notes the paradox that, in an age teeming with dramatic incident, what the French stage mostly lacks is intensity of dramatic incident. In the novel as on the stage he judges that what is most needed now is not sincerity but intensity. He sees in the brutal realism, hard and sarcastic, of certain modern American novels, hailed by English critics as the essential American element in them, a feature due to the influence of French realism. For its lightness and justness of touch, for its urbanity, its liveliness, this book may be warmly recommended to the non-specialist as well as to the student.

FREDERICK C. ROE.

ABERDEEN.

Les Écrivains de l'Abbaye. By M. L. BIDAŁ. Paris: Boivin et Cie. 1938. 240 pp. 25 frs.

The author of this volume sets out to clear up the confusion arising from the prevalent use of the terms 'l'unanimité' and 'les écrivains de l'Abbaye' as synonymous, and to analyse the real elements of unity in the 'abbaye' group. He includes in the group Romain, Chénévère and Durtain, although these three did not, like Vildrac, Duhamel and Arcos, actually live in the Créteil mansion.

The first twenty pages are devoted to a rapid sketch of the conception, the working out and the liquidation of the Abbaye experiment. M. Bidał stresses the fact that it was by no means a literary 'school' and sees as its chief results a wider experience of men gained from life in common and the crystallization of thought brought about by the literary discussions. The 'spiritual climate' is the theme of Part II, which summarizes the influences acting on the group and against which its robust individuality reacted: symbolism, naturism, popular poetry and sentimental lyricism. The most interesting chapters in this section deal with the 'grands maîtres': Walt Whitman, Verhaeren and Bergson. Each of the six Abbaye authors is examined separately in Part III. Of the two final chapters 'Connaissance' is mainly a comparison of the mysticism of

Claudél with that of Duhamel, 'Possession' treats of the voluntary mysticism of Jules Romains

The book is well arranged and clear, though M. Bidal's style is abstract and the text is copiously laced with quotations from works of criticism and from the poetry and manifestos of the Abbaye writers. When one turns from the novels of Duhamel or Romains to a book like this, it is as though after admiring the gorgeous fabrics in some carpet factory one were taken behind the scenes by a technical expert whose mind was full of the details of technique. Careful analysis is more in M. Bidal's line than luminous remarks, neat little piles of reference notes adorn the foot of most of his pages, and a useful bibliography and index conclude the volume

M. Bidal makes the excellent observation that, despite the difference in aesthetic theory, the Abbaye group continue the Romantic tradition with its faith in the poet's mission, and the quotation from Vildrac on p. 164 'Une parole qui s'adresse aux hommes doit leur être un enseignement et un bienfait' might have been signed by Victor Hugo—or Racine! M. Bidal takes with much seriousness the 'tendresse', the 'large sympathie humaine' of the Abbaye writers. No doubt they make humanity their God, but, whatever may be the case with Chennevière, Durtain and Vildrac, the tenderness of Duhamel and particularly of Romains does not seem obvious to me. One can be grateful to M. Bidal for quoting the revelatory remark of Duhamel's Salavin (p. 131) which seems to me to throw some light on the humanitarianism of the Abbaye:

J'aime les hommes, dit-il, et ce n'est pas ma faute si, le plus souvent, je ne peux pas les supporter. Je rêve de vie harmonieuse, confiante comme une vie universelle. Quand je pense aux hommes, je les trouve si dignes d'affection que les larmes m'en viennent aux yeux... Dès que je me trouve face à face, non plus avec des imaginations, mais avec des êtres vivants, mes semblables, je suis si vite à bout de courage...

The whole passage is well worth meditating upon for the light it throws upon these and other 'amis du genre humain'.

FREDERICK C. ROE.

ABERDEEN.

Jorge Manrique and the Cult of Death in the Cuatrocientos. By ANNA KRAUSE. (*Publications of the University of California at Los Angeles*, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 79-166.) Berkeley: University of California Press. 1937. \$1.

The title is more formidable than the book. Miss Krause writes a sympathetic study of Jorge Manrique's *Coplas*, which it is a pleasure to read and must have been a pleasure to her to write. In his ideas and language she takes Manrique to be a man typical of his own age, and by comparing all those who approach him, she shows how his thoughts crystallized in the society of poets and gentlemen in which he moved, and how they assume in his words a form so consummate as to seem predestined. 'The *Coplas* are distinctly Castilian and of the *cuatrocientos*. The lofty ideals of a distinguished family which rise as a beacon above the

deception and vices of national life are concentrated in these lines. They carry the perfection of that new artistic ideal which sought to create in Castilian letters the glory that was Greece and Rome' (p. 155). This is well said. One of the best features of the essay is the way Miss Krause shows that the harsh latinisms of Santillana's circle have been accepted, refined and transmuted in this poem (save, perhaps, in a couple of stanzas, which probably produced a deeper impression formerly than they do now). Comparison with Gómez Manrique, Sánchez de Talavera, López de Ayala and others shows that the poet was indeed saying what had often been said before, but that he said it not in the words of any one master, and that he attained a fullness and poise denied to them all.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

Alexandre Dumas Père and Spanish Romantic Drama. By JOHN A. THOMPSON. University, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1938. vi+229 pp. \$2.50.

This subject might seem a little thin for treatment in book form, for, though Dumas had a considerable vogue in Spain during the peak years of the Romantic movement, his genuine influence, both on individual writers and on the course of the movement, was extremely small. Dr Thompson, however, in a doctoral thesis now enlarged and revised for publication, gets over this difficulty by printing numerous summaries of Dumas' plays and by quoting at great length from French originals and Spanish translations. Of the first 35 pages of his first chapter, just upon twenty are filled with summaries in close type and there are many stretches of quotation each several pages in length. It is difficult to discover anywhere the author's judgement on Dumas' influence as a whole: indeed, his sole conclusion, of a general kind, seems to be: 'It is safe to state that Dumas had an extremely important part in molding the course of the romantic drama in Spain'—an opinion almost exactly the opposite of that to which parallel and independent investigations have led the present reviewer and which he cannot feel that the author has effectively defended.

Dr Thompson's study, nevertheless, is within its limitations an extremely conscientious and painstaking one, which students of the period will certainly find useful. He has systematically examined the leading periodicals of Madrid and has had access to a remarkably large number of translations of Dumas—his two appendices, enumerating the Spanish translations of the dramatic and non-dramatic works respectively of his author, are a valuable contribution to the subject. They indicate incidentally the vast extent of the resources at the disposal of scholars in the United States—for most of the plays appear to be available in American university libraries: there must be more of them at Chapel Hill, North Carolina than anywhere except in Madrid and Valencia. This being so, it is surprising to find that (p. 220) Dr Thompson has been

unable to locate Pacheco's *Alfredo*, which was reprinted by its author in *Literatura, historia y política* (Madrid, 1864), a volume by no means rare.

In his Introduction, Dr Thompson promises to be laudably conservative in his judgements when it comes to pronouncing upon cases of what may or may not be direct influence. Some of his pronouncements, none the less, might seem a little incautious. Attracted by M. Boussagol's theory of the possible influence of *Antony* upon *Don Álvaro*, he presses (p. 122) superficial similarities between the heroes of these two plays, which in reality they share with numerous other characters of the genus 'Romantic hero'. It is, of course, 'possible' (p. 134) that '*Teresa* may have provided a part of the inspiration for the use of the poison in *El Trovador*'; but surely, at that period, such inspiration was hardly necessary. 'Many of the ideas expressed by *Antony* are repeated in substance by *Marsilla*' (of *Los Amantes de Teruel*); but also by many other characters in plays of the time. Dr Thompson was unfortunate in that a few of the best examples of probably genuine influence have already been found in García Gutiérrez by Professor Nicholson B. Adams, to whose notable work in this field he very rightly pays tribute.

The book has been prepared, and the proofs have been read, with great care: the only serious misspelling, which occurs several times, appears to be 'Llansas' (for the Catalan author José Llausàs). A few additions to, and corrections of, the first Appendix, which should have been described as a list of 'translations, adaptations and imitations', may be useful: the numbers given are those borne by the items in the list. The Biblioteca Municipal, Madrid, has (1) an edition of *Teresa* as well as MS copies, and also (5) has a MS. copy of *Margarita de Borgoña*. The *Kean* of 20 is probably that of 11: such variants of title in critiques were not uncommon. Of 55, both the Biblioteca Nacional and the Biblioteca del Palacio, Madrid, have a Madrid edition of 1847; the former has also an edition confirming 57. The date of 86 is 1861 and that of 89 is 1864: these editions are in the Valencia University Library and in the British Museum respectively. As to 91, about which Dr Thompson has some doubt, both the Madrid Ateneo and the Valencia University Library have copies published at Madrid in 1868, as volume VI of the *Teatro selecto*, etc. This is certainly not an error made by Dr Gabbert's source, therefore, but refers to a reprint of the 1866 edition.

E. ALLISON PEERS.

LIVERPOOL.

Shakespeare a Catalunya. By RAMON ESQUERRA. Barcelona: Institució del Teatre. 1937. 194 pp. 3 ptas.

In this handy little volume (dated 1937, but only recently to hand) the Institució del Teatre, a dependency of the Generalitat de Catalunya, has reissued the valuable article on Shakespeare in Catalonia which Sr Esquerra contributed to *La Revista* in 1935. One half of it covers the nineteenth century, dealing with the pre-renaissance (1800-33), the renaissance (1833-50), and the period of Quadrado, Milà and Balaguer (1850-80), as the background for the first Catalan translations of Shake-

speare, which are given as beginning in 1880, though Catalans had previously contributed to the stock of Castilian translations. The second half is devoted to the twentieth-century translations, commentaries, criticisms and theatrical adaptations. A final paragraph opens with the statement that 'in C. A. Jordana, Shakespeare has found his definitive translator'. Sr Jordana's translations of ten plays published to date are all in prose. Catalans, like their Castilian cousins, have yet to discover the music of Shakespeare's language.

Sr Esquerra has done for Catalonia, in summary fashion, what Alfonso Par did for Spain in general in his two-volume *Shakespeare en la Literatura Española*, also published in 1935. He naturally relies a good deal on Sr Par's study, and freely acknowledges the debt, sometimes referring to the larger book for supplementary detail. In one respect at least he completes Sr Par's work, as he deals with the representations of Shakespeare's plays, which Sr Par had announced as the subject of a forthcoming volume. That volume will not now appear. It may be stated here—what could not well be stated in an official publication—that Sr Par was murdered in Barcelona in the early stages of the civil war. His Shakespeare library, the largest Hispanic Shakespearean collection outside England, has passed into the possession of the Institució del Teatre.

H. THOMAS.

LONDON.

Spiegel der Sassen. Sammlung alterer niederdeutscher Schriftdenkmäler in volkstümlichen Textausgaben, hrsg. von der Saake-Stiftung des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung. Hamburg: Karl Wachholz. Subscription price RM. 1.25 per number.

Conrad Borchling explains, in a *Geleitwort* to the first number, that this new series of Low German texts will in the main fulfil a wish of Hermann Saake (whose bequest to the Verein für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung made publication possible) and 'das wertvolle Gut aus unserer alteren niederdeutschen Dichtung und Prosa in zuverlässigen Textabdrücken ohne eigentlich gelehrtes Beiwerk weiteren Kreisen des deutschen Volkes zugänglich machen', while at the same time providing modern Plattdeutsch writers with worthy models, that they may 'ihr Sprachgewissen schärfen, ihren Wortschatz bereichern, ihre Ausdrucksweise veredeln'.

Four numbers are to be given up to an edition of the *Heliand*, offering the text of the Munich MS. (after Sievers) with a parallel alliterative translation into 'das heutige Ditmarscher Niederdeutsch'. The first of these (*Heliand, nach der Münchener Handschrift mit Übertragung in das heutige Plattdeutsch durch Rektor Johannes Kruse*, 1 Teil, Vers 1–1401, 1938, 80 pp.) is now available. The style and the metre of the translation are essentially those of the Old Saxon poem. The student of Old Saxon will instinctively ask how the heavy nominal-compounds of the *Heliand* are dealt with: they are generally retained as compounds (*helmgitrôsteon*, *Helmgefolgsluüd* 58; *slîdmôd*, *slîmmödige* 630) but occasionally split up

(*hildriscalos*, de Helden in'n Kriech 68) As regards the quality of the dialect of the translation, the recommendation of the Verein will absolve the foreign reviewer.

For Nr. 2 (*Zwei Dramen aus der Reformationszeit*, 1938, 82 pp.) Dr Ella Schafferus is responsible. The first 'Drama', *Claus Bur*, the work of one Bado of Minden, which was first printed in 1523, is in contents, general trend and in style very similar to Hans Sachs' *Disputation zwischen einem Chorherrn und Schuchmacher*.

The second, to which the title *Interim-Spiel* is given, was written by Liborius Hoppe of Hamburg in 1548; it is here printed for the first time. The editress classifies it as a *Dialog*, i.e. it is a dialogued polemic which was not intended for stage production. As for the contents, the choice and presentation of witnesses against the Interim are interesting. St Peter proposes, in terms strongly reminiscent of those of his counterpart in the *Heiland*, to repeat his famous 'Schwertschlag'. Johannes Huss, another witness, brands Interim as the Antichrist. The lines in which he prophesies that Christ will vanquish his opponent recall not so much *Muspilli* as Willy Krogmann's theory of the meaning of the word *Muspilli*: He wert myt dem swerde uth Goddes munde / den Antichrist gantz storten to grunde (731-2); and *Salvator* has already promised the Church. Thom lesten wil ick ock dartho gedencken, / Wo ick Juwe viende moche *vorsencken* (665-6). But it is probably vain to hope that Willy Krogmann will not see these passages.

F. P. PICKERING.

MANCHESTER.

Lessing's Relation to the English Language and Literature. By C. C. D. VAIL. (*Columbia University Germanic Studies*, New Series, no. 3) New York: Columbia University Press, London: H. Milford. 1936. x+220 pp. 15s.

The purpose of this work is stated in an introductory section to be 'to investigate so far as the sources permit the steps by which Lessing obtained a mastery over English and to measure the degree of his knowledge, and to examine the infiltration of English material into his critical ideas and its effect on his dramatic production' (p. 4). The book is accordingly divided into two parts, of which the first is devoted solely to an examination of the evidence for Lessing's knowledge of the English language, and the second to the discussion, on a chronological basis, of his relations with English sources.

The investigation carried out in Part I is based on a full consideration of Lessing's numerous and varied translations. A considerable amount of new material is here treated, and the detailed comparisons of translation and original in a number of examples are very illuminating; in particular the extracts from Lessing's versions of Hutcheson's *System of Moral Philosophy* and Law's *Serious Call* reveal a characteristic independence of the letter of the word and an impressive familiarity with English idiom. But the author's conviction of Lessing's high merit as a translator

of English works leads him sometimes to gloss over as 'freedoms' renderings which may equally well be regarded as evasions, to explain omissions on the ground that it was 'in line with Lessing's practice' (p. 67) to make them, and, on occasion, to minimize errors in translation which were undoubtedly the result either of ignorance or of undue haste. In one passage, it is true (p. 69), he concedes—without attempting to explain—the strange discrepancy between the general excellence of Lessing's translations and the egregious blunders which occasionally disfigure them; but the general conclusions drawn at the end of the first Part are less convincing than they might have been, had the author been less concerned to demonstrate Lessing's knowledge and skill at every point. The praise bestowed on the rather bald rendering of a scene from the *Essex* tragedy of Banks in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*—mainly on the ground that it is so far removed in style from the original as to become an adaptation—is only one example of a method which is apt to defeat itself by over-emphasis. The real development in Lessing's powers of translation (most fully shown, perhaps, in the version of Dryden's essay in the *Theatralische Bibliothek*) is obscured, rather than revealed, by the *ex parte* nature of the argument.

In the estimate of Lessing's relationship to English sources which is undertaken in Part II, similar dangers are not always avoided. Here the difficulty of analysis is increased by the multiplicity and variety of the sources which have been proposed by critics at different times for nearly all Lessing's works. Professor Vail attempts to hold the balance fairly between the variant readings; and he justly deprecates over-emphasis on the influence of any single literature. He sets out, however, from the assumption that Lessing's critical ideas were prior to, and dominated his dramas. Lessing's critical attitude, he contends, must first be examined, and the result of this attitude on his creative works subsequently determined. 'Furthermore', he asserts, 'the most competent observers of Lessing's essential character, from Lessing himself down to Gundolf, agree that we must consider his traits as a critic before taking up his creative work' (p. 6). The consequences of this assumption are constantly emphasized in the second Part, as for instance in the statement: 'To deny *Miss Sara Sampson* full treatment is to pass over the very first work in which we may observe in practice his dramaturgie ideology, which in his later works is merely more rounded, more nearly perfected' (p. 128), or: 'in accordance with our methodology, we must consider *Emilia Galotti* in the light of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*' (p. 182). But it may well be doubted whether such a subordination of Lessing's dramas to his critical works really contributes to an understanding of his achievement as a whole. It certainly disregards his early passion for the theatre; and little light is cast on the early comedies by the statement that they 'must be judged in the light of this critical reaction [in the foreword to the *Beytrage* of 1750] to Gottsched's dramaturgie merits!' (p. 94). The influence of this thesis on the author's treatment of his subject is constantly apparent, even where it is not so explicitly stated. But it is precisely in the creative works that the problems presented by Lessing's

eclecticism appear to defy any such simplified principle of analysis. In his general conclusions in the final chapter ('The profile of Lessing's English interest') Professor Vail draws a distinction between the results arrived at in the two parts of his book. The evidence for Lessing's mastery of English is, he contends, conclusive, and this statement is indeed supported in the main by the evidence assembled in Part 1. But, he continues, 'As regards the English sources that fed his dramatic and critical genius . . . the story is almost devoid of striking crises' (p. 205). He would modify the common picture of an increase of English influence, keeping pace with a decline of French prestige: 'the tradition of Lessing's discovery of an affinity for English models and his rejection of the French is true only of special crises in his work and cannot be generalized to represent his entire spiritual progress' (*ibid.*). Professor Vail recognizes the dominance of English influence in *Miss Sara Sampson*, while emphasizing also its connexion with the *comédie larmoyante*, and he stresses, in common with the large majority of critics, the effect of Shakespeare on the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*. His conclusion is, however, that it is in the new form of *Nathan der Weise* alone that Lessing may be said to have had only an English model, and to have followed it closely.

The second part of the volume thus casts less new light on Lessing's relations with England than the first. In the main it presents a middle view, with a conscientious avoidance of extremes, and records generally accepted opinions. Such statements as, 'Lessing's acceptance of Shakespeare as the greatest modern dramatic genius casts a heavy shadow over the discussion of other English dramatists' in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (p. 169), or, 'Whether the main purpose of the *Dramaturgie* was to enthrone Aristotle or Shakespeare, and to dethrone the French pseudo-classicists, can only remain an assumption' (p. 176), are representative of much of the second Part; while the attempt to record all variations of opinion on the influences that can be traced in the single dramas renders the discussion of them rather colourless. There is moreover a considerable amount of repetition involved in the parallel discussions of critical and creative works in chronological order; and while the first part of the book offers some interesting evidence for a re-examination of Lessing's knowledge of English, the second part is rather in the nature of a compilation. The volume contains a very useful bibliography.

EDNA PURDIE.

LONDON.

Goethe in Modern France. With Special Reference to Maurice Barrès, Paul Bourget and André Gide. By FLORA EMMA ROSS. (*Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, vol. XXI, nos. 3-4.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1937. 234 pp. \$2.50.

This book, the notice of which circumstances have unduly delayed, is intended as a continuation, though on different lines, of Baldensperger's well-known *Goethe en France*. As we read in the Introduction, the 'primary motive' is to see what the thirty-two years from the appearance of that

book down to 1936 'have brought forth in the further development of Goethe in France in the twentieth century'; while the 'secondary motive' is thus described:

After seeing the high lights of literary development on a background of Goethean philosophy and works, such as Baldensperger presents, one would like to catch on a single canvas the complete picture, not of an epoch but of a man. One would like to assemble in a single chapter the individual reactions of certain great Frenchmen in contact with this supreme personality.

Even with the qualification of the sub-title we should hardly be prepared for what the book in fact offers, for it deals, apart from the introduction, almost exclusively with those three authors. After stating that the 'inspiration for the present investigation' was the article on *Anatole France and Goethe* by Albert W. Aron, the author discusses at some length the 'pertinence of selecting these particular three French writers', and ends with the words:

Paul Bourget is a nationalist, a decade older than Maurice Barrès, who also is conservative, and a nationalist. André Gide, almost a generation younger than Bourget, belongs on the other hand to no party, being, as he says, 'un homme d'extrême milieu', but he displays enough opposite characteristics to provide material for fruitful contrasts. Bourget is an outstanding Catholic, Gide a Protestant, and Barrès belongs to no religious group. And so we see already that there is enough diversity in these three alone to justify a study of this nature.

Throughout the book Baldensperger's discoveries and conclusions are 'applied as measuring tests and compared with the "Goetheisms" of the twentieth century', and it is in keeping with this attitude that a brief review of *Goethe en France* is given in the opening pages. In the three main chapters the author then deals in turn with the three writers chosen, under subheadings of which those in the chapter on Barrès may serve as an example: Gradual Evolution of Goethean Consciousness, Analogies in Weltanschauung, Favourite Theses supported by Goethean Sanction or Examples, Similarities and Divergences in Esthetic and Religious Theories, Barrès' Conception and Use of Goethe's Works, Isolated Evocations not Previously Cited. This elaborate arrangement does not make for easy reading and involves a good deal of repetition, while we not only have a 'Conclusion' to each chapter, but at the end of the three a general 'Conclusion' the last section of which is a 'Conclusion' of the 'Conclusion'.

The investigation itself, and particularly that of Barrès, is very thorough and detailed, and is enriched by copious quotation and illustration. Of Barrès we are told that 'throughout his works we find a greater mass of Goethean traces than with any other of those studied, perhaps more than with any other Frenchman'. It is emphasized that although in Barrès' youth a kind of Goethe-Renaissance was taking place, centring upon what they called 'la culture du moi', his famous 'culte du moi' in its earlier phases owed nothing to Goethe's influence. It is interesting to note how, at the culmination of his long evolution, when his love went out ever more to that Rhénanie where he had spent the happiest period of his

life, it was the young Goethe of the Strassburg period who had the greatest attraction for him.

Bourget, our author finds, understood Goethe less than Barrès, and had a more limited appreciation of him.

It is not the author of one of the world's great masterpieces, not the sublime lyric poet, not the rare example of universal genius, who is celebrated here, but a magnificent type of German 'Burger' who has successfully bridged the almost insurmountable obstacle of class-division.... It is only the scientific analyst, the psychologist and the sociologist who find any inspiration from Goethe.

In Gide she finds countless points of similarity with Goethe in character and thought.

Although there are fewer quotations from Goethe and fewer actual, tangible Goethean traces with Gide than with Barrès or Bourget, yet the number of similarities is far greater. Inherently, Gide resembles Goethe to a certain and rather surprising degree. . . He has scattered throughout his works many tangible expressions of a warm Goethe-cult, and what is even more interesting, has displayed from the very beginning of his literary career a fundamental Goethe-spirit, and a conscious attempt at similarity to the man and writer, which surpasses that of any other Frenchman since Goethe, not excluding even Barrès.

Her conclusion is that they each sought a different inspiration and different elements in Goethe: 'Barrès the young Rhinelander, his personality, philosophy and artistic conceptions, Bourget the supreme master of the intellect, psychologist and philosopher, Gide the universal poet-man, his life and personality'. If a revision of the book should be called for, some considerable pruning and compression could profitably be employed. It would be a pleasure to read a brief study on the basis of the great accumulation of material here presented, in which the author, breaking away from all these elaborate headings and cross-references, and eliminating the many repetitions, distilled for us the results of her very careful and painstaking research.

H. G. ATKINS.

LONDON.

Lebenshaltung und Symbolik bei Rainer Maria Rilke. By EUDO C. MASON. Weimar. Böhlau. 1939. xxxi+226 pp. R.M. 5.80.

This penetrating and dispassionate analysis of Rainer Maria Rilke combines German systematic method and profundity of thought with the critical gifts and attention to facts of the more sensitive and less theoretical English mentality. Mr Mason handsomely acknowledges his important debt to German Rilke-criticism; yet allowing for the illumination and even inspiration it has afforded him, it is due to his own qualities of mind that this is the first critical study of Rilke which gives a complete, coherent and convincing account of his poetry and his personality. Hagiographical monographs have, it is true, been giving way lately before an examination of Rilke which, weighing him in the balance of 'Existenz-philosophie', has been more and more apt to find him wanting; but, whereas the validity or otherwise of his visions and 'wisdom' and the meaning of his poems have received close, and often fruitful, scrutiny, the

value of his poetry as such has attracted less attention, and his poetical personality has hardly emerged at all.

Mr Mason, boldly stating at the outset that Rilke was not a saint, but a genius, clears the ground of a great deal of religio-philosophical lumber which had been obscuring the view. It is to be regretted that, since this book was written as a thesis for the doctorate of the University of Leipzig, the author was obliged to use the current German critical jargon, the famous (or should I say infamous) 'blunt instrument' which has performed so many aesthetic crimes. Nevertheless he uses it with a difference, as a language and not as codified formulae; it is expressive, instead of being merely impressive, enlightening rather than deadening to the mind.

Mr Mason's presentation of Rilke as a poet who dealt in 'Nuancen', poetical, spiritual and religious, contriving by these means to reconcile all possible opposites, and always to be on both sides of the fence at once, is brilliant beyond my powers to reproduce. A quotation may make it clearer, a particularly important quotation, since it deals with Rilke's baffling and eccentric conception of 'personal death':

Was ist seine Vorstellung vom eigenen Tod anders als eine auf eine Zauberformel gebrachte Nuance zwischen allem, was *fur*, und allem, was *gegen* die personliche Unsterblichkeit zu sprechen scheint?

Rilke's essential evasiveness, reflected in his bewildering and iridescent art, derived from his direct and fundamental experience of relativity. It led to that tragic ambiguity which has made it so painfully and so preposterously easy for members of this, that or the other religious or philosophical sect to claim him as their own. Actually he is not to have or to hold. Nor is he merely a slippery customer with an eclectic turn of mind; but a poet expressing directly by means of equivocations, ambiguities, twistings and turnings, dodges and evasions, half lights and shades the quicksands of relativity, of which he was both the struggling victim and an integral, vocal and tragically conscious part.

He was also, however, an individual poet, anchored in time and space, and sharing with his contemporary artists that strange anomalous desire not to be understood, a phenomenon of which Mr Mason gives a fascinating description in *Rilke und der Leser*. These pages bring his hero into clearer focus, representing him as they do in his organic relation to poetry and poets, present and past, and emphasizing his individual, indeed unique, method of preserving his poetical secrets. For Rilke's ambiguities went deeper than the challenging obscurities of most modern poets. They were not meant to challenge, but to mislead. He deliberately used words which would have one sense for his readers, but had a different meaning for himself. Thus 'God' in the *Stundenbuch* really stands for art; and 'Mensch' in *Duineser Elegien* for artist, the better to be able to glorify both; for Mr Mason believes (as Fritz Dehn so startlingly asseverated) that Rilke's work tended as a whole to the glorification, the apotheosis of absolute art. By means of this strictly private terminology he could also give vent to his feelings of personal bitterness against religion and human beings without giving himself away. But his mind

was truly a 'relative' mind. He also passionately wished to believe in God; and he also experienced (though less rarely) love for humanity. So that he sometimes used the words 'God' and 'man' in their accepted sense:

Wenn er 'Gott' sagt, wird es nicht immer nur ein Symbol für die Kunst sein, manchmal wird er auch Gott im eigentlicheren oder im eigentlichsten Sinne wirklich meinen. Wenn er 'wir' sagt in den Elegien, wird er nicht immer nur den Künstler, den Dichter meinen, sondern gelegentlich in der Tat den Menschen im eigentlichsten Sinne. Dann wird er aber die Kunst verdächtigen, anstatt sie auf Kosten der Religion und der Menschheit zu verherrlichen. Kunst, Religion und Menschheit sollen also alle drei zugleich und jede auf Kosten der anderen verherrlicht und verdächtigt, bejubelt und beklagt, erhellt und verdunkelt werden—und außerdem gibt es die Natur, das Leben, die Weltgeschichte, die Zeit und noch vieles mehr, das ähnlich behandelt werden soll. Es kommen hinzu die unzähligen, verschiedenartigsten, rein privaten Erinnerungen, Erlebnisse, Sehnsuchte, Ängste—und obendrein das große, unaussprechliche Gefühl einer tiefen Sehnsucht jenseits von allem Schmerz, einer ungeheueren Kraft jenseits von aller Schwäche, das Gefühl, daß man trotz allem ein Gotterbebling und Auserwählter sein muß, ein Gefühl, von dem er selber nicht zu sagen wußte, ob es ihm selber oder dem ganzen Weltall, der persönlichen Einsamkeit oder irgendeiner überpersönlichen, alles umfassenden Gemeinschaft zugehört, das Gefühl seines schöpferischen Konnsens.

Das ist es, was Rilke in seinem Innern findet, das ist es, was er auszudrücken hat. Wo aber findet er seinesgleichen, denen es ohne Selbstverrat mitgeteilt werden durfte? Wer ist in der Lage, dies verstehend nachzuerleben? Niemand. Und wenn auch einige da waren, die es verstehen und nacherleben konnten, gerade vor ihnen mochte er es am meisten geheim halten. Niemand soll von ihm wissen,

daß er ein kummerndes Tier und nicht nur ein einzelnes Herz sei.

Das Werk soll unter keinen Umständen denselben Sinn für den Leser haben wie für den Dichter,—d. h. aber, es soll zweideutig, mehrdeutig sein.

This quotation will show Mr Mason's extraordinary comprehension of an extraordinary poet. His interpretations of the fourth and the fifth *Duineser Elegien* prove that this intuitive sympathy is grounded on a solid rock of knowledge and combined with intense acuteness. It is hard to see how his readings of these two difficult and crucial poems could be seriously contested. He makes them mean something as poems, a different contribution to the subject and a more valuable one than even the most illuminating textual analyses they have hitherto provoked. Mr Mason makes poetical sense of them, chiefly by a detailed examination of the symbolism employed here and elsewhere in Rilke's works. I shall not reveal these interpretations because I fear to steal the author's thunder, the method being an important part of the whole effect.

I should like to be able to argue with Mr Mason about his interpretation of *Sonette an Orpheus*, which does not convince me as completely as the rest of his study. He takes them to be profoundly human poetical missives, and argues his case movingly but less closely than for the *Elegien*. His inside knowledge of Rilke makes it dangerous to differ from him on such an essential question as this until one has had time to assimilate his point of view. I therefore refrain from comment; since I am all too well aware of how much this author has seen in Rilke which I have overlooked after years of study.

E. M. BUTLER.

Deutsches Schrifttum der Gegenwart in der englischen Kritik der Nachkriegszeit (1919-35). By HANS GALINSKY. Munich: Max Hueber Verlag. 1938. ix+580 pp. RM. 19.50; bound, RM. 22.

In this survey of the reception of German literature by English critics between 1919 and 1935, the author is concerned, not merely with the general question, What is the attitude of English criticism towards modern German literature, but, more particularly, with such questions as, What general conclusions about Germany and the German mind does the British mind draw from those examples of German literature with which it is most familiar? How far may these examples be regarded by a German as representative? What may the German mind conclude, from this survey, about the British mind, and what are the principal obstacles that hinder British appreciation of the 'New Germany'?

Apart from quotations from particular critical works, Herr Galinsky has chosen as his sources five periodicals which seem to him to represent the various sections of English opinion. the now defunct *Criterion*, which he regards, perhaps with excessive respect, as representing the small high-brow section or critical upper ten; *The London Mercury* and *Life and Letters*, as representing the upper middlebrows; *The Times Literary Supplement*, as representing the large middlebrow section with (in the words of Mrs Leavis) a "safe" academic attitude'; and *The Bookman*, as representing the frontier between middlebrows and lowbrows, and even, it would sometimes appear, the very voice from the abyss.

The first and larger portion of the book is divided into three main sections: The Appeal of the Matter, The Appeal of the Form, and The Appeal of the Author and his Work as a Whole. Through each of these main sections and their various subsections proceeds the more or less identical procession of contributors to the five selected periodicals, with the result that it is often quite impossible to see the wood for the trees. The third of these main sections, which is devoted to Rilke, the only modern German author whose work and personality, so it seems to Herr Galinsky, have been appreciated together and as a whole, has more unity than the others and is, perhaps, more interesting and more informative.

From the other sections emerge certain general conclusions, or suggestions, which might surely have been established in a fraction of the space. No aspect of German literature is unrepresented, but, as might be expected, they are mainly concerned with the novel. Herr Galinsky is probably correct in assuming that English readers have been mainly interested in it as a supposed source of information about the German attitude to the war, conditions in post-war Germany, German youth, German schools, German preoccupation with sexual problems, etc. With his contention that only a few readers are in a position to assess the 'documentary' value of a novel there can be little disagreement, but his suggestion, nowhere distinctly stated, but everywhere implied, that almost everything 'unfavourable' in these novels has no correspondence with reality, and can be explained away by reference to the Jewish origin or Marxist opinions of the writers, will find little support outside his own country. He quotes, for example, the *T.L.S.* review (1933) of Bruno Frank's *Fever Heat*:

...the ugliest aspect of the book is that concerned with the growth of the National Socialist Party... He supplies specimens of Nazi rhetoric, quotes Nazi slogans, describes Nazi methods of organization. He illustrates various forms of 'Aryan' propaganda, gives some horrible instances of Jew-baiting, and vindicates the type of vested interests supporting the movement.

and remarks.

This critical reaction reveals with uncanny clearness what a readily-receptive soil in one of the leading papers of middle-brow criticism is awaiting the 'Atrocity Novel' in the England of 1933-5 (p. 67).

How, since their existence can no longer be denied, Jew-baiting, 'Aryan' propaganda, and Nazi slogans may be presented to English readers in such a way that they shall *not* appear 'atrocious', is a problem that may be recommended to Herr Galinsky for further consideration.

The second portion of his book is devoted to the influence of the Nazi Revolution. He regrets the general absence among English critics of a 'racial scent' (*rassischer Spürsinn*, p. 396). To the objection that German literature is deserting the European tradition in favour of a narrow nationalism, he replies that 'the German conception of European thought, that of inter-folkish co-operation on the basis of folkdom', is never mentioned, let alone understood or appreciated (p. 393). Here, as in the first portion of his book, he is concerned to expose that type of criticism which attempts to persuade the public that there is a division in Germanism, a war of the intellectual, or spiritual, against the political leadership, and that this intellectual, or spiritual, Germany is the true Germany (p. 324); and he quotes, in order to refute it, a passage from the *T.L.S.*, referring to *that revival of idealism which undoubtedly took place in Germany during and immediately after the war... Germany, they (Walzel, Keyserling) said in effect, defeated materially was to conquer spiritually by a return to the innate idealism of the national mind.* Rilke, too, he might have added, Rilke, the growth of whose reputation among us he regards with favour, and whose fitness to speak for Germany he does not question, in one of the most notable of the *Briefe an eine junge Frau*, written in 1922, expressed almost exactly the same conviction.

It must, however, be admitted that, within its limits, the book is scholarly and objective; that it is, on the whole, written *sine ira ac studio*, and that the author does not distort the evidence, or indulge in rhetorical invectives or appeals. It inspires pity rather than indignation—pity for that enslavement of the human spirit, that degradation of learning, which compels a scholar of remarkable industry and considerable attainments to pepper his pages with such phrases as *the Jewess Maria Montessori* (p. 83), *the very probably Jewish contributor to the L.M.*, *Milton Waldman* (p. 141), *the half-Jew Stephen Spender* (p. 142), *Heine's lyric poetry in German* (p. 237), *Franz Kafka's Jewish-religious thinking in German idiom* (p. 450). No rubric is required to tell the reader that such phrases are *Translated from the German*.

J. B. LEISHMAN.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Die Literaturwissenschaft in der Gegenwart. Methodologie und Wissenschaftslehre. By HORST OPPEL. Stuttgart. Metzler. 1939 182 pp. RM. 4.80.

This most informative work touches on problems which are of import to us all. To a certain extent Horst Oppel agrees with Paul Ernst that criticism in no way helps our true understanding of literature. The German of to-day believes that 'life is right' and that perfect neutrality does not exist, though the purely active personality may appear to be without conscience and the contemplative mind all too narrow in its passivity. At the same time the author rightly maintains that one should not forget Leopold von Ranke's stipulation that knowledge must at all costs be 'scientific' in order to be able to comprehend life fully.

Oppel aptly examines the influence of Nietzsche and Kierkegaard on German literature preceding and following the Great War, thereby attempting to open paths which lead beyond the accepted methods of formal analysis, 'Problemgeschichte' and 'Geistesgeschichte'. His desire is not to prophesy but to examine whilst he offers us an important key to the understanding of present day literature. His book is indeed a stimulating adventure, almost one might say a Sturm und Drang product. In discussing the lyric the author demonstrates how far the new spirit is reflected by the symbolic power of words, and points to the close inter-relationship between the language of the folk and the poetic form, thus suggesting the impossibility of perfect translation.

Oppel presents the old question: What is man? What is the significance of life in transitory time and *sub specie aeternitatis*, here referring to Kleist who used abstract concepts (Kant) in order to discover the hidden reason of life and was doomed to shipwreck on account of his inability to reconcile *ratio* and *actio*? Rilke's 'Rühmung' and George's prophecies represent recent titan attempts to recreate life through poetry. Oppel divides his vast material into three sections with subdivisions. The first deals with method (Dilthey versus natural science, etc.). With sensitive insight he realizes that every period or movement must choose its own method. Insisting on the 'existentielle' totality of a work of art he points to the danger of its being obscured by the critics' tendency to pay too much attention to secondary influences (e.g. p. 39, Nadler). The second section refers to the changing trend in German literary criticism with special reference to Goethe-monographs which prove how closely George's circle came to using the 'phenomenological' method which seeks to reveal the unified personality. The third section turns to modern criticism which is identified with 'criticism of life'. Biological existence is invested with the concept of free will and moral responsibility. Our thanks are due to Oppel for so clearly demonstrating the new ideal and problems which face present day literary criticism in Germany. No true scholar can afford to ignore such questions.

AUGUST CLOSS.

BRISTOL.

Orkneyinga Saga. A new Translation with Introduction and Notes by A. B. TAYLOR. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1938. xvii + 437 pp. 9 Illustrations, 3 Maps. 25s.

In his Presidential Address to the Viking Society this year, Professor Dickins spoke of the devotion and piety which has inspired Orkney men of to-day to write of their native isles and to trace their history from early times. The work already done by Clouston, Marwick, Johnston and others, published in the *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society* (Kirkwall) and in the *Orkney and Shetland Old Lore Miscellany* (Viking Club, London) is well known, and the value of their scholarly contributions to knowledge is clear from the pages of this translation of *Orkneyinga Saga* made by Dr Taylor, who, although not himself an Orkneyman, has lived for six years in the Isles and already written many papers on problems relating to Orcadian history.

A text of the *Orkneyinga Saga* was published (1913-16) by Sigurður Nordal, which revised the work of the two earlier editors Jón Jónsson and Gudbrand Vigfusson, and added an introduction dealing with the relations of the MSS. and their phonology. Dr Taylor translates from Nordal's text, which endeavoured as far as possible to reconstruct the earliest version of the saga, but wisely incorporates in his rendering variant readings from other MSS, in particular from a sixteenth-century Danish translation of the saga which, as he says, 'often gave obviously authentic readings not found in the Old Icelandic MSS.' These departures from Nordal's text are indicated by square brackets, and their use enables Dr Taylor to present a more intelligible account of several important episodes (e.g. the death of Rognvald, p. 333) and to sharpen the detail in others of less importance (e.g. the story of the shivering maidservant, p. 278).

Dr Taylor's particular contribution to the study of the saga, apart from the translation, lies first in his detailed examination of it, chapter by chapter, 'with reference to structure, style and historical value as well as to source', and second in his discussion of the many problems connected with topography, which his own special knowledge of saga-sites has enabled him to solve. In the first of these, the claim of the *Preface*, 'to apply modern methods of textual study to an investigation of the structure and sources of the *Saga*', is fully maintained by the scholarship which is displayed. Dr Taylor shows how diverse was the material utilized by the compiler, how far he copied or adapted it, and notices how the style of the record changes accordingly. It is impossible to indicate here the intricacy of many of these problems which are here handled so lucidly; many of them have wider bearings on the rest of Norse historical writings, and one in particular, that of Snorri's use of the *Orkneyinga Saga*, is given extended discussion in an Appendix. The notes to the translation contain many identifications of place-names mentioned in the saga, and help to clarify the movements of the characters on their expeditions by sea: here special mention may be made of the author's investigations of the district around Forsie, incorporated in figures in the Notes, which illustrate the action leading up to the death of Rognvald, and also of the

visit made to the cave on the island Eynhallow. A map of the Orkneys in relation to the rest of the Norse world 'west over sea' would have been welcome along with those already given at the end of the volume, although it is realized that printing costs have compelled the editor to omit some of the material originally collected for his thesis.

In the translation itself, Dr Taylor has been very successful in conveying the direct, colloquial idiom of the original, sometimes varying his style to catch the prosier voice of the folk-tale or saint's life. The accuracy of the translation has been tested and proved, if indeed proof were needed for one who is careful enough to recognize *eyki* as an acc. pl., 'horses', so correcting Dasent's earlier 'waggon'. On p. 219, 'turns a deaf ear to' would be more natural than 'took much of the edge off', although this preserves the metaphor of the text; but 'thou hast picked a fine peck of troubles' (p. 229) is excellent for *þú nú vannt vörð kominn* (lit 'you are now in a perplexity'). *Heldust* is more probably 'held out', than 'bunched together' (p. 166), and *fiandskapr* (222) is better rendered 'you must be possessed' (of a devil) than 'It is spite', especially in view of the exorcism which follows. To the Notes should have been added some explanation of why the fish is divided into three shares, in the story of the Man with the Cowl (v. Cleasby-Vigfusson *sub hlutr* (B β), *aflausn*), which would have made clear the point of Nordal, p. 220/10-11: also reference (p. 356) to a passage in the Annals of St Neot which describes a banner similar to that possessed by Earl Sigurd. On p. 2 'complications' should be 'compilations'. But these are small points in face of the accuracy and discernment of this work, which must rank as an important contribution to Scandinavian scholarship.

G. N. GARMONSWAY.

LONDON.

Bröllopsdikter på dialekt från 1600- och 1700-talen. Collected and edited by BENGT HESSELMAN. (*Nordiska texter och undersökningar*, 10.) Stockholm: Hugo Gebers förlag. 1937. 568 pp. Kr. 9.50.

With the publication of this book and a promised supplementary volume of commentary, Professor Hesselman is bringing to an impressive conclusion a task already begun by an earlier generation of scholars, among them Noreen and especially J. A. Lundell. We have now before us, admirably edited, a body of occasional verse written in the various Swedish dialects of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and designed to be recited at weddings. As the editor points out in a brief introduction, several dialects are here represented in their earliest literary form. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sweden it was evidently a widespread custom not only to compose and recite epithalamiums of this kind, but even to print them. Documents like these are the more important as the Swedish language was less unified than, for instance, the English or the French at this time. We know how intimately the unification of a language is connected with the centralization of the country in which it is spoken. For a certain period of time, the German literary language was fashioned by the imperial chancellery; the now

dominant tradition of the French language emanated from the centre of the absolute state, the court; and, different as the process was in England, there can be no doubt that the rise of absolute power in the Tudor period was a decisive factor in stabilizing one branch of English as the standard language.

Now the present volume offers specimens of the Swedish language while still in process of unification; at a time when many people, who in writing conformed to the more standardized literary language, would in conversation stick to their original dialect. Such materials clearly have an importance for scholarship; from a literary point of view they are less rewarding, although the editor has some interesting claims to make even on this score. But it is precisely in virtue of being literature of the second order that these texts will be of use to the philologist and the social historian. We could perhaps assume that the tradition of composing verse in the actual spoken dialect for festive occasions may have existed in many other countries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it seems that, in such countries as for instance France or England, the weight of a firmly established literary tradition would condemn more popular and less individualized literary traditions to social degradation, and keep them out of print. And we can see in the book before us how in the course of the eighteenth century this tradition disappears in the more central parts of Sweden, remaining alive only in the more outlying provinces: that is to say, just at the same time as the literary tradition is established in the central part of the country. From this point of view, too, the materials collected in this book might be worth the attention not only of the student of the Swedish language but of anyone who is interested in the general problems presented by the ups and downs of the various literary forms.

ERIK MESTERTON.

LONDON.

SHORT NOTICES

The United Provinces Branch of the English Association, inaugurated in 1927 with a very small membership, has carried on its work despite difficulties for over ten years, and now as evidence of its vitality it has published a volume of *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association (U.P. Branch)* (Allahabad. 1938. v+179 pp. Rs. 2.) There is an excellent Foreword by Professor Amaranatha Jha, the President of the Branch, on the place of English studies in India, followed by the Inaugural Address of Professor S. G. Dunn on the English Association and the work that it can do in India. Nine other papers are included in the volume, the subjects ranging from 'Medieval Sidelights on *Paradise Lost*' (P. E. Dustoor) to Kipling ('Kipling as Poet' by Amaranatha Jha and 'Kipling and "The Bubble Reputation"' by K. K. Mehrotra) and Walter de la Mare (B. Shankar), and to 'The Universities of India and the need of a scale of values' (S. C. Deb). The volume concludes with a Record

of Work for the years 1927-38, with summaries of such of the papers read as have not been printed in full. It is a notable record, and a volume of which the Branch may well be proud.

WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

LONDON.

A supplement to Professor J. E. Wells' *Manual* needs little recommendation. The Seventh Supplement (*Seventh Supplement to A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400*. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1938. 97 pp. 8s. 6d.) pays its own tribute to the thoroughness of its predecessors in that it has few items to add to their catalogue of texts, few corrections to make to their representation of scholarly opinion and comparatively few omissions to rectify in their bibliographical record up to 1935. Its main function is to note newly-discovered additional manuscripts, changes of ownership, by sale or otherwise, of known manuscripts, and critical work published between July 1935 and July 1938. Special features of this Supplement are its notices of important forthcoming publications and its clear indication where certain aspects of mediaeval literature are being intensively studied, and by whom. Such information is both stimulating and indispensable, especially to the novice; the general need for guidance in an easily accessible form is indicated by the entries relating to sectional bibliographies such as those for the Arthurian and Chaucerian fields. The shadow of the fifteenth century, for instance in the reference to the Winchester MS. of Malory in connexion with the *Morte Arthure*, is auspiciously more marked than in previous volumes; it is good to hear that the record of that century is progressing fast. One hopes that Professor Wells' request for information about studies relating to English before 1500 will be widely and readily met, in order to lighten what must be his exacting labours, so promptly and wholeheartedly accomplished.

H. A. C. GREEN.

ENGLEFIELD GREEN, SURREY.

Dr G. B. Harrison's notable series of books presenting an intimate record of the events of the last decade of Elizabeth's reign have now been published in a one-volume edition under the title *The Elizabethan Journals* (London: George Routledge & Sons. 1938. xiii+394 pp.+378 pp.+364 pp.+Index, sig. OO 13-QQ 6. 15s.). The circumstances of the publication explain certain unusual features in the make-up of the book, as indicated in the details given above. The new edition is a photographic reproduction from the original volumes. A new Preface has been added, and a new General Index, which covers all three volumes and is invaluable. For the main use of the book is bound to be as an invaluable reference book and for consultation, though a fresh reading confirms one's earlier impressions of its intrinsic interest as narrative. Dr Harrison, like the Elizabethan chroniclers themselves, has an eye for 'news'.

The illustrations of the original volumes have disappeared. This, and the adoption of a thin, tough paper, have brought the book within the

handleable compass of a two-pound volume of good clear type, at a low price. It is an enterprising publication, and very welcome.

C. J. Sisson.

LONDON.

The Journal of Emily Foster edited by Stanley T. Williams and Leonard B. Beach (New York and London: Oxford University Press. 1938. xxvi + 171 pp. 21s.) is her early journal, written during her stay in Dresden in the years 1821-23, when she was in her late teens. The early pages have been torn away, and lines cancelled here and there (presumably by Emily herself in later years) give it at times a fragmentary appearance, but it is a lively record, telling us of Emily herself and her life in Dresden, and of her friendship with Washington Irving. It is attractively produced and illustrated; there is a short Introduction, and footnotes give the necessary identifications of the people and places mentioned, as well as translations of the passages in which Emily lapses into French or German or Italian. Here on occasion the editing also lapses, unfortunately 'Des feux à éteindre', for instance, are fires not 'to be tended to' (p. 67), but 'to be put out', 'clairvoyant' in English does not give the sense of 'L'amitié . . . est clair voyant' (pp. 70, 71). What is the authority for the interpretation of 'vandykes' as 'slippers' (p. 122)? The usual meaning at the time was 'a collar or other trimming with deep points'. Moreover, when Emily 'went to court for the Bavarian family' (p. 124) it is surely the Bavarian King and Queen whom she describes: one note speaks of Maximilian I of Bavaria, but a second note and the Introduction refer these phrases apparently to the King and Queen of Saxony. But these are small blemishes.

WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

LONDON.

L'objet de l'ouvrage de M. Franz Strauss, *Vulgarlatein und Vulgärsprache im Zusammenhang der Sprachenfrage im 16. Jahrhundert (Frankreich und Italien)* (Marburg: Michaelis-Braun. 1938. 131 pp.), est d'exposer l'un des aspects de la question de la langue en Italie et en France au XVI^e siècle: l'origine des langues romanes vulgaires, à l'exclusion un peu arbitraire et certainement regrettable des langues de la péninsule ibérique. L'auteur pousse son étude jusqu'au moment où la théorie que le latin est la source commune des langues romanes est devenue le bien commun des érudits. La question valait bien la peine d'être exposée dans son ensemble et M. Strauss avait devant lui un terrain assez vaste qui n'avait été exploré que dans certains travaux de détail qu'il aurait pu coordonner et, le cas échéant, mettre au point. Son étude certainement met en évidence avec assez de bonheur quelques faits sur lesquels il était bon d'attirer l'attention; mais l'impression générale qu'elle laisse sur le lecteur n'est pas très favorable: l'ouvrage est fragmentaire, maigre et superficiel. Le parallélisme que l'auteur établit entre l'évolution de la question en France et en Italie est généralement très juste, mais il a l'inconvénient de séparer des écrivains qui se rattachent très étroitement

les uns aux autres, pour la France, Pasquier, H. Estienne, Cl. Fauchet et Hotman; pour l'Italie, Bembo, B. Castiglione, Sp. Speroni. Surtout la documentation de l'auteur est nettement insuffisante; nous ne lui reprocherons pas de ne pas connaître l'ouvrage de S. W. Bisson, *Claude Fauchet's Knowledge of Old French Literature* (1924), qui n'a pas encore été imprimé, et encore moins les livres aussi savants qu'intéressants de Mme J. G. Espiner-Scott, *Claude Fauchet, sa Vie et son Œuvre et Documents concernant... Cl. Fauchet* (1938), qui doivent être postérieurs au travail de Strauss. Mais pourquoi l'édition du *Recueil* de Cl. Fauchet Livre I donnée par l'érudite anglaise n'est-elle même pas mentionnée? Si l'auteur a pu faire une place dans sa bibliographie à un manuel scolaire¹ comme celui de M. Brunschvigg, pourquoi ne cite-t-il pas l'article d'A. Thomas sur Fauchet dans la *Grande Encyclopédie*, l'ouvrage de P. Villey sur *Les Sources Italiennes de la 'Deffense'*, celui de L. Clément, *H. Estienne et son Œuvre française*, celui de Margaret J. Moore, *Estienne Pasquier, historien de la Poésie et de la Langue françaises*, enfin celui de G. Tracconaglia, *H. Estienne e gli Italianismi*? Tous ces ouvrages intéressaient directement le sujet de F. Strauss; du reste, ce ne sont pas probablement les seuls qu'il ait omis, comme on s'en convaincra en parcourant l'importante bibliographie du *Claude Fauchet* de Mme Espiner-Scott.²

F. J. TANQUEREY.

LONDRES.

In *Neue Beiträge zum Handschriftenverhältnis der chanson de geste 'Fierabras d'Alexandre'* (Inaugural-Dissertation. Halle: Buchdruckerei des Waisenhauses G.M.B.H. 1938. 50 pp.) Dr Rudolf Mehnert presents a classification of the ten extant French MSS. and the Provençal MS. of *Fierabras*. It is based on fuller consideration of the available material than earlier monographs on the subject. Dr Mehnert appreciates the difficulty of estimating the significance of the variants in a poem such as this which abounds in clichés. He therefore lays particular stress on the rhymes, on plus- and minus-lines, on proper names and on the sequence of lines. He divides the MSS. into two main groups and several sub-groups and concludes that the MS. (Paris B.N. fr. 123603) reproduced in the 1860 (the only) edition of the poem is the one farthest from the original. As there are only three complete MSS. and no one MS. is sufficiently reliable to stand alone, he considers that the older method of the critical edition is the only one open to the future editor of *Fierabras*, who should take the Escorial MS. as his basis. He regards the Provençal version as the work of a careful and discriminating translator, without much talent.

CLAUDINE I. WILSON.

LONDON.

M. René Guiet's thesis, *L'Évolution d'un Genre: Le Livret d'Opéra en France de Gluck à la Révolution* (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, XVIII, 1-4. Northampton, Mass. 1936. 199 pp. \$2), is a satis-

¹ Il mentionne aussi l'*Histoire de la langue et littérature (sic) française* de Le (sic) Petit de Juleville (sic)!

² Pp. xix et suiv.

fyng, useful and altogether excellent study of a neglected genre bearing upon important aspects of eighteenth-century culture.

After taking stock of the *romanesque* libretto of the seventeenth century, a product which reflects its age no less truly than the widely differing contemporary tragedy, M. Guet passes briskly to an early bid for reform, in the name of simplicity and nature, which operated under the dual influence of *philosophes* and Italian librettists. Thence to the main investigations. Two substantial chapters deal, the one with adaptations of French and classical tragedy, the other with the inevitable—and complex—reaction which the general mediocrity of these provoked. Out of this reaction (in its origin merely reactionary, in its later manifestations diverse and even contradictory) emerged the bourgeois *opéra-drame* sponsored by Diderot. Finally *Tarare* presents a sort of synthesis, with which Beaumarchais ‘couronne les efforts des librettistes de la fin du XVIII^e siècle à la recherche d’une formule d’opéra’.

M. Guet justifies his subject by his initial reminder that Lulli’s conception of the predominance of the libretto over the musical score is maintained and intensified during the eighteenth century. His method is its own justification.

Sure judgement, scrupulous vigilance against facile analogy or generalization (a quality particularly gratifying in chapter v), and abundant illustration at first hand enhance the value of a well-documented work of modest aspect and considerable scope.

H. TEMPLE PATTERSON.

OLD BOSHAM, SUSSEX.

The stock-book of a sixteenth-century Milanese tailor in the Querini-Stampalia library at Venice has been singularly fortunate in coming to the notice of so industrious, learned and—I should venture to add—so imaginative a scholar as Dr F. Saxl (*Costumes and Festivals of Milanese Society under Spanish Rule*. Annual Italian Lecture of the British Academy, 1936. From the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XXII. London: Milford. 1938. 61 pp. 7s. 6d.), who is not only able to discern the most minute and trifling changes in fashions, but can suggest deep causes for them, if occasionally so subtle and remote as to cause some perplexity. Dr Saxl appears to hold that, in the sixteenth century at any rate, fashions were governed by practical considerations and by the tendencies of thought and civilization characteristic of that epoch; and one may feel inclined to wonder whether he is not too sturdily optimistic in holding this view, or whether this connexion between thought and fashion has sadly grown loose in our days only. The tight fitting trousers that Dr Saxl considers peculiar to the ageing Emperor Charles V, and copied by the fashion of those years, were to be met with in far earlier times in Italy, including the feature ‘which we call shameless’ (p. 19), that may after all have been dependent on the coarseness of materials and leather as well as on the model of armour. If so unsightly a fashion could find justification in particular conditions, the apparently open skirts in the apparel of ladies need not necessarily be dependent on causes ‘of a sensual

character' (p. 20) There is a danger that excessive subtlety and too close an adherence to certain current theories complicate and thus obscure the natural interpretation of life in earlier periods, and I suggest this possibility of dissent as a token of my admiration for the masterly and exhaustive illustration Dr Saxl has made of this stock-book. The tailor had been entrusted at one time with the designing and fitting of the costumes required by a group of noblemen for a feast, and the editor has succeeded in tracing several interesting accounts and side-lights on this feast and the young people who took part in it, who mostly belonged to distinguished families of Lombardy, but could scarcely be noted for an exemplary conduct. The result is an admirable picture of Milanese society at play. Dr Saxl, however, suggests in conclusion that the lives of these patrons of our tailor were characterized by '(a) disharmony between Church life and secular life; (b) the fact that the existence of the individual is at all times affected by the vicissitudes of the international situation.' No living man will disagree with clause (b), but, if this is so obvious and so general a fact, why point it out in connexion with these scapegrace customers of the Milanese tailor? The fare is so rich in itself that spicing seems superfluous. The plates are excellently chosen and produced, and the abstracts from the sources, provided by Miss Bing, are invaluable.¹

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

Among the Italian men of letters who have lived and worked in England the poet Paolo Rolli is not the least important, and comparatively little is known about his life here. Professor Tarquinio Vallese was therefore well inspired in the choice of his subject (*Paolo Rolli in Inghilterra*. Milan: Dante Alghieri. 1938. 210 pp. 10 lire). He goes carefully through Rolli's productions and provides not only accurate bibliographical information about them, but also an analysis of their often irrelevant content. He is so painstaking as to record even the shelf-marks of these works in the British Museum, but his diligence has not been equalled by his luck, for he has missed several of Rolli's editions of the classics. A laudable and only partly successful attempt has thus been made at filling a considerable gap in our knowledge of Anglo-Italian literary relations during the late seventeenth century.

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

The editors of *Studi Urbinati* (among whom Englishmen are glad to see Piero Rebora's name) announce a new policy as from this twelfth number. They will issue a new series, lettered B, devoted to work of members of the Faculty in the fields of history, philosophy and letters. In the first number of the new series P. Rebora writes on Urbino and England, I. Sciaky writes on Descartes, and M. Appolonio makes a plea for the study of the Italian theatre. The writer shows that changes of criteria in

¹ P. 41, par. 1 'Vicende Persona' should read 'Personali'; p. 42, l. 12 'Barnabo' read 'Barnabò'; p. 43 'segramoro' needs a capital.

literary appreciation have not always gone beyond finding new formulas for old prejudices; and it is from such prejudices that the Italian stage has suffered. He calls attention to the cardinal importance of Italy in fashioning a conception of tragedy which was not quite that of the Greeks, in educating all Europe in pure comedy, and in mingling declamation and music in the melodrama. It is an article worth pondering; we shall be interested to see how Signor Apollonio follows it up. Two other articles are of historical and philosophical content.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

D. Joaquín Casaldueiro's *Contribución al Estudio del Tema de Don Juan en el Teatro Español* (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, XIX, 3-4, Northampton, Mass., 1938. 108 pp. \$1.50) is an analysis of the five Spanish plays on the theme, from Tirso to Zorrilla, tracing the evolving conception of the protagonist and relating this to a changing intellectual background. This has, of course, been done before, notably in Gendarme le Bévoite, but interest must always attach to the interpretation of the *Burlador de Sevilla* and the *Don Juan Tenorio*—the three intervening titles are admittedly void of merit—two plays alike at least in that it is still open to every reader to advance his own reading of their purport. For the former Sr Casaldueiro attributes great importance to Don Juan's oaths to his three victims, seeing in them a gradation of mental reserve, to become explicit in the third when, all unwittingly, he foreshadows his end, that supplies the nexus between the two planes of the temporal and the infinite on which the drama is worked out. To make of this the leit-motif of the play, however—'Por medio de la reserva mental, Don Juan engaña; pero por esta misma reserva mental, Don Juan se condena' (p. 15)—is surely to dwarf it to insignificance. The detail may be carefully prepared: Don Juan would still be Don Juan, and still be damned, without it. There are other nexus, and the statue, in communicating sentence, makes no mention of casuistry.

With Zorrilla the interest of Sr Casaldueiro's study, and the validity of his identification of the character with the ambient of the age, suffer from his exclusive concern with drama. Comparative studies in literature must always be prepared to over-ride the divisions between kinds. Tenorio here is a 'romántico-sentimental' so far removed from his illustrious orbear that the critic is glad to forsake analysis of the character for that of the play. Of all the notable protagonists of Spanish Romantic drama the least reflects the Romantic Weltanschauung. The genuine Don Juan of the period is to be found, not on the stage, but in Espronceda, whose *Estudiante de Salamanca* would have offered Sr Casaldueiro a very different touchstone for the dictum that 'el dinamismo del hombre romántico no tiene blanco, no se estrella contra nada, va a dar en el vacío, o bien está an lejos, que es inasequible'.

WILLIAM C. ATKINSON.

GLASGOW.

Mr Arthur Wills' *España y Unamuno* (New York: Instituto de las Españas. 1938. 375 pp.) runs true to its title. The author discourses about *cosas de España*, which he appears to know well and with sympathy—cafés, scenery, shepherds, temperament, religion, etc. These are the things that interested Unamuno, and so lead on to texts from the master, whose method also was discursive. Mr Wills thus takes us, more or less, to the point where Unamuno's meditations would begin, and he follows a parallel line of thought which makes contact every now and then. This is perhaps the sort of appreciation Unamuno would himself have most liked. It includes many suggestive observations not very closely related with Unamuno—such as those on Spanish crucifixes and on the mystics—and Mr Wills brings out the journalistic basis of Unamuno's thought. The booklet is written in a fluent Spanish, with some ingenious unamunesque word-making; the Spanish is the more convincing since it includes many Latin tags of dubious latinity.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

A Handbook to the Study and Teaching of Spanish (London: Methuen. 1938. xv+344 pp. 8s. 6d.) adds to the already formidable list of works edited by Professor Allison Peers for the encouragement of Spanish studies. Here the editor has set himself the task of composing a work intended to appeal to teachers, graduates, researchers, undergraduates and schoolchildren. Part I, nearly a third of the volume, contains an account of the Spanish Language by Professor Entwistle, with chapters on phonetics, vocabulary and morphology, syntax, metre and translation (this last by Professor Atkinson). This section will prove invaluable to undergraduates and others as a companion to the historical treatment of the language given in Professor Entwistle's recent book. It contains much that is new and is presented in a concise form which will appeal to those whose time is limited. In Part II Professor Atkinson and Professor Peers boldly attempt the impossible by compressing into two slender chapters outlines of Spanish history and literature respectively. Professor Peers' suggestions of method for teachers of Spanish form Part III. Part IV contains an outline of Catalan literature, history and language by Professor Peers; Professor Atkinson does the same for Portuguese and there is a short chapter on Hispano-American literature by Professor Entwistle.

P. E. RUSSELL.

OXFORD.

An 'extraordinary number' of *Nosotros* (Buenos Aires, 1938) has been issued in commemoration of Leopoldo Lugones, the national bard, who died by his own hand. A covering note declares that the editors have not attempted to cramp the judgement of their collaborators, sixty in number. There thus appear articles which wholly condemn Lugones as a *poseur*, and others which mix praise with sharp reproach. Many are fugitive essays of no great penetration; others inevitably repeat the same themes; some are by fervent addicts, and others by analytical students. There is

general agreement that Lugones was too hurried an artificer, though not all go so far as to admit his rank among poets. Several writers concur in the view that his great period centres on the *Odas Seculares*, though only some conclude that the rest of his life was a decline and fall. The controversy as to the priority of Herrera-Reissig and Lugones seems to be settled by this volume, which shows that *Los Crepúsculos del Jardín* is much older than its date of publication, and so older than Herrera-Reissig's experiments in Symbolism. It is established that some of Lugones' sonnets had appeared before the turn of the century in periodicals in Montevideo, and that Herrera-Reissig had been present at one of Lugones' declamations before embarking on his own second style. However, these articles hardly affect the fact that Herrera-Reissig, when he died, was on the point of achieving a definite style, and that Lugones remained eternally a virtuoso. Mention of this special number is an occasion for calling attention to the services rendered by *Nosotros* in its second epoch to Spanish-American criticism. It is the best periodical for its subject. Hardly a number passes without some illuminating notice of a Spanish-American author. González Prada, Florencio Sánchez, Gálvez, Payró, Sarah Bollo, are a few of the figures discussed in the most recent issues. The chronicles of European letters (the reports on English works are too Gallic to be true) will be read in Europe chiefly because they give the American perspective of European literary productivity, and so the basis for studies in comparative literature. Sres Bianchi and Giusti, the editors, are to be congratulated on performing a necessary service to American literature in the Spanish tongue.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

The Hispanic Society of America (New York) has published recently some catalogues of general interest. The *Handbook: Museum and Library Collections* (1938) is a sumptuously illustrated volume, chiefly devoted to art, but the account of thirty-two old maps and the chapter on manuscripts and books are of direct concern to readers of this *Review*. Miss Clara L. Penney is responsible for a *List of Books printed 1601-1700* (1938), which carries forward the *List of Books printed before 1601* issued in 1929. *Translations from Hispanic Poets* (1938) would give a fair impression of Spanish and Spanish-American lyrical poetry to those who do not read the language. The contemporary writers seem most adequately represented. *Martín Rico y Ortega* (by Miss Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, 1937) contains a short biographical sketch and reproductions from his Swiss, English, French and Pyrenean sketchbooks which, though small, are sufficiently plain to give a clear impression of this landscapist's methods.

To these we may add Miss Eleanor L. Turnbull's translations from Sr Pedro Salinas (*Lost Angel and other Poems*. Johns Hopkins and Oxford Univ. Presses. 1938. 169 pp. \$2). The originals have been drawn from the poet's work under his own supervision. The title poem has not previously been published. In a preface the author argues that poetry must

be the concern of a select minority. The great public wishes distraction, he thinks, but poetry 'makes us turn in upon ourselves, invites us to an inner activity, to something like a reproduction within ourselves of the feelings of the poet'. It appears, then, that contemporary Spanish poets have not experienced that 'change of attitude', of which Mr Louis MacNiece speaks, according to which 'the poet is primarily a spokesman' and 'is a specialist in something which everyone practises'. Yet the 'change of attitude' seems to be implicit in García Lorca.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

A fine edition is brought to its conclusion by the publication of the fourth volume of *Simon Dach, Gedichte*, herausgegeben von Walter Ziesemer (*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, Sonderreihe Bd. 7. Halle: Niemeyer. 1938. 590 pp. Paper, RM. 20, bound, RM. 22.50). The same high standard of research characterizes this final volume as was the case with its predecessors. The editor states that of the 296 German poems 221 are made accessible for the first time, through the utilization of hitherto unpublished material. Although he has made every effort to trace the original of every known poem of Dach's, several have not yet been found and their existence is only known to us by the fact that Gottsched planned a similar edition of Dach about 200 years ago. As in the third volume the German poems of this part are all 'Geistliche Lieder und Trostgedichte'. Of the Latin poems not all are printed, as they had to be turned out at regular intervals by Dach as professor of poetry and contain many repetitions. The editor however gives the first lines of all the Latin poems.

The fact that Ziesemer has found 100 hitherto unknown compositions of poems by Dach, by composers such as Albert, Johannes Stobäus, Georg Huck, Johannes Weichmann, Johann Sebastiani, Christoph Kaldenbach and others, is of the greatest interest. A complete edition of these musical settings would be of the greatest value for the history of the German song.

The present volume contains notes and indexes similar to those in the first three and completes a noteworthy piece of research into the literature and Kulturgeschichte of the seventeenth century.

H. S. M. AMBURGER-STUART.

LONDON.

In *Rilke's Apotheosis* (Oxford: Blackwell. 1938. 48 pp. 2s.) Dr Eudo Mason surveys a number of representative publications on the work and life of Rilke which appeared between 1934 and 1937. It is in the nature of a collective review, intended for those who are familiar with the literature on the subject, and the author prefaces his analysis by pointing out how Rilke's earlier unwillingness to expatiate upon his own literary achievement yielded, towards the end of his life, to an apparent desire for self-explanation—even to the extent of suggesting to one correspondent the submission of a questionnaire. Dr Mason however, with sound instinct,

refuses to accept Rilke's own statements as necessarily always reliable, and he has checked their accuracy by examining such other sources as are available. His suspicion has not gone unrewarded, but the main value of his contribution lies in his cool analysis of the judgements, sometimes the changing judgements, of Rilke's various interpreters. If the present reviewer, reviewing a collective review of individual views, is reminded a little of the adage concerning big fleas and little fleas, yet the justification for Dr Mason's thoughtful survey is to be found in the outstanding significance of Rilke, the abstruseness of his later poetry, and the almost equally abstruse nature of much of the interpretative criticism to which he has been subjected.

A number of the books examined by Dr Mason illustrate the German tendency to study the problems inherent in a poet's life and work from the standpoint provided by some philosophical or metaphysical doctrine which itself requires expert elucidation, so that the ensuing interpretation of the poet's thought and inspiration is muffled in the opaque wrappings of a newly invented terminology. Dr Mason points out in each case whether the interpretation he is examining is based on phenomenology, anthroposophy, existential philosophy, physiognomical philosophy or dialectical Christianity, without however entering further into the meaning of these terms. He also considers what he ironically dubs the 'hagiological' writings of the less critical of Rilke's female admirers. His wide knowledge of the relevant facts and deep understanding of Rilke's poetry enable him to indicate the virtues of each particular interpretation, and occasionally to prick with a sharp and expert pen the inflated phrases which conceal within themselves an essential misunderstanding of the poet's thought. If his book has one fault, it is perhaps that it does not go far enough in the latter direction. As a guide to recent critical Rilke-literature it will certainly save future researchers a good deal of spade-work, and may save them a certain amount of headache.

LONDON.

WILLIAM ROSE.

The most recent addition to Halldór Hermannsson's series of bibliographies (*Islandica* xxvi, *The Sagas of the Kings and the Mythical-Heroic Sagas*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press; London: H. Milford. 1937. x+84 pp. 5s.) consists of a supplement to two earlier volumes, viz. *Bibliography of the Sagas of the Kings of Norway* (*Islandica*, iii, 1910) and *Bibliography of the Mythical-Heroic Sagas* (*Islandica*, v, 1912). As the author shows in his Preface to the present work, distinction between these two classes of literature must often be arbitrary. Thus, the *Ynglinga Saga* is placed among the Sagas of the Kings, while *Volsunga Saga* and *Norna-Gests Þáttur* are counted as Mythical-Heroic Sagas. The latter group, in fact, comprises mainly those sagas edited by C. C. Rafn in 1829-30 and called *Fornaldar Sögur Norðrlanda*, and excludes most of the purely fictitious *lygisögur* and stories adapted from foreign romances, as, e.g., those published by Gustaf Cederschöld under the title *Fornsögur Suðrlanda* (Lund, 1884). Halldór Hermannsson explains that it is often

hard to decide which titles to include and which to leave out; a difficulty which will be readily appreciated, particularly in the case of the Mythical-Heroic Sagas. On these selective principles, therefore, *Ala Flekks Saga*, though not published in Rafn's collection, is given here as a separate item (*Islandica*, xxvi, 50), while *Bragða Olvis Saga* (see *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, i, 42-54) is not included under either group. Nevertheless a number of spurious sagas which are thought to be of special interest, such as *Ambales Saga* and *Huldar Saga*, are dealt with in an appendix.

It is unnecessary to say how useful these concise volumes are to all who study Icelandic, and realize how difficult it is to track down important articles such as often appear in obscure periodicals.

G. TURVILLE-PETRE.

LEEDS.

In his *Textkritiska studier till Fredmans epistlar* (*Nordiska texter och undersökningar*, 12. Stockholm: Hugo Gebers forlag, Copenhagen: Levin og Munksgaard. 1938. 146 pp. Kr. 4.50) Lektor Bernhard Risberg has attempted to establish an authoritative text of the songs in *Fredmans epistlar*. He finds that earlier writers on Bellman are mistaken in their view that the printed edition of 1790 represents a careful selection of his finest poems made by Bellman himself, or that it is to be regarded as having been scrutinized and corrected by him. The idea of publishing this edition did not originate with the author but was suggested by the lexicographer E. W. Weste; and the part which Bellman played in its production consisted for the most part in revising a number of passages at the request of the publisher and in offering him at least seven further poems for inclusion in the collection.

The second and third chapters of Risberg's studies are devoted to the difficult task of examining the numerous manuscripts in which the poems are preserved, of establishing the identity of the copyist and arriving at an estimate of the relative value of the copy. Then comes the further question as to which of these manuscripts the publishers of the epistles followed. The author shows that the edition of 1790 is based on manuscripts far inferior to those which have since come to light and proceeds to detailed textual criticism of nearly two hundred passages. By comparing the most numerous and reliable manuscripts Risberg succeeds in over a hundred cases in establishing or at least recommending a reading differing from that of the 1790 edition. On the other hand he occasionally defends the text of the printed edition as preferable. In concluding his studies he expresses the hope that a reliable edition of *Fredmans epistlar*, with modern spelling and thoroughly revised punctuation, may be published in time for the celebration of the Bellman bicentenary in 1940. His own commendably cautious method of approach to his task provides a model of what can be achieved in this direction and maintains the high standard of scholarship which we associate with the *Nordiska texter och undersökningar*.

R. J. McCLEAN.

LONDON.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

January—March 1939

With the collaboration of MARY S. SERJEANTSON (English),
A. T. HATTO and W. F. MAINLAND (German)

GENERAL

- ACHARD, P., *La Vie extraordinaire des frères Barberousse, corsaires et rois d'Alger*. Paris, Éd. de France. 18 fr.
- Actes du Quatrième Congrès international de Linguistes. 25s
- Bibliographie Balkanique, 1938. Paris, Bibl. Balkanique. 100 fr
- BLACHÈRE, R., *Vue d'ensemble sur la Poétique classique des Arabes*. Paris, Geuthner. 10 fr.
- BRAUN, M., *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature*. Oxford, Blackwell. 7s. 6d.
- BRITTON, K., *Communication: a philosophical study of language*. London, Kegan Paul. 12s. 6d.
- BURDACH, K., *Der Gral. Forschungen über seinen Ursprung und seinen Zusammenhang mit der Longinuslegende (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte, Bd. 14)*. Stuttgart, Kohlhammer. 21 M.
- CALMETTE, J. et E. DEPREZ, *Histoire du Moyen Âge, II: L'Europe Occidentale de la fin du XIV^e siècle aux guerres d'Italie*. Paris, PUF. 90 fr.
- CHADWICK, H. M. and N. K., *The Growth of Literature, III*. Cambridge Univ. Press. 35s.
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CHAUCER'S SHIPMAN IN REAL LIFE

I. THE QUESTION OF THE SHIPMAN'S NATIONALITY

AFTER carefully weighing all the available evidence regarding the Canterbury pilgrims, Professor F. N. Robinson recently declared: 'The probability is strong that Chaucer had contemporary models for his characters.' There was a real Harry Bailly, the host of a Southwark inn, and a real cook of London called Roger de Ware. Several other pilgrims whose surnames are not given are nevertheless highly individualized. Conspicuous in this group is the Shipman. Scholars have attempted to identify him, assuming, as all modern readers do assume, that he was an Englishman. Yet it may be that our assumption is unwarranted. At all events this paper will report the surprisingly far-reaching results of asking whether the truth of the matter might not be contained in the words: 'A Shipman was ther... of.... Spayne.' Chaucer adds, of course, that he was 'wonyng fer by weste', which undoubtedly means 'living in the far west of England'. But the idea that a foreign sailor may have been living in this country while the poet was writing the *General Prologue* (1384-8) is not obviously preposterous.

Here are the main points in the sketch of the Shipman. In appearance he was sun-browned and bearded, he wore a knee-length tunic of coarse woollen cloth (represented in the Ellesmere illustration as black) and he carried a dagger on a strap¹ slung over one shoulder and under the other arm. His character is summed up in the expression 'a good felawe', meaning a pleasant companion and implying a rascal.² On voyages from Bordeaux he stole many a drink from his supercargo's wine barrels. He had perhaps no great thirst for fighting ('If that he faught'), but he had taken part in some sea-battles. When he got the upper hand he showed his disregard for 'nyce conscience' or tender feeling³ by sending the defeated crew 'hoom by water'; that is, he threw them overboard,

¹ Chaucer's expression (*Gen. Prol.* 392) is 'on a laas', meaning possibly one of those laces or 'points' for the fashioning of which, according to the *Libelle of Englysh Polycye* (1436), English pointmakers found Castilian kid-skin 'ful nedeful'.

² See notes on *Gen. Prol.* 395 in the editions of Skeat, Manly and Robinson.
Cf. *Gen. Prol.* 398 and 142 ff.

though whether dead or alive is not specified.¹ As a ship's captain and pilot he was unrivalled from Hull to Cartagena.² He knew all the havens from Jutland³ to Cape Finisterre and every creek in Brittany and Spain. He was living in the west of England and 'His barge ycleped was the Maudelayne'.

In the course of this description Spain is mentioned or referred to three times, once significantly. The Shipman, we are told, knew 'the cape of Fynystere' on the Atlantic coast of Spain; he had no rival this side of 'Cartage' on its Mediterranean coast, and he was familiar with its 'every cryke'. The last statement clearly implies that he had circumnavigated the Spanish peninsula. Yet as far as specialists in the history of English seafaring are aware, no English shipmaster sailed a vessel through the Straits of Gibraltar until more than fifty years after the *General Prologue* was composed.⁴ Portugal appears to have been as far south as English

¹ *Gen. Prol.* 400. 'By water he sente hem hoom to every lond' Hincley (*Notes on Chaucer*) and Brusendoff (*The Chaucer Tradition*, p. 482) interpret this as meaning that the Shipman forced defeated crews to 'walk the plank'. Professor Robinson (*Cambridge Chaucer*, 1933) suggests the same kind of death when he notes that the Shipman 'drowned his prisoners'. He is as likely, however, to have killed them before throwing them overboard. This method was common at the time. In his *History of the Wine Trade in England*, I, pp. 226, 184-5, A. L. Simon gives the following instances. In 1349 men of Winchelsea attacked some Dutch merchants on a Spanish ship, 'coming upon them and assailing the said merchants and others therein, after killing and throwing into the sea very many of the crew, brought the ship . . . to Dartmouth'. Another vessel, driven by a storm to Sully in Normandy, was boarded by divers persons who 'killed the men on board her and threw them into the sea'. Further instances of the slaughter of crews at the sword's point (a process which would naturally have ended in the corpses being thrown overboard) are cited by N. H. Nicolas in *A History of the Royal Navy*, II, pp. 100 ff., and still others will be cited here.

² Chaucer's 'Cartage' almost certainly means the port now called Cartagena, in south-east Spain, and not the ancient Carthage. See Manly, *Canterbury Tales*, p. 524, and Kemp Malone, *MLN*, XLV, p. 229, April 1930.

³ Professor Malone has shown (*MLR*, xx, pp. 1 ff.) that Chaucer's 'Gootland' is much more likely to mean Jutland than the Baltic island of Gottland (King Alfred used 'Gotland' for Jutland) and that the poet probably chose Jutland because it was a cape and therefore provided a neat balance for 'the cape of Fynystere', just as the port of 'Hulle' balanced the port of 'Cartage'.

⁴ The first voyage of an English ship through the Straits of Gibraltar (or of Marrok as they were then called) known to F. L. Salzman took place in 1446 (*English Trade in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1931, p. 437). On the return journey the vessel was wrecked off Modon. Besides this danger of shipwreck there was the danger of falling into the hands of Spaniards to deter English merchants from employing English ships and sailors. Salzman adds: 'Clement Armstrong . . . writing in about 1525, says that forty years earlier Spain was still considered "a farre adventure", and that only about thirty-six years had passed since the first English voyage to Turkey and Scio in the Levant.' C. L. Scofield, speaking of Edward IV's commerce with Italy in 1463 and later, observes: 'Customs accounts supply abundant evidence that it was not English bottoms, as a rule [no exception is mentioned], which carried across the sea the various wares England's merchant king wished to send to foreign markets. . . . Why Edward made use of foreign ships instead of ships owned and manned by Englishmen is a question easily answered. It was because English ships were much smaller than their foreign rivals—so much smaller that probably few of them wanted to undertake so long a voyage as the one through the Straits of Marrok' (*The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, London, 1923, II, p. 415). In searching through the *Close* and *Patent Rolls* I have found that in the fourteenth century English ships went as far south as Lisbon, but no farther.

merchants of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were willing to trust their goods to the comparatively small ships of their own nation. When voyages to Italy had to be undertaken, they employed large galleys owned and manned by Basques, whom the English called Spaniards,¹ or by Italians or other foreigners.² It cannot at present be stated categorically that throughout the fourteenth century our Mediterranean trade was exclusively in the hands of foreign seamen; but in favour of that conclusion there is very solid evidence, of a kind which makes any substantial alteration of it unlikely.

We may take it, then, as highly improbable that any English shipmaster contemporary with Chaucer had sailed along the Mediterranean shore of Spain. We may also safely assume that some of the foreign shipmasters who handled our Italian trade remained in England for considerable periods between voyages. Indeed, it was one of France's complaints against us at the treaty of Leulinghen (1403) that we were harbouring too many seafaring aliens, a class much given to piracy.³ It follows that when Chaucer described a shipmaster who was living in England and knew every creek in Spain he was not necessarily, or even probably, thinking of an Englishman. He might well have had in mind one of the foreign sailors engaged in Anglo-Italian trade, a man who in consequence of voyaging back and forth between England and Italy did in fact know the whole Spanish coast.

And it turns out that a real Basque shipmaster of the poet's day, John Piers by name, is an exact counterpart of the Shipman. Piers actually settled in England as an English subject. During the years to which the *General Prologue* is ascribed he was living in Teignmouth in Devon, 'wonyng fer by weste'. He was also, during those same years, a frequent topic of London gossip, on account of various scandalous misdeeds which had spectacular consequences. The chief of these was that he had captured a vessel called the *Magdaleyn* and put her crew to death. Following on this, and connected with it, came the impeachment of an English merchant and a prolonged lawsuit which involved a Genoese nobleman and several eminent judges of Chaucer's acquaintance. In the period of the *General Prologue* no piracy was more notorious in London than this of the *Magdaleyn* by a pirate of Spain. Thus we have the poet's circle discussing, and the poet contemporaneously describing, a conscienceless shipmaster, then living in the west of England, who was associated

¹ Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

² *Ibid.*, p. 437. Basques received English safe-conducts for voyages to Italy at least as early as 1337 (*Patent Rolls*, 1334-8, p. 537).

³ C. L. Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in XVth Century England* (Oxford, 1925), p. 85.

with sending defeated opponents 'hoom by water', with 'Spayne' and with a ship called the 'Maudelayne'. The coincidence is sufficiently striking to speak for itself.

The passage in the *General Prologue* contains further details which accord with, or even confirm, the view that the Shipman may have been of Spanish origin. For one thing, the specific form of lack of 'nyce conscience' which is attributed to him—his killing of prisoners—was regarded in Chaucer's England as a speciality of 'Spaniards', in keeping with the traditional cruelty of their nation. It is true that in the battle of Espagnols-sur-mer in 1350, which had been preceded by a long series of Spanish aggressions and brutalities, the victorious English repaid their enemies fully in their own coin. Thereafter, however, judging from the numerous sea-fights recorded in the *Close* and *Patent Rolls* of 1350-1400, the English rarely or never slaughtered defeated crews. The Spaniards, on the other hand, continued to do so with unrelenting regularity. Illustrations of the difference in this respect between the seamen of the two nations will appear in the following pages. But we should note here that in 1369 a group of English merchants and shipowners—hoping, it would seem, to get this form of atrocity abolished by international agreement—protested bitterly that English crews were being 'barbarously murdered' by their Basque and Castilian captors.¹ Between 1384 and 1388, the period in which the *General Prologue* is generally agreed to have been written, the Basques were still giving cause for the same protest.

In 1385, for instance, some English merchants complained that when a ship of theirs had lately been taken by two Basque balingers, a number of their mariners had been 'murdered and the rest wounded'.² The wholesale slaughter of the crew of the English *Magdaleyn* by the Basque John Piers occurred in September 1383. It became known in England in 1384 and remained a source of news till near the end of 1386. These facts suggest that although English sailors of the late fourteenth century were doubtless not incapable of the Shipman's ruthlessness, it would not have been typical of an Englishman, whereas it would have been typical of a Spaniard.

Nothing that is said of the Shipman tends in the slightest degree to mark him as distinctively English.³ His dress may have had points in

¹ *CR*, 1369-74, p. 112.

² *PR*, 1381-5, p. 566.

³ Even the statement 'Hardy he was' is reminiscent of the French proverbial comparison 'Hardi comme un Basque.' The Basques themselves have an old proverb which might be remembered in connection with the Shipman's wine-stealing. 'The ass carries the wine, and drinks water.' On voyages from Bordeaux, says Chaucer, the Shipman drew many a drink from the wine casks he was carrying, while their owner was asleep ('Whil that the

common with that of English sailors, but it is certainly not unlike the national costume of the Basques. This is described in part in a twelfth-century codex for the guidance of pilgrims to Compostella¹ The Basques, the codex tells us, wore 'short mantles... cut at the knee'; their long outer cloaks were 'woollen' and 'black', and each landsman at least had a horn hung 'round his neck', as the Shipman had a dagger 'hangynge on a laas... aboute his nekke'. A writer of the sixteenth century recorded that the Basques invariably carried a small weapon.²

Chaucer begins:

A Shipman was ther, wonynge fer by weste;
For aught I woot, he was of Dertemouthe.
He rood upon a rouncey, as he kouthe, etc³

This passing mention of Dartmouth, and the existence there in the poet's time of a vessel called the *Magdaleyne*, probably owned by the great John Hawley, have given rise to the well-known theory that the Shipman was one of the masters of the Dartmouth *Magdaleyne*, an obscure sailor named Peter Risshenden.⁴ But the second line is not really a satisfactory foundation for that theory. Admittedly it suggests that the Shipman *might* have been of Dartmouth, but it also deliberately refrains from saying that he *was*. In connection with this odd procedure we should remember a fact well known to Chaucer's contemporaries; namely, that Spanish sailors dreaded the mere name of John Hawley⁵ and had no worse enemies in England than his henchmen.⁶ And the description of the Shipman gives us reason to suspect that Spain was his native land. Possibly therefore the suggestion that *perhaps* he was of Dartmouth is a mild Chaucerian joke, an ironic relegation of him to the last English port he would have been likely to choose, or be allowed, to live in. The aside

chapman sleep') Pilfering of that kind was probably not uncommon, in spite of measures to prevent it. For instance, merchants travelled with their wine, and each cask was gauged at Bordeaux and unloaded and again gauged at the port of entry in the merchant's presence (F. X. Michel, *Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation à Bordeaux*, 1867, I, p. 58, and Salzman, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-7). It is also probable that during the voyage many merchants actually did 'sleep' a considerable part of the time, for somnolence is an almost invariable effect of sea-sickness and merchants were especially liable to that ailment. They are mentioned in the *Black Book of the Admiralty* foremost among those 'whom the sea makes sick... and if they had a thousand marks of silver they would promise it all to anyone who would ask it and put them ashore' (quoted by Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 24). The trip from Bordeaux to England took these unfortunates through the turbulent waters of the Bay of Biscay and the English Channel, in 'bowl-shaped boats which must have pitched most horribly'.

¹ Quoted by P. S. Ormond, *The Basques and Their Country* (1925), pp. 44-5

² *Ibid.*

³ F. E. Hill translates the third line, 'He rode his nag as well as he knew how'. It is probably a joke at the expense of a sailor's horsemanship (as 'sleep' may be at the expense of a landsman's seamanship) and typical of the tone of the whole Shipman passage.

⁴ See Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 762

⁵ Salzman, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-6.

⁶ J. M. Manly, *Some New Light on Chaucer* (New York, 1925), pp. 169 ff.

certainly gives the impression of having a humorous intention, and the relegation of the Shipman to Dartmouth is avowedly tentative. This would be accounted for by the hypothesis that he was a Spaniard. On the other hand Chaucer's '*For all I know*, he was of Dartmouth' has remained an unresolved difficulty in the path of the Rissenden theory.

But apart altogether from speculation and impression, one thing is beyond dispute: the only trustworthy information we are given concerning the Shipman's place of residence at the time of the Canterbury pilgrimage is that he was living 'fer by weste'. And since Chaucer does *not* say he was a Dartmouth man, the search for the real 'Maudelayne' and its master need not be confined to Dartmouth.

The sea-fight which put John Piers of Teignmouth in possession of the *Magdaleyn* is recorded in a long legal document dated November 1385 and printed in full in the *Close Rolls*.¹ Considered by itself, this rather involved record tells only a small part of the story, which is perhaps one reason why it has remained so long unnoted by Chaucerians. To understand the outrageous circumstances connected with Piers's piracy, and its corresponding notoriety, we have to piece together other writs concerning him which have likewise been preserved in the *Rolls*, *Close* and *Patent*.² These writs reveal remarkably clearly the kind of man he was. His utter lack of conscience, the grossness of his many offences, and the apparent readiness with which they were pardoned, remind one not a little of 'that gorgeous old ruffian' Falstaff.

II. JOHN PIERS OF BISCAY AND THE PIRACY OF THE 'MAGDALEYN'

In the generation before that of the pirate of the *Magdaleyn* a number of seamen called Piers were living in various trading centres in the Basque province of Biscay.³ Some of their names are: Domyngo Peris, Godesow le Peres, Gonsalvo Peres, William Peres of Santander, John Piers of Bermeo, and Sanncio Petri of Castro Urdiales. They kept in touch with England through commercial voyages and through occasional service with the English navy.⁴ The man with whom we are concerned was for a long time consistently designated as of Castro Urdiales,⁵ a small port near Bermeo. The earliest reference to him discovered in

¹ *CR*, 1385-9, pp. 92-3.

² John Piers had about twenty recorded namesakes in England, but disentangling him requires only time and patience.

³ Also in Portugal, Holland, England and Ireland.

⁴ *PR*, 1338-40, p. 492; cf. *PR*, 1334-8, p. 571.

⁵ Various written in the entries concerning him as 'Ceresp', 'Castre', 'Saraspe de Berneo' and 'Quexo'.

English records appears in January 1372, the latest in January 1403.¹ We may therefore regard him as roughly contemporary with Chaucer.

Our first glimpse of this 'good felawe' shows him sailing his large ship the *Seint Marie* northwards along the coast of Brittany. This was one of the coasts, it will be remembered, whose havens the Shipman is said to have known particularly well. The year was 1371, so that Piers was probably in the neighbourhood of thirty. With the *Seint Marie* were twenty-four other vessels, Flemish and Basque, carrying wine which they had taken on at La Rochelle. As they reached the haven then called simply 'the Bay', which Nicolas takes to be Bourneuf Bay near the mouth of the Loire,² they met a convoy of English ships sailing southwards. The leaders of the Flemings and Basques decided to attack, unwisely as it turned out; for the English captured all twenty-five of their ships, took them at once to England, and imprisoned their officers and men.³ Chaucer's friend Sir Richard Stury was present at the engagement⁴ and probably on his return home gave the poet an eyewitness account of it.

The master of the *Seint Marie* contrived not to remain long in prison. At that time, under threat of invasion from France, Edward III was trying to improve his navy.⁵ He would no doubt have been glad to augment it by a fine Spanish vessel under the captaincy of a born sailor, especially as earlier in his reign he had received good service from Spanish ships and seamen.⁶ At all events Piers was soon in process of regaining his freedom by changing sides—one of his favourite devices. In January 1372, on the understanding that he would report to the English authorities within a year, he was given a safe-conduct to go home and arrange for his 'deliverance'.⁷ He made the journey in the

¹ Piers could not have been an active shipmaster much later than 1403. After that date there is an interval of eleven years apparently without any record concerning a seafaring John Piers. A man of his name who in 1414 was a shipmaster in the fleet of Henry V (Nicolas, *op cit.*, II, p. 515) must have been a younger person. A number of seamen called Piers (the name John is found among them) are mentioned in the *Rolls* during the second quarter of the fifteenth century in a way which shows that the group was still large, widespread, and important. Thomas Chaucer appointed a John Piers of this generation as his deputy butler in Bristol (*PR*, 1422-9, p. 384).

² *Op cit.*, II, p. 138, note b

³ Very meagre accounts of the battle are given by Froissart and other chroniclers who are Nicolas's authorities (*ibid.*, pp. 137-8). They do not mention the time of year, or the presence of Basque ships in the Flemish fleet. This last detail is made apparent by the entry in the *Rolls* cited above (*PR*, 1370-4, p. 228). The Basques and Flemings were close trade allies and often sailed in company (Nicolas, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 264, 267, cf. *PR*, 1334-8, p. 578). Their combined fleet coming from La Rochelle with wine in 1387, like that of 1371, was captured by the English (Simon, *op cit.*, I, p. 251).

⁴ Mentioned by Froissart

⁵ Nicolas, *op cit.*, II, pp. 134-5

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 507-10. In 1346 the English fleet had thirty-eight foreign ships (the Strangers' Fleet), seven of which were Spanish

⁷ *PR*, 1370-4, p. 228.

Seint Marie and returned to England, as we learn from information later supplied by John of Gaunt, 'there to abide in the king's allegiance'.¹ For about three years at this stage of his career—from 1372, presumably, till about the middle of 1375—Piers lived in England as an English subject.²

In the summer of 1375 he accompanied the English fleet which conveyed Sir Thomas Felton to Bordeaux. On the return journey the ships called in 'the Bay' to load cargoes for home. While they were at anchor there, in the month of August, Castilian galleys came in and assailed them savagely, capturing some, burning others, and according to Spanish custom killing the masters and crews.³ Piers's *Seint Marie* was among the captured and he among the comparatively few survivors; from which we may perhaps infer that he had refrained from provocatively stubborn resistance. All told, the English lost thirty-seven ships.⁴ One of these belonged to a merchant of Plymouth named John Sampson, of whom we shall hear more. Later it was to prove to his disadvantage to know that in the battle of 1375 John Piers of Biscay had been an officer in the English navy.

Piers met his second capture in 'the Bay' in the spirit of 'Pæs ofereode, pisses swa mæg'. Again his method was to change over to the winning side. Not improbably he did this at the first opportunity, since the Castilians were his natural allies. After the battle they remained in 'the Bay' for a solid month celebrating their triumph. A chronicler,⁵ whose disgust is manifest, records that they made merry uproariously; they even flew from their masts streamers so extravagantly long that they trailed in the water. By the time these revels were ended and Piers sailed again for Spain he must have added appreciably to his already poignant knowledge of one of the 'havenes... in Britaigne'.

¹ *CR*, 1374-7, p. 416. 1376, ? September.

² During this period he is likely to have taken part in some of the twice-yearly expeditions of the English wine fleet to Bordeaux.

³ The writ of 1376 cited above describes Piers as 'now taken at sea by the king's Spanish enemies'. This clearly refers to the 1375 battle of 'the Bay', for 1376 was the year in which the settlements it necessitated were begun (Nicolas, *op. cit.*, II, p. 153).

⁴ In a list of the ships which were captured in 'the Bay' in August 1375 the last item reads: 'une nef pris ovesq le seignour de lespre' (Nicolas, *op. cit.*, II, p. 510). Nicolas copied this list from State Papers, Tower, No. 963. x. E. I have not seen the manuscript, but the last word means nothing as it stands. It could however be 'cespre', another variant of the many forms of Castro Urdiales noted above, one of which was 'Ceresp'. If this guess is correct, as in view of Piers's participation in the battle seems highly probable, then the master of the *Seint Marie* was also its owner. One might add that the general estimate of the social status of Chaucer's Shipman, fairly represented perhaps by the phrase 'rough sailor', is questionable. The statement that 'His barge ycleped was the Maudelayne' may well mean that he owned it. Cf. below, p. 506, note 4.

⁵ Quoted by Nicolas.

The English gave his fidelity, or possibly his survival, the benefit of the doubt till late in 1376. Then they disposed of £40, 'part of the price of a ship of his', which they had held for him in case he should return to their service.¹ Ultimately he did return, but not of his own free will. During eight years following on the last battle of 'the Bay' the *Rolls* are lacking in any indication that he visited England. It would not be surprising if he had developed a temporary preference for the Mediterranean reach of his trade route, where he would be in no danger of meeting ships of the navy from which he had deserted. When we next hear of him, in 1383, he had evidently just made a voyage to Genoa.

In that year he took aboard the *Seint Marie* goods belonging mainly to Payn Doria, a member of the renowned Genoese family of merchant princes.² Together they set sail for Middleburgh or some other North Sea port.³ On 7 September of the same year, somewhere north of Lisbon, they met the *Magdaleyn* of Bristol.⁴ She was heading for Lisbon with a cargo of cloth and wool valued at £1000, a sum which has to be multiplied by about fifteen to represent its modern equivalent. Piers must have watched the approaching English vessel with speculation in his eyes. If he attacked her he would be committing an act of war against a country to which he had sworn fealty. He would also be exposing his Genoese employer to liability for a heavy fine, since a truce was in force between Genoa and England.⁵ But the *Seint Marie* was the larger ship and well armed,⁶ and Piers not subject to scruples. He therefore undertook⁷ to give battle. The ensuing fight, with the odds well on his side, is the only one in which he is known to have engaged either voluntarily or successfully. A sentence of Chaucer's fits the case

¹ *CR*, 1374-7, p. 416.

² In 1315 Lambus Doria and 'other nobles of the family of Dore' received from England thanks 'for their offer to aid the king with galleys and men-at-arms, on horse and foot, in the war against the Scots' (*CR*, 1313-8, p. 310). Cf. *CR*, 1377-81, p. 291; *CR*, 1381-5, p. 197, etc.

³ Probably starting from Genoa. Earlier in the same year a ship on which another member of the Doria family had laded goods sailed from that port (*CR*, 1381-5, pp. 197, 436). On Middleburgh as the possible destination of Payn Doria, see *ibid.*, p. 367.

⁴ *CR*, 1385-9, pp. 92-3.

⁵ *CR*, 1381-5, pp. 197-8; February 1383.

⁶ Spanish ships in general were larger than English (see, e.g., Nicolas, *op. cit.*, II, p. 111) and the *Seint Marie*, later described by the English as a 'cog'—their largest type—was apparently big even for a Spanish ship. She was offered for sale with all her 'armaturis' at £173 (without *armaturis* at £133) as against £100 or less charged for other Spanish vessels about the same time (*PR*, 1381-5, pp. 398, 405; *PR*, 1385-9, pp. 226, 218, 252, 302).

⁷ Chaucer describes the Shipman as 'wys to undertake'. The phrase probably refers to professional decisions. By the Laws of Oléron, says Salzman (*op. cit.*, p. 249), 'before a ship set sail it was the duty of the master to consult his mariners, and ask what they thought of the weather. Some were sure to say that it was good and some that it was not; in that case he must take the advice of the majority, or he would be personally responsible for the ship and cargo if they were lost.' The master also was chiefly responsible for decisions about jettisoning cargo in a storm.

admirably, especially with emphasis on the first word: 'If that he faught, and hadde the hyer hond, By water he sente hem hoom to every lond.' Having got the upper hand of the *Magdaleyn*, Piers proceeded 'to slay the men thereof' and throw their bodies into the sea. His next step was to 'carry off' his prize, which evidently means that he put her in charge of a 'prize crew', as was usual in such circumstances,¹ and instructed them to take her wherever he chose for safe-keeping. He himself had his profitable contract with Doria to fulfil, and continued on his northern course in the *Seint Marie*.

In or about December the vessel was in the English Channel battling with heavy seas and a furious gale. Already it must have been true of Piers, as of the Shipman, that 'With many a tempest hadde his berd been shake.' But for the rest of his days he can have remembered no storm more ruefully than that of the winter of 1383, which deprived him simultaneously of the use of both his ships. It forced the *Seint Marie* and two other Spanish galleys into Plymouth harbour for shelter.² When the inhabitants saw this windfall they put out in small boats and laid firm hold on it, with an eye to private gain. By reason either of their thoroughness or of the violence of the storm the galleys 'were driven ashore'.³ The recorder of the incident sums up the situation succinctly by remarking that the Spaniards were 'unable to escape'. In that plight, he adds, they 'voluntarily gave themselves up with their ships and goods to the king'.

On 22 January 1384 Richard II commissioned John Lincoln and Walter Leicester to see that his new Spanish leges and their goods were taken from the men of Plymouth and put in charge of proper custodians. Piers and another Basque called Joel Langh', both of whom owned some of the *Seint Marie*'s cargo, had been lucky enough to fall into the hands of John Sampson.⁴ He was the man who knew that in the last battle of

¹ Nicolas, *op. cit.*, II, p. 100; Simon, *op. cit.*, I, p. 226, Froude, *History of England* (1870), XI, p. 382; *PR*, 1385-9, p. 349.

² *PR*, 1381-5, p. 417.

³ *PR*, 1381-5, p. 422. For the possibility that the mishap was engineered by the inhabitants of Plymouth, see Simon, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 183-4. Seamen who wanted to detain a ship visiting their harbour commonly cut its anchor-cables and let it drift ashore at high tide.

⁴ Sampson's prisoners are described as 'two alien merchants, enemies of the king' (*PR*, 1388-92, p. 382). Clearly they were Piers and Joel Langh', the two men who later received a pardon connected with Sampson and the capture of the *Seint Marie* in Plymouth (*PR*, 1381-5, p. 490). Cf. the records just cited with *CR*, 1381-5, p. 462, in the light of the fact that in the late Middle Ages 'the extent to which the owners or masters of ships were also merchants is surprisingly large' (N. S. B. Gras, *Early English Customs System*, Harvard Economic Studies, 1918, p. 374). The records of Piers show that he was at once shipmaster, shipowner, and merchant—a combination to which, incidentally, the word 'shipman' would apply as well as any. Cf. above, p. 504, note 4.

'the Bay' the master of the *Seint Marie* had served with the English. For some reason (provided perhaps by Piers) Sampson refused to deliver up the two most important of his Basque prisoners. Instead, he let them go. Piers betook himself, probably at once, to Teignmouth, which had formerly proved hospitable to Basques,¹ Langh' went to Kingsteignton. The King soon heard of Sampson's defiance of his commissioners, and also, apparently, of Piers's piracy of the *Magdaleyn*. On 22 February he issued a second writ,² this time to Edward de Courtenay Earl of Devon, Sir William Botreaux of Cornwall, etc., ordering them to arrest Sampson. The order was duly carried out and the offender sent to the Tower to await trial in Parliament.³ His default in letting Piers and Langh' escape was found in the end to have been due to 'ignorance'. It is difficult to see what else the term could have referred to than Sampson's ignorance of the recent act of war against England by the men of the *Seint Marie*. It looks as though the pirate of the *Magdaleyn*, fresh from the wholesale murder of an English crew, had posed as still a loyal English subject, and his captor had made the mistake of believing him and treating him accordingly.

Some six months after Sampson's arrest a Devonshire justice of the peace, John Prestcot,⁴ obtained his release on bail⁵ and summoned Piers to an inquiry into the charges against him. Prestcot's only concern was to get evidence which would help to acquit his friend Sampson, and the mere fact that Piers was summoned indicates that he had help of that kind to give. But he failed to present himself at the inquiry, not being the man to take any risk whatever out of respect for the golden rule. Sampson's impeachment was voted in December and he was sent back to prison. He was not pardoned till 1391, when a re-examination of his case revealed that he had released his prisoners 'in ignorance' ⁶

While the ex-master of the *Seint Marie* remained in discreet obscurity his vessel was confiscated.⁷ In the words of the relevant writ, it was 'adjudged to the king as enemies' goods'. Richard tried in May 1384 to sell her to Edward de Courtenay for the large sum of £133 (with all her 'armaturis' the sum came to £173) but unavailingly. The price was not lowered when the offer was renewed in June, so that it may have been the same great 'cog' which was referred to in October 1386 as 'the king's Spanish ship'.⁸ In any case by midsummer of 1384 the English

¹ *CR*, 1374-7, p. 416; cf. *CR*, 1385-9, pp. 349, 582. Irrelevantly, it was in Teignmouth in 1818 that Keats found his black-letter edition of Chaucer.

² *PR*, 1381-5, p. 422.

³ *PR*, 1377-81, pp. 50, 513, 572.

⁴ *PR*, 1388-92, p. 382.

⁵ *PR*, 1385-9, p. 218.

⁶ *CR*, 1381-5, p. 593.

⁷ *CR*, 1381-5, p. 462.

⁸ *PR*, 1381-5, pp. 398, 405, 416.

government had settled its account with the Basque pirate on the recognized principle of a ship for a ship—the *Seint Marie* for the *Magdaleyn*. It had not, however, satisfied the former owners of the Bristol vessel. They consequently looked about them for a possible source of reimbursement and fixed on the wealthy Payn Doria.

On the basis of the Laws of Oléron it could be claimed that, at a time of truce between Genoa and England, Doria should not have allowed his Spanish employee to attack an English ship. The Bristol merchants, through their representative John Fulbrook, made this claim and sued Doria for £1500.¹ In the end he was fined 100 marks (less than £67), but even that amount he paid only when his opponents had admitted him entirely guiltless of their further charge; namely, that he had aided and abetted Piers 'to take and carry off the ship and goods of John Fulbrook, etc., and to slay the men thereof'. Although this case was assigned to seven of the most distinguished judges in the country—Sir Robert Tresilian, Sir Robert Bealknap, Sir William Skipwith, Sir Roger Fulthorpe, Sir David Hanmer, Sir John Holt and Sir William Burgh²—it 'needed much examination' and so dragged on 'long', 'at great cost' to the plaintiffs.³ The settlement was finally arrived at, by the unusual procedure of the 'mediation' of the justices, in November 1385.

In the following November some of the Bristol merchants were once more at law, disputing the allocation of Doria's 100 marks.⁴ Thus, three years after the event, the stir which Piers's exploit created was still producing ripples of news. We may take it that no London official concerned with ships would have missed all the talk about a piracy which attained such prolonged and widespread publicity. But we may note several special reasons for Chaucer's being well informed on the subject.

As a man who had friends in Parliament he cannot have failed to know of Sampson's impeachment or of its initial cause. In regard to the Fulbrook-Doria case, one month before it was settled he had been appointed a justice of the peace for Kent.⁵ That appointment made him

¹ *CR*, 1385-9, pp. 92-3

² Sir Robert Tresilian was Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Sir Robert Bealknap was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and Sir David Hanmer had been appointed in 1384, with Tresilian, to hold pleas before the king (*DNB*).

³ A record of 1386, a year after the *Magdaleyn* case was settled, informs us that John Fulbrook and John Corbyndon 'for themselves and the merchants of Bristol long sued at great cost before the council one Payn Dore of Genoa' (*PR*, 1385-9, p. 244). From this entry we know that the *Magdaleyn*'s owners were Bristol men, and by inference that the *Magdaleyn* was a Bristol vessel.

⁴ *PR*, 1385-9, p. 244.

⁵ *Life-Records of Chaucer* (Chaucer Society), no. 183, 12 October 1385.

a colleague of Bealknap, a chief arbiter in the suit. Three of the others—Hanmer, Holt and Burgh—had been commissioned in 1384 to examine his Customs accounts¹ And he had at least heard of the defendant, for in 1372 he had been sent to Genoa to arrange a commercial treaty with its merchants² and must then have come into contact with the Doria family. The business headquarters of the Genoese in London, which Payn Doria doubtless visited in the course of the prolonged trial, were on the Galley Quay, beside Chaucer's Wool Quay.³ The seizure of the *Seint Marie* also involved two men who were known to the poet: Edward de Courtenay, a kinsman of the King, and Gilbert Maufeld, a prominent London merchant. Maufeld brought the confiscated cargo to London, and there in June 1384 delivered eleven bales of coney skins to their Lombard owner.⁴ The history of this shipment must have been told in the London Customs House, which Chaucer was then attending daily. The *Magdaleyn*, too, had been carrying wool, and Chaucer was the controller of Customs on wool, hides and woolfells. It is altogether inconceivable that he should have remained unaware of a scandalous event which touched in so many ways his personal interests, and which occupied so much of the time and attention of his acquaintances.

The government's confiscation of the *Seint Marie*, and the Bristol merchants' partially successful attempt to hold Doria responsible for the *Magdaleyn* piracy, cleared the air for Piers. Possibly he took advantage of his improved situation to devise some means of regaining royal favour, for in 1385, on St George's day, he was pardoned the outlawry of having ignored Prestcot's summons. This pardon of 23 April 1385⁵ was directed to him as 'of Teyngmouth'. He was still of Teyngmouth in July 1388.⁶

During these years he found an employer in a Genoese merchant-owner or 'patron' called Bernard de Reco. How early this connection began is uncertain, but Piers may have been acting as master of Reco's vessel when she was captured on the Seme, at some time prior to 24 July 1387, by the English admiral of the north.⁷ The admiral sent his prize in charge of a subordinate to Hull. The King and Council then ordered her south for the purpose of restoring her to Reco, whereupon she disappeared. After many months the authorities suspected that she was in the vicinity of Southampton, in a disabled condition, local felons having removed part of her tackle.⁸ All this would have been enough

¹ *PR*, 1381-5, p. 359.

² *Life-Records*, no. 68.

³ G. G. Coulton, *Chaucer and His England* (1908), pp. 78-9

⁴ *CR*, 1381-5, p. 381.

⁵ *PR*, 1381-5, p. 522.

⁶ *CR*, 1381-5, p. 409.

⁷ *PR* 1385-9, p. 342.

⁸ *Ibid.*, and *CR*, 1385-9, p. 349.

to cause discontent among the crew of the ill-fated vessel, and we know that Piers and eighteen mariners terminated their engagement with Reco by deserting.¹ Before long they were signed on by another Genoese patron, Janotus Larcarius. Reco heard of this and again appealed to the King and Council, asking them to compel the deserters to leave Larcarius and return to him. The interest of these matters for us is that Piers may perhaps have voyaged in uncomfortable circumstances to Hull, and that his services as master were apparently in demand. Of the Shipman Chaucer said:

But of his craft to rekene wel his tydes,
His stremes, and his daungers hym bisides,²
His herberwe, and his moone, his lodemenage,
Ther nas noon swich from Hulle to Cartage.³

Early in 1388 Piers made a voyage to Bordeaux⁴ which does nothing to raise our estimate of his conscience. On 2 June the London sheriffs were ordered to arrest part of the cargo he had brought home. Further details concerning the matter are given in a record⁵ dated 16 July:

To John Slegh the chief butler, or to his representative in the port of London. Order, upon petition of John Piers master of a barge called '*la Michel*' of Tengenmuth, to pay the sums due to him, that he have no matter for a second suit whereby the king must needs be vexed, as his petition shows that at Bordeaux he received of Peter Paylet twenty tuns of wine to be taken to London to the said Peter's use, and the butler has arrested and is detaining the same to the king's use for that by confession of the said Peter and others in chancery, being examined upon oath touching the ownership of the wine, it appears that the same is of William Bonewe of Bordeaux clerk who forfeited to the king's majesty by reason of certain misprisions, praying that the king will order payment of 12*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* due to the petitioner for the freight thereof and 5*s.* 6*d.* in arrear for the 'lodemenage'⁶ of the barge, as appears by charter produced in chancery.

¹ *CR*, 1385-9, p. 582.

² 'Ever near at hand'—Skeat

³ Since Chaucer was here emphasizing distance, why did he choose 'Hulle' instead of the most northerly port in England, Berwick? He seems to have had a reason for choosing 'Cartage', over and above the fact that it conveniently rhymed with 'lodemenage'. For Cartagena is almost as far north in the Mediterranean as the Shipman's span of pre-eminence could possibly have extended. Beyond it lived the seamen of Catalonia, Genoa and Majorca, who were by a long way the most expert navigators in Europe, the acknowledged princes of their craft and the compilers of the still famed compendiums of sea-lore known as *Portolani* (See C. Moran, *Spain: Its Story Briefly Told*, 1930, p. 69; *Encyc. Brit.*, ed. 14, *s.v.* 'Maps' and 'Portolano'; *NED*, *s.v.* 'Portolano') If 'Cartage' was not an altogether fortuitous choice, as it seems not to have been, the same may be true of 'Hulle'.

⁴ *CR*, 1385-9, p. 409.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 522.

⁶ The earliest use of *lodemenage* given in the *NED* is quoted from the Shipman passage. By it Chaucer meant 'pilot's art' (Himckley, *Notes on Chaucer*). In the poet's day the word was commonly used as a law-term for 'pilot's fee'. Nicolas (*op. cit.*, II, p. 476) cites some instances of this in 1345/46. For piloting a vessel out of 'les Donnes' to the port of Sandwich the price then was 6*s.* 8*d.*, no small amount. For the Black Prince's voyage from Bordeaux to Plymouth after the battle of Poitiers, the 100 mariners were paid £100, the shipmaster (? William Pierres) £20, and the two 'mariners' who piloted £8 13*s.* 4*d.* (*Black Prince's Register*, 1351-65, Part IV, pp. 253-4, 236). Although these payments were at royal rates, they again suggest that neither shipmastering nor piloting were ill-paid. (Cf. Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 238.) The sums Piers charged Paylet must represent

Clearly someone had told the London authorities about Paylet's attempted fraud. Whoever the informer was, he must have had such knowledge of the arrangement made in Bordeaux as the master of the *Michel* would have been in a position to obtain. And from what we know of Piers's opportunism, it is not unnatural to think that he may have been bribed to silence in Gascony and played the turncoat in England. Paylet's refusal to pay him confirms the view that he had in some way served his employer ill. It is further confirmed by the King's settling the bills for freight and for 'lodemenage', not because Richard was accountable for them by law, but on the enigmatical plea that he wished to avoid further vexation.¹ The shadow of double-dealing which lies over the transaction seems not to fall clear of Piers. But his part in it only strongly suggests, where other evidence has proved, that he earned the implication of rascality in the mediaeval expression 'a good felawe'.

The ship belonging to Larcarius which Piers joined while he was still legally bound to Reco was preparing to sail from Sandwich in February 1389. In spite of Reco's elaborate effort to prevent his shipmaster leaving England in this way, Piers probably succeeded. He is not mentioned again in English records for nine years, and then only as a visitor. In 1398 he rashly called at Dartmouth in a time of truce, with the result that his barge, the *Seint Michel*, was seized.² In 1402 another barge of his, the *Seint Pierre*, was taken at sea by a fleet partly commanded by John Hawley of Dartmouth, and either not restored at all or not till the following year.³ But since 1388 is the latest date that is in the least probable for the *General Prologue* we need not follow the Basque shipmaster's subsequent adventures in detail. His long-continued residence in England after the Plymouth episode, considered in conjunction with his pardon and his voyage to Bordeaux with the English wine fleet, indicates that his conscience had for the third time permitted him to escape the inconvenience of capture by the device of changing sides. And his connection with Teignmouth during that period—probably from early in 1384, certainly from early in 1385, till the second but a small part of the total fees due to him, for Paylet freighted only 20 tuns of wine, about a quarter of a barge's cargo capacity (see *Issue Rolls of the Exchequer*, 44 Edward III, p. 250, Simon, *op. cit.*, I, p. 222, and Salzman, *op. cit.*, pp. 394–5).

¹ Common enough in mediaeval records but not infrequently appearing to cover something better left unexplained.

² *CR*, 1396–9, p. 367 21 December 1398. The *Michel* is here said to be of 'St Maius (de Sancto Maio) in Spain'. Her cargo was iron, a commodity of which Biscay had a virtual monopoly (*Encyc. Brit.*, s.v. 'Basque Provinces').

³ C. L. Kingsford (*op. cit.*, p. 84) gives some details of the fight. On this visit also the cargo was of iron, but Piers owned it himself. He is here described as 'of Lakecio in the kingdom... of Castile'. After 1379 Castile included the *seignurie* of Biscay.

half of 1388 or later—shows him to have been, like the Shipman, 'wonyng fer by weste' at the time of the Canterbury pilgrimage.¹

It has gradually become apparent that Piers was both a good shipmaster and a good lodeman or harbour pilot. The English naval authorities (who accepted and re-accepted him) would hardly have valued the services of an officer so apt to desert had he not been unusually capable. At a time when wrecks were exceedingly common, there is no sign that Piers ever lost a vessel through any hazard of seafaring except capture. And we have seen that Reco evidently thought highly of his skill as master. As for Piers's 'lodemenage', whether or not he himself steered the *Sent Marie* into Plymouth in the storm of 1383, on the voyage from Bordeaux to London in 1388 he undoubtedly acted as lodeman. Other things being equal, a resident pilot is always preferred, and there were plenty of London pilots eager for, and probably even insistent on, employment.² These specialists must have been set aside by virtue of the justified confidence placed in Piers.³ In itself the 1388 record is enough to establish his ability as a pilot. And since sea law did not allow a shipmaster to remain at the helm in an unfamiliar harbour,⁴ it shows further that in 1388 Piers was already well acquainted with the approach to London. He and the controller of customs on wool and wine would have had opportunities to meet.

This sketch of the career and character of John Piers of Biscay and Devon has revealed his striking resemblance to Chaucer's Shipman. Piers was a shipmaster; he lived in the far west of England during the

¹ Concerning the second line of the Shipman passage, 'For aught I woot, he was of Dertemouthe', we have already noted that because of Dartmouth's conspicuously anti-Spanish feeling, and the possibility that the Shipman was Spanish, the remark may have been ironic. Another circumstance which should perhaps be noted is that the man whose history we have been tracing had a namesake in Dartmouth, a sailor of Hawley's school who was appointed chief ship-searcher there in 1386 (*Fine Rolls*, 1383-91, pp. 154-5). He was still living in Dartmouth in 1408, when we find him engaged in piracy (*PR*, 1405-8, p. 418). Thus John Piers the practical Englishman of an anti-Spanish port which had a vessel called the *Magdaleyne*, and John Piers the practical Spaniard who owned another vessel called the *Magdaleyn*, were living not far apart in Devon while the *General Prologue* was in process of composition. A mocking pretence of confusing the two men might have been calculated to amuse those of the poet's audience who knew or had heard of them both, including such eminent persons as Hawley, Edward de Courtenay and the King. We cannot of course be sure that Chaucer was aware of the existence of John Piers of Dartmouth. But if he knew the master of the Dartmouth *Magdaleyne* who has been considered the probable original of the Shipman, he is not much less likely to have known one of the officials of the port.

² They were officially given the exclusive right to navigate ships on the Thames in 1514 (Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 240), but it had apparently been unofficially recognized much earlier (cf. *PR*, 1361-4, p. 151 and *PR*, 1334-8, p. 578).

³ The supercargo paid the 'lodemenage' fee and so chose the lodeman. Part of the *Michel's* cargo in 1388 must have belonged to some person or persons other than Paylet. Perhaps Piers himself owned some of it, but he was bound to obtain the consent of his chapman for any undertaking in 'lodemenage'.

⁴ Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

General Prologue period, the marked unpopularity of his nation in Dartmouth would have given ground for associating him ironically with that port; he probably wore 'a gown of falding to the knee', 'a laas aboute his nekke' and 'a dagger'. he deserved the title 'good felawe', he joined in the expeditions to Bordeaux for wine; he 'took no keep' of nice conscience; if he had the upper hand in a sea-fight he slaughtered his prisoners, he was notably excellent in seamanship, he had memorable experience of tempests; he knew the coast of Brittany and the whole coast of Spain, and the greatest of his considerable claims to renown was that he had acquired a vessel called the *Magdaleyn*. The Shipman passage reads like a review of the same career and character, in the spirit 'a litel what smyllynge' which pervades the *General Prologue*:

A SHIPMAN was ther, wonynge fer by weste;
 For aught I woot, he was of Dertemouthe.
 He rood upon a rouncey, as he kouthe,
 In a gown of falding to the knee.
 A dagger hangynge on a laas hadde he
 Aboute his nekke, under his arm adoun
 The hote somer hadde maad his hewe al broun,
 And certainly he was a good felawe.
 Ful many a draught of wyn had he ydrawe
 Fro Burdeux-ward,¹ while that the chapman sleep.
 Of nyce conscience took he no keep
 If that he faught, and hadde the hyer hond,
 By water he sente hem hoom to every lond.
 But of his craft to rekene wel his tydes,
 His streames, and his daungers hym bisides,
 His herberwe, and his moone, his lodemenage,
 Ther nas noon swich from Hulle to Cartage.
 Hardy he was and wys to undertake,
 With many a tempest hadde his berd been shake.
 He knew wel alle the havenes, as they were,
 Fro Gootlond to the cape of Fynystere,
 And every cryke in Britaigne and in Spayne.
 His barge ycleped was the Maudelayne.

Is it possible that Chaucer could have written that passage when the piracy of the *Magdaleyn* and the pirate of Spain were at the height of their notoriety without thinking of Piers, or without realizing that many persons who heard it (the King, Edward de Courtenay, Maufeld, Tresilian, Bealknap, Hanmer, Holt, Burgh, etc.) would also think of Piers? These men were even then dealing with, or had only just ceased to deal with, the extensive consequences of the pirate's lack of conscience. And they would have found that every detail in the description confirmed

¹ Meaning 'Coming from Bordeaux'. See Robinson's note.

the broad hint of identity given at the end of it¹ One is tempted to believe that in mentioning the 'Maudelayne' in association with 'Spayne' the poet could no more have failed to *intend* an allusion to the recent piracy of the *Magdaleyn* than a writer of today who mentioned in the same breath a ship named the *Morro Castle* and the coast of New Jersey could fail to intend an allusion to the outstanding sea disaster of 1935. In any case, those who will try to enter as nearly as possible into the mind of the author of the *General Prologue*, and into the minds of some of its earliest readers, will surely not find it easy to conclude that the portrait of the Shipman is in no way indebted to the Spanish pirate of the *Magdaleyn*.

In concluding his survey of attempts to identify Chaucer's pilgrims, Professor Robinson remarked: 'Curiosity on this subject, it is proper to add, is not merely trivial. Such inquiries and conjectures, like the search for literary sources, help toward an understanding of the poet's imagination and of the material on which it worked.' Unfortunately almost nothing is known about the two best authenticated originals of pilgrims, the real Harry Bailly who was the host of a Southwark inn and the real Roger de Ware who was a London cook. About John Piers, on the other hand, thanks to his rascal's habit of strewing his path with legal records, we have a comparative wealth of information. Hence, if Piers were in fact the prototype of the Shipman, we should at last be in a position to watch the poet at work, line by line, as he sketched from a contemporary model one of the timeless portraits of the Canterbury collection.

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¹ The public for which Chaucer wrote, says Professor Manly, was like "'society'" in any of our smaller cities. . . and we may be sure they caught every sly reference to persons and things they knew' (*New Light*, p. 76). Dr Coulton speaks of the London of Chaucer's day as 'this busy capital of some 40,000 souls where everybody could see everything that went on, and it was almost possible to know all one's fellow-citizens by sight' (*Chaucer's England*, p. 81).

NOTES UPON THE TEXT AND THE INTERPRETATION OF 'BEOWULF'

MOST of the following notes deal with the interpretation of particular phrases or passages in *Beowulf*. They either supplement, or differ from, interpretations given in the standard works on the poem, such as Professor Klaeber's edition and Professor Hoops' *Kommentar*.

In his recent pamphlet, *Beowulf, the Monsters and the Critics*, Professor Tolkien has incisively expressed the view that *Beowulf* should first of all be looked upon as a great poem, an outstanding work of art, and not as a repository of antiquarian lumber. He praises the excellence of its architecture, and the skill with which the poet has treated his story. But the style of the poem is equally admirable; the author was, like Virgil, a lord of language. While he has taken over from his predecessors a traditional phraseology, a poetic diction, of which he makes full use, he is yet nearly always the master, only rarely the slave, of his inheritance. He chooses appropriately and invents boldly. A fine example of his artistic skill in the handling of words, and of his sense of romantic suggestion, is

scaduhelma gesceapu scriðan cwōman,
wan under wolcnum,

'the shapes of the covering shadows came gliding on, dark under the sky' (650 f.). Another is his poignantly simple expression of one of the most universal feelings that hopeless grief arouses, when, to the father who has lost his son,

pūhte him eall tō rūm,
wongas ond wicstede,

'the wide world seemed to him all too empty' (2461 f.).

In short, the style of *Beowulf* is not merely a pattern of dignified but conventional clichés—a view that the Introduction to Klaeber's edition may easily though unintentionally suggest. It may be admitted that the poet sometimes succumbs to the besetting danger of alliterative verse and weakens the meaning of a word or phrase. In 1413 and 2003, for example, *wong*, 'plain', 'field', has lost all sharpness of significance, and has the too general sense of 'place'. But as a rule he uses even traditional compounds and phrases with a regard for their definite meanings and a feeling for their emotional associations. In this respect he contrasts with the later Old English poets who imitate the old heroic style. In

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their hands poetic diction becomes vague and indefinite, and loses most of its emotional force

It follows that it is often dangerous to interpret a word or phrase in *Beowulf* by the light of the meaning—or the lack of meaning—that it seems to have in its contexts in later poetry. In line 336, for instance, Wulfgar says to Beowulf,

ne seah ic elpēodige
þus manige men mōðiglicran.

In the two other passages where it occurs in Old English poetry, *Andreas*, 246, and *Metrum*, xx, 2, *mōðiglic* is only a vague complimentary epithet. So Klaeber translates it here by 'brave', 'gallant'—the meaning of *mōðig*. But it is probable that the poet has intentionally preferred *mōðiglic*, and that it means not 'gallant' but 'gallant-like', i.e. 'of gallant appearance'. 'I have never seen foreigners, so many men as this, more gallant in appearance', declares Wulfgar, and his compliment, when translated thus, gains in precision.

The notes make reference to the following modern editions of *Beowulf*:

Klaeber, *Beowulf*, 3rd edition, 1936.

Schücking, *Beowulf*, 13th edition, 1929.

Chambers, *Beowulf*, 2nd edition, 1920.

and to

Hoops, *Kommentar zum Beowulf*, 1932.

Crawford, *Beowulf translated into English Verse*, 1926.

1.	sē þe mōras hēold,	
fen ond fæsten.	hē on lust geþeah	103 f.
symbol ond seful.	earmrēade twā,	618 f.
hrægl ond hringas.		1194 f.

Among the stylistic devices of Latin poetry or rhetoric that are imitated in *Beowulf*, e.g. anaphora, polysyndeton, Klaeber (p. lxviii) does not include hendiadys (Latin *auro et poculo*, 'from a golden cup'). The three passages above contain probable examples. *Fen ond fæsten*, 'the fastness of the fens' (*fen*, acc. plur., cf. *mōras* in 103); *symbol ond seful*, 'the tankard of drink'; *hrægl ond hringas*, 'the ringed coat of mail'—a rendering approved by Schücking.

2.	Wā bið þām þe sceal	
þurh slīðne nīð	sāwle bescūfan	
in fýres fæþm.		183 ff.

Þurh slīðne nīð, 'owing to dreadful wickedness'; cf. *Phoenix*, 413, *þurh nēðran nīþ*, 'through the wickedness of the serpent'. Clark Hall's

rendering of the phrase, 'in dreadful fashion', approved by Klaeber, blurs the meaning unnecessarily.

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| 3. Weard maþelode, | ðær on wicge sæt, | |
| ombeht unforht· | Æghwæpres sceal | |
| scearp scildwiga | gescād witan, | |
| worda <i>and</i> worca, | sē þe wēl þenceð. | |
| Ic þæt gehyre, | þæt þis is hold weorod | |
| frēan Scyldinga. | | 286 ff. |

Klaeber takes the coastguard's sententious remark to mean, 'It was my duty to scrutinise your words and your conduct', and thinks it an apology for the official questioning of the strangers. This is probably too modern a courtesy. The coastguard is merely saying in a pompous and self-laudatory way (the accents of officialdom) that he accepts Beowulf's statement and believes it to be true. 'A keen-witted and right-thinking man (I myself)', he declares, 'understands the true meaning of both words and deeds, and I understand yours.' *Gescād witan*, 'to know how to distinguish', i.e. 'to understand'. A similar interpretation of the passage may be taken from Crawford's translation.

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| 4. | Eoforlic scionon | |
| ofer hlēorber[<i>g</i>]an, | gehroden golde, | |
| fāh <i>and</i> fyrheard | —ferh wearde hēold. | |
| Gūþbo[<i>r</i>]d grummon, | guman ðnetton, | |
| sigon ætsomne. | | 303 ff. |

'There shone over the cheek-guards figures of boars, adorned with gold, decorated and fire-tempered—a small pig kept guard. The shields growled, the men hastened on, advanced in company.'

The principal corruption in this much-vexed passage seems to lie in the MS. *guþmod grummon* in 306. *Gūþmōd*, 'war-mind', can hardly be an adjective, and cannot be a satisfactory subject to *grummon*. I suggest the emendation to *gūþbord*, 'war-shields'. The poet is describing the march of Beowulf and his men. He speaks first of the glitter of their armour (*scionon*, 303) and then of its clatter. He does exactly the same in 321 ff.,

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| | Gūðbyrne scān | |
| heard hondlocen, | bringren scīr | |
| song in searwum. | | |

I take *ferh wearde hēold* to be a parenthesis, such as is not uncommon in the second half-line, cf. 423*b*, 1317*b*. Like Hoops, I see no reason why, for the sake of alliteration, the poet may not have used *ferh* (N.E. *farrow*), 'piglet', 'little pig', as a variant for *eofor*, and those scholars who reject this view may possibly be denying him a very rare touch of humour.

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| 5. | sūððan æfenlēoht | |
| under heofenes hādor | beholen weorþeð. | 413 f. |

Under heofenes hādor, ‘under the brightness of the sky’, i.e. ‘under the bright western sky’. *Hādor* is the neuter adjective used as an abstract noun. Kock, *Anglia*, xlv, p. 110, cites other examples of this idiom, but not one that occurs in *Beowulf* itself, *scencte scūr wered*, ‘poured out the clear sweetness’, i.e. ‘the clear sweet mead’, 496.

6. ac hē lust wigeð,
swefeð ond sendeþ. 599 f.

If emendation is necessary, I suggest *swefeð ond* [on]sendeþ, 'slays and destroys'; cf. 2266, *bealocwealm hafað fela feorhcynna forð onsended*. The scribe wrote out *ond* in full instead of using the symbol 7, and then confused *ond* with the verb prefix. But the emendation of *sendeþ* to *snēdeþ* (Kentish for *snædeþ*²), approved by Klaeber and Hoops, is a reasonable alternative.

7. wiste þāem āhlācan
tō þāem hēahsele hlīde gepinged. 646 f.

I think the sentence-construction has been misunderstood. *Geþing* means not 'to determine', but 'to determine to come', as in 1837. *gif him þonne Hrēþrinc tō hofum Gēata geþingeð*, 'so if Hrethric determines to come to the court of the Geats', or in *The Day of Judgement*, 5, *hafað him geþinged hader þēoden ūser*, 'our Lord has determined to come here'. Hence it is followed by the preposition *tō* in *tō þām hēahsele*, 'to the high hall'. So *hilde* is not accusative but instrumental, and *geþinged* is accusative singular neuter, object of *wiste*. 'He knew (it) determined to (by) the monster to come with battle to the high hall.' The construction by which the past participle is the direct object of the verb (possibly in imitation of Latin) is found elsewhere in Old English; cf. the translation of Bede, in the story of Caedmon, *ond þȳ betstan lēoðe geglenged him āsong*, 'and sang to them (it) adorned with the best poetry'. For *hilde* in the instrumental case cf. 2916.

8. duru sōna onarn,
fýrbendum fæst, syþðan hē hire folmum . . hrān. 721 f.

The MS. is defective; two letters have been lost before *hran*. It is more probable that the original reading was *gehrān* (Zupitza) than *æthrān* (Chambers, Klaeber) from the much rarer *æthrīnan*. *Gehrīnan* often governs the dative; see Bosworth-Toller, *Supplement*, p. 346. If, as is probable, the prefix *ge-* implies result, *gehrān* means 'pushed' rather than 'touched', and the general sense of the two lines is not that Grendel 'swung the door wide open' (Klaeber), but that he pushed it in and

broke it down, even although it was *fȳrbendum fæst*, 'firmly fastened with forged bars'.

9	Wælsinges gewin,	wide siðas,	
	þāra þe gumena bearn	gearwe ne wiston,	
	fæhðe ond fyrena,	būton Fitela mid hine,	
	þonne he swulces hwæt	seġan wolde,	
	ēam his nefan		877 ff.
	Swā hē ne forwyrnde	woroldrædenne,	
	þonne him Hūnlāfing	hildelēoman,	
	biġla sēlest,	on bearm dyde	1142 ff.

Fæhðe ond fyrena (879), Sigemund's 'feuds and crimes'. The Christian poet does not regard the wild career and violent deeds of Sigemund with great approval. It has been often pointed out that he has bowdlerized Sigemund's relationship to Fitela into that of uncle and nephew (881), and among Sigemund's crimes he must certainly have included his incest with Signy. In 894 he refers to him by *āglæca*, a word regularly used of Grendel, it should not be translated 'warrior', 'hero' (Klaeber), but 'monster-warrior', or at least 'giant-warrior', and it implies a rather hostile attitude on the part of the poet. Similarly it may not be without intention that in 898 ff. Sigemund is brought into comparison with the tyrant king Heremōd, notorious for violence and crime.

In the telling of the Finn story there is also a hint of moral disapproval. Line 1140 is correctly rendered by Clark Hall, 'so he (Hengest) did not run counter to the way of the world'. *Woroldræden*, 'worldly custom'; cf. *eald landræden*, 'the old custom of the land'. This 'worldly custom' refers to the wreaking of revenge upon the Eotens. There is no reason to suppose that Hengest ever wavered between his desire for revenge and his oath of allegiance to Finn, for lines 1138 ff. show that he was ready to break this oath as soon as he had the opportunity. The poet does not approve of this; his ideal hero, Beowulf himself, has never sworn any false oaths (2738 f.) But he admits, regretfully, that the taking of revenge is the usual 'custom of the world'.

10.	Ðā wæs morgenlēoht	
	scofen ond scynded.	917 f.

The construction and meaning of *scofen* have been misunderstood. The verb has not only a transitive but also an intransitive sense, cf. *Metrum*, XIII, 57, *merecandel scȳfð on ofdæle*, 'the candle of the sea hurries on in its descent'. Here in *Beowulf* it means 'to push on', 'to hasten', and *wæs*, as regularly with intransitive verbs, is used to form the pluperfect tense. The following *scynded* supports this interpretation, for *scyndan*,

'to hasten', is always intransitive. The lines mean, 'Then the morning sun had hastened on its course', i.e. it was now late morning.

11. *Finnes eafterum* [*fram*], ðā hīe se fār begeat
 hæleð Healfdena, Hnæf Scyldinga
 in Frēswele feallan scolde. 1068 ff.

'At the hands of the sons of Finn, when the sudden attack came upon the warriors of the Half-Danes, Hnaef of the Scyldings was doomed to fall among Frisian slain'

The above seems to me the best text and translation for the much-disputed opening of the Finn episode. The attempts to connect the first line (Klaeber) or all three lines (Schucking) with what precedes are unconvincing, the poet naturally begins his story of Finn with the name of Finn himself. Green (*P.M.L.A.* xxxi, pp. 759 ff.) has tried to show that *Finnes eafterum* by itself may mean 'by the sons of Finn', but he has scarcely succeeded, and a preposition would seem to have fallen out. If so, *fram* is probable on palaeographic grounds; the scribe's eye may have caught the preceding *-ferum*, so that he supposed *fram* to have been already written. For *fram* in the sense of 'owing to' see Bosworth-Toller, *Supplement*, p. 261, and for its position after the noun it governs cf. *Beowulf*, 110. The beginning of the Finn story is the treacherous attack of the Frisians or Eotens upon the Danes. So it is upon the *hæleð Healfdena* (acc. plur.) that the sudden danger comes, and *hæleð* is in apposition to the preparatory *hīe* in 1068, 'on them, the warriors of the Half-Danes' This construction is not infrequent in *Beowulf*, cf. *him* . . . *Wedera lēodum*, 696, and 961. Lastly, the translation of *Finnes eafterum* by 'Finn's men', 'Finn's retainers' (Klaeber, Hoops), is improbable. The comparison with 1710 f.,

- ne wearð Heremōð swā
 eafterum Ecgwelan, Ār-Scyldingum,

is misleading; Ecgwela is presumably the founder of a Danish dynasty, and the Danes are called the children or descendants of Ecgwela just as they are called the Scyldingas or descendants of Scyld. The biblical 'children of Israel' is similarly a false analogy. Elsewhere in Old English poetry there seems to be no example of *eafteran* used to mean the retainers of a living king. We know that at least one of Finn's sons was killed in the battle (1114 ff.), and there is no reason to suppose that the attack upon the Danes was not led by the sons of the Frisian king.

12. þæt hē ne mehte on þām meðelstede
 wig Hengeste wiht gefeohtan,
 nē þā wēalāfe wige forþrigan
 þeodnes pegne. 1082 ff.

'So that he was quite unable to fight out the battle against Hengest in that place of assembly, or to crush in war those of the thanes of the prince (Hnaef) who had survived the disaster.' There seems little need to give *meðelstede*, 'place of assembly', 'meeting-place' (Chambers), the elsewhere unknown metaphorical meaning of 'battlefield' (Klaeber, Hoops). The battle takes place in the hall Finnsburg, the 'place of assembly' of the Frisians. I follow Carleton Brown (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxiv, pp. 181 ff.) in the interpretation of the last two lines, but it is unnecessary to alter *ðegne* to *ðegna*. *ðegne* is a Late Old English form, with weakening of the unaccented vowel. Malone (*Anglia*, liv, pp. 98 ff.) has cited several examples of this from the text of *Beowulf*, and there is another in 1104, *frēcnen spræce*, where the emendation to *frēcnan* can also be dispensed with.

13. Fin Hengeste
1096 f.
 elne unflitne āðum benemde.

The difficulty that all editors find in the obscure MS. *unflitme* would disappear if the slight emendation to *unflitne* were accepted. *Elne unflitne*, 'with undisputed zeal', 'earnestly and sincerely'. *Unflitne* would then be the instrumental singular of *unfliten*, the past participle of *flitan* with the negative prefix. There are many similar compounds, e.g. *unblonden*, 'unmixed', *undrifen*, 'unforced'. The instrumental construction has a parallel in *Guthlac*, 923, *elne unslāwe*, 'with fervent zeal'. It may be that the scribe, having written *unflit*, glanced at his original and misread *in* as *m*, as would easily be possible.

14. hildelōoman,
1143 ff.
 þonne him Hūnlāfing hildeleōoman,
 bilde sēlest, on bearm dyde;
 þæs wæron mid Eotenum ecge cūðe.

Wæron cūðe, not 'were (already) made known', but 'became known'. Line 1145 refers to the execution done by the sword in the hands of Hengest in the coming battle. Cf. 705, *þæt wæs yldum cūþ*, 'that became known to men'; 2135, *þē is wīde cūð*, 'as has become widely known'.

15. wordum hnāgde,
1318 ff.
 frēan Ingwina frægn gif him wære
 æfter nēodlaðu niht getæse.

The form *laðu*, connected with *laðran*, 'to invite', occurs only in the compounds *wordlaðu*, *frēondlaðu*, and *nēodlaðu*. It is clearly used as an abstract suffix, but the contexts seem to show that it has some intensive force. *Andreas* 635, *þurh þīne wordlæpe*, 'by means of your noble eloquence'; *Crist*, 664, *wordlæpe þīne*, 'charm of noble words' (Gollancz). Similarly *frēondlaðu* in *Beowulf* 1192 means 'sincere friendship', and *nēodlaðu* here not merely 'desire' (Klaeber) but 'earnest desire'. *Beowulf*

asks Hrothgar whether, 'in accordance with my earnest desire, you have had a pleasant night'—the Old English equivalent of 'I hope you have slept well'.

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| 16. | warigeað, wulfhleoðu,
frēcne fengelād. | Hie dýgel lond
windige næssas, | 1357 ff. |
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Fengelād is probably accusative plural, like *wulfhleoðu* and *næssas*, and not accusative singular (Klaeber, Schucking). *Frēcne* is Late Old English for *frēcnu*; cf. *word wæron wynsume*, 612. *Frēcne fengelād*, 'the perilous fens'; *fengelād*, 'fen-tracts', 'fens', much as *of feorwegum*, 37, means 'from distant parts' (Klaeber).

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| 17. | wudu wyrtrum fæst | wæter oferhelmað. | 1364. |
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It should be observed that *oferhelman*, 'to over-cover', is particularly appropriate here, since *helm* is used to denote the top of a tree with its leafy covering. Cf. *wudubēama helm*, Riddle 88, 13.

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| 18. | hē fēara sum
wisra monna | biforan gengde
wong scēawian. | 1412 f. |
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Wong scēawian, probably not 'to survey the plain', but 'to look out for the place'. For *scēawian* in the sense of 'look out for, watch for', cf. 204, *hæl scēawedon*, 'watched for good omens'; and for *wong*, 'plain', in the generalized sense of 'place' cf. 2003, *on ðām wange þær*, 'in the place where'.

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| 19. | of flānbogan
ȳðgewinnes. | sumne Gēata lēod
fēores getwæfde, | 1451 ff. |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------|

'One of them the chief of the Geats parted from life, from the battling waves, by means of a shafted bow.' *ȳðgewinn*, not 'strife with the waves', 'swimming' (Klaeber, Hoops), but, just as in 2412, 'the strife of the waves', 'the battling waves'. *Getwæfan* governs two genitives, and has a slightly different meaning when taken with the first than when taken with the second. There are other examples of this form of Zeugma in *Beowulf*, notably 653 f., *ond him hæl ābēad, wīnærnes geweald*, 'and offered him good luck and the possession of the banqueting-hall'.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|----------|
| 20. | under ȳða gewin
dryhtscype drēogan;
ellenmærum. | selfa ne dorste
aldre genēpan,
þær hē dōme forlēas, | 1468 ff. |
|-----|---|---|----------|

Perhaps 'in that (respect) he missed glory, the fame of heroism'. From the contexts it seems not unlikely that here and in 972 we have early examples of *þær* meaning 'in that', 'on that account', as in *Romeo*

and *Juliet*, III, 3, 137, *Thy Juliet is alive, . . . there art thou happy*. The earliest example of this meaning cited in the *N E D.* is from Chaucer.

21. ðū scealt tō frōfre weorþan
 eal langtwīdīg lēodum þīnum,
 hāleðum tō helpe. 1707 ff.

This is the only occurrence of *langtwīdīg* in Old English. It has been connected with Old Saxon *tuīthōn*, 'to grant', and has been taken to mean 'granted for a long time', 'long-lasting' (so Klaeber). But an active meaning, 'long-time granting', 'long-time helpful' seems more probable. *Langtwīdīg* is then in variation to *tō frōfre*, and the dative *lēodum þīnum* follows both. 'You are sure to become a comfort and for a long time in every way beneficial to your people, an aid to your warriors.'

22. wāeron hēr tela
 willum bewenede; þū ūs wēl dohtest. 1820 f.

Klaeber translates *willum* by 'delightfully', Chambers by 'according to our wishes'. Since we find *hringum wenede*, 1091, 'should honour with treasures', it seems more likely that *willa* was here its concrete sense, and means 'desirable thing', 'treasure', as also in 660 and 950. The reference is then to Hrothgar's gifts, and the following *þū ūs wēl dohtest* is appropriate. 'We have been well honoured here with desirable gifts, you have been very good to us.'

23. gesēon mōston
 þæt hē seoðða[n nō] mōdige on meþle. 1875 f.

The MS. is defective, and the sentence is ungrammatical. All recent editors change *hē* to *hīe* and place a comma after *mōston*. Chambers regards *gesēon* as reflexive, on the analogy of *Andreas* 1012, and this has been accepted by Klaeber and Hoops: 'that they, the men brave in the assembly (Hrothgar and Beowulf), might never afterwards see each other'. Since this meaning of *geseon* is not found elsewhere in *Beowulf*, I think it more probable that the scribal mistake lies not in *hē* (which follows naturally on the *him* (Hrothgar) in 1873), but in *mōston*. I suggest

- gesēon mōste
 þæt hē seoðða[n nō] mōdige on meþle,

'that he (Hrothgar) might never again see the brave men (Beowulf and his comrades) in the assembly'. The same word-order, with the object following the infinitive *gesēon*, is found in 1078,

- gesēon meahte
 ðā hēo under swegle morþorbealo māga.
 24. Mōdþrýðo wæg,
 fremu folces cwēn, firen' ondrysne. 1931 f.

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Fremu, not 'good', 'excellent' (Klaeber)—which would be in strange contrast to *firen' ondrysne*—or even 'brave' (Chambers), but 'imperious'. See Hoops, p. 213.

25. *þæt hit sceādenmæl scýran mōste,*
cwealmbealu cýðan. 1939 f.

Cwealmbealu cýðan seems in variation to *sceādenmæl scýran*; *cwealmbealu* is then nominative, and not the object of *cýðan*, as Klaeber takes it to be. 'That the damascened blade might make the matter manifest, his miserable death make it known.'

26. *þȳ ic Heaðobearna hyldo ne telge,*
dryhtsibbe dæl, Denum unfæcne. 2067 f.

Dryht- in *dryhtsibbe* has probably the same intensive force as in *dryhtsele*, 'lordly hall', 485, or *dryhtmāðm*, 'noble treasure', 2843. The phrase *dryhtsibbe dæl* is then coldly ironical. 'So I do not consider the fidelity of the Heathobards, their great loyalty to peace, to be sincere towards the Danes.'

27. *hēt ðā in beran eaforhēafodsegn.* 2152.

Eaforhēafodsegn as a single compound (so the earlier editors of *Beowulf*) is better than *eafor, hēafodsegn* as two words (Chambers, Schucking, Klaeber). The second reading presents two difficulties, the interpretation of *hēafodsegn*, and the use of *eafor* to mean an ensign with a boar's head upon it. Triple compounds are rare in Old English poetry, but then *eaforhēafodsegn*, 'boar's head ensign', is clearly formed upon a model, that of *wulfhēafodtrēo*, 'wolf's head tree', 'gallows'. In *Beowulf* there are also *geōsceaftgāsta*, 1266, and (probably) *wuduwælsceaftas*, 398, *windgeardweallas*, 1224.

28. *swā bealdode bearn Ecgðēowes,*
guma gūðum cūð, gōdum dædum. 2177 f.

Bealdian occurs only here. Chambers translates 'bore himself boldly', Klaeber, 'showed himself brave'. Since *swā*, 'in this way', naturally refers to what precedes, Beowulf's gifts to Hygelac and Hygd, it seems more probable that *bealdian* is a transitive verb used intransitively—a not uncommon occurrence in *Beowulf*. 'In this way the son of Ecgtheow encouraged (others) by acts of generosity' Cf. the transitive meanings of *gōdian*, 'to endow', and *heardian*, 'to harden', and the distantly similar meaning of lines 20 ff.

W. S. MACKIE.

WILKIE COLLINS AND 'A TALE OF TWO CITIES'

I

A Tale of Two Cities, unlike the majority of Dickens's novels, has lent itself readily to source-hunting. It has been fully demonstrated that Dickens's greatest debt was to Carlyle's *French Revolution*,¹ indeed, he states in the preface to the first edition: 'It has been one of my hopes to add something to the popular and picturesque means of understanding that terrible time, though no one can hope to add anything to the philosophy of Mr. Carlyle's wonderful book.'² Dickens also states in the same preface, however: 'When I was acting, with my children and friends, in Mr. Wilkie Collins's drama of *The Frozen Deep*, I first conceived the main idea of this story.'³ This statement usually receives scant attention; yet, on investigation, it would seem that this incident was only the beginning of Collins's influence on *A Tale of Two Cities*—an influence which, as I hope to show, has been almost completely obscured by the greater influence of Carlyle.

Carlyle's influence on *A Tale of Two Cities* was twofold. direct and indirect.⁴ *The French Revolution* was obviously a source for historical detail, such as the taking of the Bastille, and important episodes in the plot, such as the letter written by Dr Manette in the Bastille, and the substitution of Carton for Darnay in the Conciergerie, were probably based on similar episodes in *The French Revolution*. Then again, Mercier's *Tableau de Paris*, which supplied material for the evil Marquis and the imprisonment of Dr Manette, was probably one of the books sent by Carlyle to Dickens when the latter finally decided upon the French Revolution as a background for the story, and wrote to Carlyle for source material.

But, because Dickens went to Carlyle *after* he had decided upon the French Revolution as a background, does it necessarily follow, as Falconer seems to think, that 'Carlyle suggested⁵ the French Revolution as a melodramatic setting; perhaps too the great closing scenes of the

¹ See J. A. Falconer, 'The Sources of *A Tale of Two Cities*', *Modern Language Notes*, xxxvi (January 1921), pp 1-10, C. Bottger, *Charles Dickens' historischer Roman 'A Tale of Two Cities'* (Königsberg, 1913), L. H. Houtchens, *Carlyle's Influence on Dickens*, an abstract of a thesis for the Ph.D. degree at Cornell University (Ithaca, 1931).

² Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *Works*, 36 vols. (Centenary Edition, London and New York, 1911), xiii, p [vii].

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ For a full discussion of the following points, see Falconer, *op. cit.*, Bottger, *op. cit.*, and Houtchens, *op. cit.*

⁵ The italics are mine.

prison and guillotine'¹ It is at least possible that the suggestion came from another source, and that Dickens *then* went to Carlyle as the obvious authority for the period. An examination of the evolution of *A Tale of Two Cities* shows that this is not merely a possibility, but a probability.

The main idea of *A Tale of Two Cities* came to Dickens, as he states, while acting in Collins's drama, *The Frozen Deep*. This is a modern story, with most of the scenes laid in Newfoundland and remote Arctic regions, and tells of an unsuccessful lover who, vowing vengeance on his successful rival, ultimately gives his life to save the latter, when both are faced with death.² The theme is therefore one of regeneration through self-sacrifice, and later, in *A Tale of Two Cities*, became the story of Sidney Carton. In the summer of 1857, the year of the presentation of the play, the idea had as yet neither details nor local setting; and in January 1858 Dickens's inclinations towards this theme were still 'of a fitful and undefined sort'.³ In a memoranda book which he kept at the time, he was considering 'a story in two periods—with a lapse of time between, like a French Drama',⁴ and mentioned as possible titles, *Round and Round*, *Far Apart*, *Rolling Years*, etc. Six weeks later, however, he was considering such titles as *Burned Alive*, *The Thread of Gold*, *The Doctor of Beauvais*.⁵ These suggest that the Dr Manette theme, the subsidiary theme of the book, the theme which Dickens admittedly got from Carlyle, was now taking shape, and that the French Revolution had been decided upon as the setting.⁶ 'This he did', says Falconer, 'under the influence of Carlyle's *The French Revolution*'.⁷ But did he?

To restate the problem briefly. we know that from the summer of 1857 to January 1858 Dickens was considering the regeneration theme, which he wished to present 'in two periods' in a locale as yet 'undefined'; and we know that some time during the following six weeks he decided upon the French Revolution as a background, and got from Mercier (and therefore indirectly from Carlyle) the Manette theme. But we also know that Dickens was a constant reader of Carlyle, and that *The French*

¹ Falconer, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

² For a full outline of the plot see Falconer, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2; Bottger, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-60. The play is unpublished; but the original draft is in the Morgan Library. It was later published as a short story; see Wilkie Collins, *Man and Wife (Part Two) and Short Stories*, Works, 30 vols. (New York, n.d.), iv, pp. 495-614.

³ John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1874), iii, p. 354.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 354-5.

⁶ See Falconer, *op. cit.*, p. 2. The title *A Tale of Two Cities* was not decided upon until 11 March 1859. see Forster, *op. cit.*, p. 355. The story began in *All the Year Round* on 30 April 1859.

⁷ Falconer, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

Revolution was one of his favourite books, indeed, he mentions in 1851 having read 'that wonderful book the *French Revolution* again, for the 500th time'.¹ A book which has made such a deep impression is not easily forgotten. Why is it then that it should have taken *The French Revolution* such an inordinately long time—a period of over six months—to suggest a background for Dickens's theme, when the book was constantly in his mind?

The answer is, I suggest, that, fascinated as Dickens was by the French Revolution as presented in an historical work, it never occurred to him without stimulus from another source to present it in a work of *fiction*. This suggestion is less far-fetched than it seems, first, because Dickens's originality did not lie in his choice of unusual subject-matter, but in his treatment of everyday subjects; and, secondly, because Dickens, with one important exception, which will be discussed later, had probably never seen the French Revolution used as a dramatic background for a work of fiction. To support this latter statement, E. A. Baker, in his *Guide to Historical Fiction*, cites only one novel about the French Revolution written before *A Tale of Two Cities*—Anthony Trollope's *La Vendée* (1850),² which Michael Sadleir says 'is in essence purely a novel of political argument',³ and which was also a total failure. A few minor writers of the early part of the century, like Mrs Pilkington and Charlotte Smith, had written ineffectually about the French Revolution, in *The Subterranean Passage* and *The Republican's Mistress* respectively; but it is unlikely that Dickens, who according to Forster was merely 'up to the average of well read men',⁴ would have seen these—or, if he had, would have been stimulated to imitate them.

At any rate, if Dickens had come across a dramatic story of the French Revolution during that long period when he was looking for a background for his theme, and if that story also presented the same theme as his own—presented it, too, 'in two periods'—and if, moreover, the background affected vitally the working-out of the theme, he would, we may assume, have been deeply impressed by that background, both for its novelty and for its particular use. If, finally, details of the working-out of the theme—details, as we have suggested, conditioned by the background of the French Revolution—later formed an important part of *A Tale of Two Cities*, it is at least probable that this story, and not

¹ Forster, *op. cit.*, II, p. 440.

² Ernest A. Baker, *A Guide to Historical Fiction* (London, 1914), p. 278. Bulwer-Lytton's *Zanoni* (1842) has an episode about the French Revolution.

³ Michael Sadleir, *Trollope A Commentary* (London, 1927), p. 140.

⁴ Forster, *op. cit.*, II, p. 479.

Carlyle, 'suggested the French Revolution as a melodramatic setting; perhaps too the great closing scenes of the prison and guillotine'. Acting on this suggestion, Dickens would then go to Carlyle, and thus the anomaly of the delayed suggestion of the background by Carlyle would be explained.¹ There is reason to believe that Dickens received such a suggestion from Wilkie Collins.

II

In his earlier novels Dickens 'in general form . . . was following the tradition of Fielding and Smollett'.² *A Tale of Two Cities* marks a change in his technique. Instead of a large canvas filled with a host of characters existing for their own sakes rather than for the desultory plot, Dickens is now concerned, he says, with 'condensation. . . I set myself the little task of making a *picturesque story*, rising in every chapter, with characters true to nature, but whom the story should express more than they should express themselves by dialogue. I mean in other words, that I fancied a story of incident might be written (in place of the odious stuff that *is* written under that pretence), pounding the characters in its own mortar, and beating their interest out of them.' He hopes, moreover, that anybody who 'could have read the story all at once . . . wouldn't have stopped halfway'.³ There is thus a shift in emphasis from characterization to narrative, together with a new interest in construction, as the means for achieving the quality of breathless interest.

Now this technique was precisely that employed by Wilkie Collins. Two years after the publication of *A Tale of Two Cities*, Collins wrote: 'I have always held the old-fashioned opinion that the primary object of a work of fiction should be to tell a story; and I have never believed that the novelist who properly performed this first condition of his art, was in danger, on that account, of neglecting the delineation of character—for this plain reason, that the effect produced by any narrative of events is essentially dependent, not on the events themselves, but on the human interest which is directly connected with them.'⁴ Dickens had admired

¹ Stephen Leacock, who also doubts 'that Carlyle's *Revolution* . . . "inspired" Dickens to write of the Reign of Terror', thinks that he got the 'germ' in a melodrama of the French Revolution which he saw performed several years before in Paris. See Stephen Leacock, *Charles Dickens* (New York, 1934), p. 133. But 'the anomaly of the delayed suggestion' would surely apply to this play, as well as to Carlyle.

² T. S. Eliot, Introduction to *The Moonstone*, by Wilkie Collins ('World's Classics', Oxford, 1932), p. vii.

³ Forster, *op. cit.*, III, p. 356.

⁴ Wilkie Collins, *The Woman in White*, Works, ed. *cit.*, I, p. 4.

Collins's work from the time of their association in 1851;¹ he had collaborated with Collins on several occasions in *Household Words*,² and on 14 October 1862, when Collins was ill, with the unfinished novel *No Name* on his hands, Dickens, by now quite proficient in Collins's technique, was able to say: 'I could do it, at a pinch, so like you as that no one should find out the difference.'³ It is evident, therefore, that in *A Tale of Two Cities* Dickens was consciously adopting Collins's technique; or, as W. C. Phillips puts it, that 'Dickens and his favourite pupil Collins are changing places'⁴—a process which culminated in Dickens's last novel, *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*.

Dickens, however, acknowledged 'the difficulty of the form of treatment'.⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, to find, in a letter dated 6 October 1859, that during the writing of *A Tale of Two Cities* Dickens was receiving advice from Collins on its construction, and that he was not yet prepared to adopt wholesale all the intricacies of plot and elaboration of detail which were part of the Collins technique: 'I do not positively say that the point you put might not have been done in your manner; but I have a very strong conviction that it would have been overdone in that manner—too elaborately trapped, baited, and prepared—in the main anticipated, and its interest wasted.'⁶

It is reasonable to assume, then, from this conscious adoption of the main principles of Collins's technique, and from the advice which he was receiving from Collins, that Dickens, during the composition of *A Tale of Two Cities*, gave some attention to Collins's exposition of that technique in his novels written before that date. Of these, the collection of stories known as *After Dark*, published in 1856, is 'the unmistakable first appearance of the real Collins'.⁷ The longest of these stories is *Sister Rose*, which had appeared the previous year in Dickens's paper, *Household Words*.⁸

¹ After reading *The Woman in White*, Dickens wrote to Collins on 7 January 1860 'You know what an interest I have felt in your powers from the beginning of our friendship, and how very high I rate them?' *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, edited by his sister-in-law and his eldest daughter, 3 vols. (New York, 1879), II, p. 130

² E.g., in *The Wreck of the Golden Mary*, which formed the Christmas Number of *Household Words* in 1856, *The Perils of Certain English Prisoners*, which formed the Christmas Number of *Household Words* in 1857; *The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices*, which appeared in *Household Words* on 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31 October 1857.

³ *Letters of Charles Dickens to Wilkie Collins*, edited by Laurence Hutton (London, 1922), p. 123. These will be referred to hereafter as *Dickens to Collins*.

⁴ Walter C. Phillips, *Dickens, Reade and Collins: Sensation Novelists* (New York, 1919), p. 186.

⁵ Forster, *op. cit.*, III, p. 356.

⁶ *Dickens to Collins*, p. 95.

⁷ Michael Sadleir, *Excursions in Victorian Bibliography* (London, 1922), p. 130.

⁸ On 7, 14, 21 and 28 April 1855.

Sister Rose made a deep impression upon Dickens, for in a letter to Collins, dated 19 March 1855, he prefaces a long discussion of the plot with the remark: 'I have read the two first portions of *Sister Rose* with the very greatest pleasure. An excellent story, charmingly written, and shewing everywhere an amount of pains and study in respect of the art of doing such things that I see mighty seldom.'¹ If, as has been suggested, Dickens re-read *Sister Rose* while he was revolving in his mind the theme of *A Tale of Two Cities*, there are reasons why the story would then have had an even greater interest for him.

The plot of *Sister Rose* must now be given in some detail.

In July 1789, five people have assembled at a house on the bank of the Seine near Rouen. It is the eve of the fall of the Bastille—and the eve of a wedding. The five people are the aristocratic Madame Danville; her son, the bridegroom, Monsieur Danville; Monsieur Lomaque, her land-steward; Monsieur Trudaine, an amateur apothecary; and his sister, the bride, Mademoiselle Rose Trudaine.

Trudaine, aware of the hostility of Danville and his mother towards him, and doubtful of the sincerity of Danville's attachment for his sister, questions Lomaque, the steward, about his master. Lomaque, a 'submissive', 'insincere', 'deceitful'² man, fails to enlighten Trudaine about Danville's true nature, in spite of the fact that Trudaine's father had in the past once done him a great service. Rose Trudaine, however, by troubling to keep a cup of coffee hot for him, touches his better nature; and Lomaque, aware of the disfavour with which they now regard him, prophesies that some day they may change their opinion. Nevertheless, he allows the wedding of Rose and Danville to take place without interruption.

Five years later the Reign of Terror is at its height, and the fortunes of the five characters have changed. Lomaque has quarrelled with Danville, and is now a member of the Secret Police; Madame Danville, whose aristocratic leanings have brought suspicion upon both herself and her son, has apparently been smuggled out of the country; Danville, who has succeeded in vindicating his suspected patriotism, is now a superintendent in the same office as Lomaque; Rose is now the victim of what she has found to be Danville's true nature; and her brother, Trudaine, his fears realized all too soon, has caused Danville's hostility towards him to flame into a violent hatred, because of his sympathy for Rose.

¹ Dickens to Collins, p. 95.

² Wilkie Collins, *After Dark*, Works, ed. cit., xix, p. 129.

Danville has a charge of treason brought against Trudaine, and Lomaque is forced to make the arrest. Danville is unaware of the fact that he is also implicating Rose, and she and Trudaine are both taken to the prison of St Lazare. At the trial it is revealed that Trudaine and Rose, in a forlorn attempt to re-instate Rose in her husband's affections, have merely been aiding the escape of Danville's mother, who has not left Paris at all. Danville, fearful for his own safety, dares not withdraw the charge, or even admit that he was unaware of the purpose of the accused. Trudaine and Rose are condemned to death, and are returned to the prison to await execution.

Lomaque now endeavours to make his prophecy come true. He devises a method of escape, the failure of which would endanger his own life, and the success of which would be dependent on the merest chance. With a formula obtained from Trudaine, he erases the names of Trudaine and Rose from the list of the condemned in the prison, trusting that the mistake will not be discovered before the fall of Robespierre—a rumour of which is being circulated everywhere. The delay is successful, and, with the fall of Robespierre, Rose and Trudaine are released.

Danville, who had been arrested on suspicion by Robespierre, is also released; but Lomaque, for holding a position in the government at the time of Robespierre's fall, is threatened with the latter's fate. He flees to safety, to return three years later in order to expose Danville, just as the latter is about to be married for the second time. Danville is killed in a duel, and Lomaque, restitution made at last for his failure to speak out before Rose's marriage to Danville, goes to live with Trudaine and Rose in their house on the Seine near Rouen.

Sister Rose is, then, a dramatic story of the French Revolution, and it impressed Dickens as having qualities which he saw, as he said, 'mighty seldom'. One of these, as we have shown, was probably the effective use of the French Revolution as a background for a work of fiction.

Then, too, *Sister Rose* is presented in the manner in which Dickens intended to present his theme, as yet unlocalized: it is 'a story in two periods—with a lapse of time between'.¹

But more important is the fact that *Sister Rose* and *A Tale of Two Cities* have essentially the same theme—that of regeneration through self-sacrifice. Sidney Carton, the dominating figure of *A Tale of Two Cities*, is a 'man of good abilities and good emotions, incapable of their directed exercise, incapable of his own help and his own happiness,

¹ *Sister Rose*, with its epilogue, is actually in three periods.

sensible of the blight on him, and resigning himself to let it eat him away'.¹ Lomaque, who is the dominating figure of *Sister Rose*, has led a life of 'slavery, and subjection, and duplicity, and cringing, first under one master, then under another', and longs, he says, 'to look back at my life, and comfort myself with the sight of some good action'.² A woman brings regeneration through self-sacrifice to each—Lucy Manette to Carton, by inspiring him with unrequited love; and Rose Trudaine to Lomaque, by filling him with gratitude for her gracious act. Lomaque's words to Trudaine in the prison—words which he thinks may be his last to them—are therefore similar in sentiment, although not in expression, to Carton's famous last words of the 'far far better thing'³ that he is about to do: 'My life? Bah! I've let it out for hire to be kicked about by rascals from one dirty place to another, like a football! It's my whim to give it a last kick myself, and throw it away decently before it lodges on the dunghill forever. Your sister kept a good cup of coffee hot for me, and I give her a bad life in return for the compliment.'⁴

Like *A Tale of Two Cities*, *Sister Rose* has a trial scene before the revolutionary tribunal, and a rescue from prison; and, as in *A Tale of Two Cities*, these are the most dramatic scenes in the book. These trial scenes have one striking feature in common. In *A Tale of Two Cities* the climax of the trial is when Dr Manette, by the production of the letter written by him as a prisoner in the Bastille, is made the accuser of his own son-in-law—a fact which was 'all the worse for the doomed man' because 'one of the frenzied aspirations of the populace, was for imitations of the questionable public virtues of antiquity, and for sacrifices and self-immolations on the people's altar'.⁵ Dr Manette's protests are futile, for he is told that 'to fail in submission to the authority of the Tribunal would be to put yourself out of Law. As to what is dearer to you than life, nothing can be so dear to a good citizen as the Republic'.⁶ Danville, in *Sister Rose*, is faced with a similar dilemma. By accusing his brother-in-law of treason, he has also been the unwitting cause of bringing his wife to trial; and this, as we have seen, results in an even more appalling disclosure—that he is accusing Trudaine and Rose for aiding in the escape of his own mother. Danville makes a rhetorical speech, justifying his accusation, which is too long to be quoted in full. The two pertinent features of it are that, as in *A Tale of Two Cities*, supreme sacrifices are demanded for the Republic—'all good citizens [are] most sacredly bound...to immolate their dearest private

¹ *A Tale of Two Cities*, ed. cit., p. 103.

² *A Tale of Two Cities*, ed. cit., p. 437.

³ *A Tale of Two Cities*, ed. cit., pp. 386–7.

⁴ *After Dark*, ed. cit., p. 212.

⁵ *After Dark*, ed. cit., pp. 212–13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

affections and interests before their public duties'—and that also, as in *A Tale of Two Cities*, there is an imitation of the 'public virtues of antiquity'; for Danville, whose 'situation was more terrible than the situation of Brutus sitting in judgment on his own sons [when he discovered his mother's treason] . . . had not the Roman fortitude to rise equal to it . . . [but] erred as Coriolanus did, when his august mother pleaded with him for the safety of Rome'¹ Thus in the trial scenes from *Sister Rose* and *A Tale of Two Cities*, the principal witnesses both become involved unwittingly in accusations which violate the closest family ties, and bring about the catastrophes of the stories; both are bound to 'immolate'² their private affections to their public duties; and both their actions are given a specious justification by parallels drawn from antiquity.

In both stories the prisoners are afterwards rescued from prison with the greatest possible risk on the part of their rescuers—in *A Tale of Two Cities* by the sacrifice of the rescuer's life. The details of the rescues do not resemble one another; but Trudaine's comforting of Rose as they await their execution resembles, in mood and situation, Carton's comforting of the little seamstress.

To summarize, then, Collins's possible influence on *A Tale of Two Cities*: Dickens got the main theme of the book from Collins's play *The Frozen Deep* in the summer of 1857, and although he wished to present it 'in two periods', it was in January 1858 still unlocalized. Six weeks later, the theme had been given a background of the French Revolution. There is, on the other hand, the story *Sister Rose*, which Dickens had greatly admired three years earlier, which has the same theme as *A Tale of Two Cities*, which presents that theme 'in two periods', which has, in its trial and prison scenes, striking similarities with those in *A Tale of Two Cities*, and which, most important of all, has a background of the French Revolution. There is, moreover, the fact that in *A Tale of Two Cities* Dickens was using Collins's methods and was receiving advice from him during its composition. There is therefore every probability that Dickens studied Collins's work closely as he employed for the first³ time

¹ *After Dark*, ed. cit., p. 200.

² The word appears in both stories. See above quotations.

³ T. S. Eliot thinks that *Bleak House*, published in 1853, 'is the novel in which Dickens most closely approaches Collins'. See T. S. Eliot, 'Wilkie Collins and Dickens', *Selected Essays*, 1917-1932 (London, 1932), p. 409. Elsewhere he mentions as the basis for this statement, not the technique of *Bleak House*, but its 'sense of fatality'. See *The Moonstone*, ed. cit., p. vii. As, however, Collins's only publications before the appearance of *Bleak House* were *Memoirs of the Life of William Collins, R.A.*, *Antonina* or, *The Fall of Rome*, *Rambles Beyond Railways* or, *Notes in Cornwall Taken A-Foot*, *Mr Wray's Cash Box* or, *The Mask and the Mystery*, *A Christmas Sketch*, and *Basil: A Story of Modern Life*, only two of which are novels, and only one of which, *Basil*, is characteristic of Collins, it is difficult to see how the influence of Collins upon *Bleak House* could have been very great.

Collins's technique. If so, when Dickens saw his theme, as yet un-localized, presented effectively 'in two periods', in a work, *Sister Rose*, which he had already admired—a work, moreover, by the author of the theme which he was considering—there is the strongest probability that he decided to use the same background—that of the French Revolution—for his presentation of the theme, and to make use of the two most striking features of the work: the trial and prison scenes. Even if Dickens did not re-read *Sister Rose* during the period when he was considering his theme, the claims made for its special contribution remain as valid as those for *The French Revolution*, for he could have recalled one book as well as another.

One looks in vain for Dickens's debt to Collins in Forster's biography; but, as Eliot points out, 'Forster's allusions to the relations of the two men are few and meagre',¹ in spite of the fact that for nearly twenty years Collins was probably Dickens's closest friend, and certainly one of his most favoured correspondents. Forster, in fact, was jealous of Collins, and not at all anxious that Dickens should acknowledge any debt to him. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Collins annotating and correcting his own copy of Forster's official 'Life' of Dickens, and referring to it as 'The Life of John Forster, with occasional Anecdotes of Charles Dickens'.²

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¹ *The Moonstone*, ed. cit., p. [v].

² Thomas Seccombe, 'William Wilkie Collins', *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement, II, p. 47.

THE ORIGIN OF SCOTT'S 'NIGEL'

ACCORDING to Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, the fictitious 'Private Letters of the Seventeenth Century', as they are generally called, were printed as fast as Scott wrote them until the printing reached the 72nd page, when he was dissuaded from continuing them by William Erskine, James Ballantyne, and J. G. Lockhart, as they thought he was throwing away material for as good a romance as he had ever penned. Scott declared he would burn the sheets and substitute for the 'Letters' what eventually became *The Fortunes of Nigel*. Such was the origin of the novel. Lockhart would have us believe that all this happened in the autumn of 1821.¹ But *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*,² together with one or two items in the National Library of Scotland, prove that Lockhart's dating is inaccurate and shed some new light on the subject.

It was in the summer of 1821, while *The Pirate* was being prepared for publication (it appeared in December) and Scott had begun *The Lives of the Novelists*, that the 'Private Letters' were ready to be set up in type. Indeed, they must have been written in the spring of that year, for the 'Advertisement' of a printed set (of which more presently) is dated 'London, 20th March, 1821'. Moreover, there is a letter from Scott to J. B. S. Morritt, dated '16th June 1821', in which he asks Morritt to contribute. 'It will be an admirable amusement for you', he writes, 'and I hold you accountable for two or three academical epistles of the period. . . we are about to go to press in good earnest.'³ These two sources seem clear evidence that the 'Letters' were printed before the autumn of 1821.

There are two known extant sets of the 'Letters', which may be regarded as page proofs of the work—one in the National Library of Scotland, presented in 1927 by the late Lord Rosebery, and another at Abbotsford. As this item is not easily accessible to most readers, some details of its format and contents may be given. The 'Letters' were supposed to have been found in a nobleman's house in much the same way as a few years ago the Boswell Papers were actually discovered at Malahide Castle. The National Library set is a quarto volume, half bound in calf, and lettered: 'Extracts from Family Papers of a Nobleman. London

¹ *Memours of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* v (1837), 138

² *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson, assisted by Davidson Cook, W. M. Parker, etc., 12 vols (1932-7).

³ *Ibid.*, vi (1934), 479-80.

1821'.¹ There is no title-page and no imprint, but as James Ballantyne was one of the three who advised Scott to discontinue the work, doubtless Ballantyne was the printer.

The 'Advertisement' comprises pp. 1-2. The 'Dedication, to the Noble Lord, who will understand it', occupies pp. 3-11, and is subscribed 'T. H.' In order to preserve the period atmosphere, the text is annotated here and there with a kind of running commentary. The Letters appear in the following succession: Letter I, *To a Nobleman from his Kinsman and Agent at Court*, pp. 13-20; Letter II, *To a Nobleman from a Friend, refusing to interfere in a matrimonial negociation*, pp. 21-2; Letter III, *From a Kinsman to a Nobleman on the prospect of war*, pp. 23-6; Letter IV, *From a Courtier to the same Nobleman*, pp. 27-9 (footnote: 'This letter is labelled on the back, "Ane pratie allegorie of court mutations"'); Letter V, *J. H. (i.e. Jenkin Harman) to Lord —*, pp. 30-6 (footnote: 'The same person who writes Letters I and III, although this and others are in a somewhat larger hand, and subscribed with initials, the two former being unauthenticated by any signature').

At this point we come upon a curious feature. Although the pagination continues to run on consecutively, there is no Letter VI. This can scarcely have been an oversight on Scott's or the printer's part, for the National Library possesses photographs of five pages from the Abbotsford set in which Scott has made additions and corrections, and the pagination (pp. 2, 23, 46, 63, 72) remains unaltered. Had Letter VI been withdrawn before the text was paged? If so, it is still puzzling that no readjustment of the numerical succession of the Letters was made by either Scott or the printer.

The succession continues with Letter VII, *Sir Thomas — to a Lady*, pp. 37-9, beneath the letter heading of which it is observed: 'Probably this choice piece of eloquence was tried on the poor young Lady mentioned in the last Letter. It exists only in a scroll, or foul copy, and had perhaps been the joint labour of the whole family, though written in the name of Sir Thomas alone'; Letter VIII, *A Courtier to the same Nobleman*, pp. 40-9, beneath the letter heading of which occurs the brief remark: 'Respects certain Popish seminary priests'; Letter IX, *J. H. to the same Nobleman*, pp. 50-5; Letter X, *The Same to the Same*, pp. 56-66. This last is the Letter which Lockhart quotes in full as a specimen,² but his reproduction is not quite accurate. For example (p. 61 of the printed set), a sentence runs: 'The crie rises of Prentices, prentices, Clubs, clubs; for word went, that the court-gallants and the Graies-Inn men had murder'd

¹ Nat. Lib. Scot., Ry. iv, b. 2.

² *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, v (1837), 138-42.

a citizen; alle menne take the street, and the whole ward of [*blank*] is uppe, none well knowing why', with a footnote referring to 'of' before the blank: 'The name of the Ward illegible in the MS.' After the second 'clubs' Lockhart inserts a comma instead of a semi-colon; he then omits the comma after 'went'; inserts an apostrophe 's' at 'Graies'; gives 'all' for 'alle', thus destroying the faked antique flavour; and, omitting the 'of' after 'ward', ignores the blank and the footnote. Scott introduced the cry of "'Prentices—'prentices—Clubs—clubs'" into the last paragraph of Chapter I of *The Fortunes of Nigel*. The final Letter is Letter XI, *Sir Thomas — to the Noble Lord, his Brother uterine*, pp. 67–72.

The 'Letters' were no more thought of until, after the financial crash, Scott, on looking round for every possible means of raising money, meditated continuing them. The printed 'Advertisement' of 1821 had stated that the Extracts 'are to be considered as a specimen of a much larger work'. Therefore on 10 September 1827 Sir Walter wrote to his publisher, Robert Cadell: 'I wish I knew who has got an unfinished work of Antique Letters—it should be completed: I wish you would purchase them if you can and they shall be completed',¹ and sold they were to Cadell for himself and Scott. We have seen that Sir Walter had thought of Morritt as a contributor to the work just prior to its going to press in 1821; but evidently some time between 1827 and 1831 he secured the valuable assistance of Lady Louisa Stuart, for in letters to Lockhart and Cadell from Naples during January–April 1832, he frequently alludes to a possible completion and publication as well as to Lady Louisa's share in the venture.

Thus, in January, he writes to Lockhart: 'You may remember a work in which our dear and accomplished friend Lady Louisa condescended to take an oar and which she has handled most admirably. It is a supposed set of extracts relative to James VI from a collection in James VI's time the costume admirably preserved and like the fashionable wigs more natural than one's own hair.' No names are to appear, the copy is to be set up as speedily as possible, and Lady Louisa is to be consulted about the proofs. 'The fun is that our excellent friend had forgot the whole affair till I reminded her of her kindness. . . I have no doubt however she will be disposed to bring the matter to an end. . . . So providing that the copy is come to hand. . . you will do me the kindness to get it out.'² From Scott's *Journal* we learn that, before leaving for Naples in October 1831, he saw Lady Louisa once or twice in London,³ meetings which, as Lady

¹ *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, x (1936), 275–6.

² *Ibid.*, xii (1937), 41–2.

³ *Journal*, 11 and 18 Oct. 1831.

Louisa herself recalled in a letter to Lady Montagu on 24 October 1837, were concerned with this project: 'Mark the scheme of letters of James the First's time; for, what will surprise you, I had a principal finger in that pie, though I never knew it was the origin of the *Fortunes of Nigel*. When poor Sir Walter came up this time six years he brought the printed copy of the letters with him, and what passed, *till* I saw it, proved rather a disturbance to me, as I had so totally forgotten the whole transaction that I faced him down he was mistaken, and it must be somebody else he had confounded with me.'¹

From Naples Scott writes to Cadell on 5 February 1832: 'My last accompanied the Manuscript partly written by Lady Stuart partly by myself and printed like what Sandy Cunningham was called a Humbugg on the publick which you must get out the Best way you can unless I stand convicted. John Lockhart will correct the proof. I have written to you twice on this Collection of letters from which I hope much.'² And again to Cadell about ten days later: 'I trust you have received the printed sheets of Lady Louisa Stuart but for your life mention [not] her name. You will see it is intended to slip into the world incog. . . My part of this foundling I think you will like but Lady Louisa's share in it must be kept quite quiet',³ and then about the same date he again reverts to the subject: 'I hear you have long since received the proofs of the Letters wrought in from a Lady's writing and completed by me. I think it will make a pleasant volume.'⁴ Early in March he tells Lockhart: 'I must bring out as obscurely as I can Lady Louisa Stuart's supposed transcripts from an old library. . . She agreed to finish them and write one or two excellent university letters. If you can give me a blast on the same trumpet I will hold it impayable. My own contribution is an Italian story of eruption and assassination and if Cadell & you think the work should be longer I can add something more.'⁵ Shortly after, on 6 March, he once more enquires of Cadell if he has as yet received the Antiquarian letters: 'Lady Louisa's portion is capital. I wonder how you will get them out. You must on no account suffer real names to get out on this occasion.'⁶ Evidently Cadell, in reply, had satisfied him of the packet's arrival, for on the 23rd he tells Lockhart he has heard from Cadell that the letters have been given to him (Lockhart): 'I was of opinion she [Lady Louisa] would do well indeed as far as the said three letters go capitally and I was glad to find our respected friend did not startle at

¹ *Lady Louisa Stuart, etc.*, ed. J. A. Home (1899), p. 272.

² Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 1752, transcript.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

³ Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 1752.

⁶ *Ibid.*

the proposal so much as at first. I find since I have been here [Naples] that Croker has on hand a selection of original letters out of Lord Hertford's collection but I am sorry they should have come in collision. However perhaps they may rather help each other as otherwise we must take our chance all has been settled about the little interloper to whom I wish you would add us a letter or two in your own powerful person.¹

By April Scott becomes impatient about the fate of the 'Letters,' and wonders why he has not been given any information regarding the arrangement for their production. 'You do not tell me what is doing about the letters tho you acknowledge them.'² On 15 April, when on the eve of leaving Naples, he had entered in his *Journal*: 'I have sent home the letters by L. L. Stuart . . . to be forwarded to Mr. Cadell through Whittaker. I have hopes they will come to hand safe.' Presumably it is to George Whittaker, the London bookseller, that he sends a letter some time in the same month. (The addressee's name is not given.) 'I omitted the enclosed among the Copy of Letters sent you by last post. It comes in after the last letter in the bunch in which it is written.'³ Finally, he writes to Lockhart on 17 April: 'I hope you have found all of Lady L. Stuart though I am not able to guess excepting from a point in one of your Letters that a post had miscarried but I know nothing what has come to hand or been lost. It was all sent together.'⁴

It may be that some of the continuation was lost in transit, but so much of it has survived, for a MS. contribution in Lady Louisa Stuart's hand is preserved in the National Library of Scotland. The paper is watermarked '1829'. As she was born in 1757, Lady Louisa would be in advanced age when she composed this mock antique Letter, headed 'From the Nobleman, when at Court, to his lady':

My beste Nell Jenkyn writeth that you sholde saie I can have no neede of the stuffe yet a while, and he maie stave the sending it uppe to me. Praie you, Sweeteharte, forbear meddlinge with my dispositiones as well of this as of other matters, and let him hasten rather than delaie it; for I am like to abide heere longer than you wot of, and, althoe my lender be courteous, yet to have myne own bedde and hanginges will no whit harme either me or you. More especiallie as 240 doth put me in hope of a better chamber when 86 shall departe hence; which he maie do in six daies' time, if he holdeth his purpose steddefastlie

Together with Jenkyn his letter, hath come one from Parson Apperton, not written to him, but in sooth unto me—me myselve; a confidence where-at I am somewhat astonished, albeit I looked not for much shamefacednesse under his reverend skullecappe. He pleded lacke of wordes when he was lickeng my fete for the rectorie: Marry, he hath no lacke of them now, when sekunge to give the goebye to his bargayne: for suche I perceve to be the trewe redinge of the circumbendibus he useth. The asse in the fable, who sette himselfe to faune and gambole in guise of the lap-dogge, gatte his owne hide dantillie belaboured: and the like entertaynemente were but too goode for this asse that thinketh he can plae the craftie foxe with me. Bid Jenkyn advertise

¹ *Ibid.*² *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.*⁴ *Ibid.*

him that I am noe gander for a woulde-be foxe to plucke bare; and alsoe saie that I will none of his letters henceforwarde, not havinge heere in the Courte too much leysure for matters of another guesse weighte and significance. He maie trubbelles Jenkyn himselfe or my Chaplaine with his concerns, an it like him. Yet will I not reject his petitione for a boke which the one or the other can fynde in my studie, if theise searche diligentlie. ST AUSTINE DE CIVITATE DEI, I write the title in bigge characters for you to showe it my Cozen Hargrave, and have no labour in decyfferinge the Latine. [Lady Louisa had written 'Harman' (see the superscription of Letter V, above), scored out 'man', and substituted 'grave'.] I warrante me Apperton requyareth it that he maie lerne sentences thereof by harte to enacte the deepe scolare at the Bishop's visitacioun. My lorde of ——— thoughe shrewde, is grave. Were it my lorde of Winton, he wolde go neere to breake into laughter. [Here Lady Louisa appends an amusing footnote:] The bishop of Winchester—probably the same who made a well-known and lively answer to James the first's infamous question—whether he might take his subjects' money without their consent—the Word in the original is scarcely legible. The name of the other Dignitary we withhold from the prudential motives which have guided us throughout; it might enable some persons to guess the county where the visitation was held, and thus arrive at a certainty we wish them not to attain—
AT PRESENT—.

The MS. continues:

I have not seene Tom; I beleewe he shunneth me, and I am not mynded to seeke him. His frende Nicholes the tennis-plaier hath (as he pretendeth) commended him to a welthe matche in the City. It maie be soe; but let who listeth fille the payle, the cow they milke will kicke it downe when alle semeth moste to prospere. He hath weryed me, and maie doe well or ille at his plesure; I give uppe the game for loste.

Courte newes concerne you not, soe I speeke not of them, save that your kinswoman the widowe occasioneth much Talke. She hath countenanced the suit of young Frank (you knowe his sirname) so long, that if it ende not in wedlocke, she will be alle the worse reported of, and if it do soe ende, her substance will be the sufferer. I wolde not have you too inwarde with her, for (take it not amisse, good Nell) you maie be ledde astrae as well as others. The way to hinder this is not to followe youre own conceites but ever tredde under my safe guidance. So doing, ye shall never finde me other than youre loving husbände.¹

Perhaps this was the portion by Lady Louisa which Scott, reporting to Cadell on 6 March 1832, declared was 'capital'. That Scott had every intention of publishing a continuation of the 'Letters' is clearly shown in his revision as given in the five pages of the Abbotsford copy in the National Library of Scotland. On p. 72, after the conclusion, Scott has added: 'Note The printer will proceed', and along the left-hand margin of the page: 'Ancient Letters' and '108 G[loucester Street] [Place], Lady Louisa's London address. The other notable addition is on p. 2 at the end of the printed Advertisement where Scott has written: 'The Letters being a selection from a large library are of different character but are chiefly judged to contain some curiosity. Being honoured with no satisfactory [satisfaction?] from the noble Lord in expectation of which it was [*illegible word*] years suppressed it is now without further ceremony given to the publick. London 1st January 1832.'²

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¹ Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 911, ff. 88-9.

² Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 1027, ff. 7-11.

NOTES ON FRENCH SYNTAX

I. 'DU TOUT'

THE original sense of Old French *del tot* is 'with regard to the whole' (cf. Tobler-Lommatzsch, s.v. *de* 4), and so 'completely', 'altogether'. The expression is used adverbially to modify a term in the sentence (verb, adjective, etc.), which it generally but not invariably precedes. In affirmative constructions it occurs frequently in Old and Middle French, and survives until the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹

Cela est du tout admirable.

(Bossuet, in Latré, s.v. *tout* 27.)

Mes inclinations sont du tout opposées à la sévérité de ces maximes. (Mme de Maintenon, *Letter of 1708*, in Godefroy, *Lexique comparé de la langue de Corneille*, s.v. *tout*.)

This use is, however, comparatively rare after the middle of the seventeenth century. It is evident that by that time *du tout* affirmative was obsolescent; the expression had come to be used so widely in negative constructions to modify the negation itself ('altogether not'), and had become so closely associated with the negation ('not at all'), that its original independent value was here obscured; the negative and affirmative uses appeared inconsistent, and, as in the case of *rien*, *aucun*, etc., the negative drove out the affirmative.

But this close association between *du tout* and the negation was of comparatively recent date. Throughout Old and Middle French *del tot* had been used in sentences containing an adverbial negation, in exactly the same way as in affirmative sentences, to modify not the negation but some other term in the sentence. During the whole of that period, *ne...del tot*, *ne...pas del tot*, *ne...mie del tot* appear always to signify 'not quite', 'not altogether'. In many cases this is evident from the context, e.g.:

Amis, amis! je ne sui pas
Del tot morte, mes po an faut.

(*Chagés* 6268-9; cf. *Yvain* 3999, *Perceval* 6940.)

Et cil...ne l'osa del tot escondire, por ce ke vilonie li samblast, ains li dist: 'Damoisieles, je ne le vos puis pas del tot escondire ne del tot descovrir.' (*Mort Artu*, ed. Bruce, p. 8; cf. pp. 60, 67, 121, 129, 138)

Et par là fut finée sa vie et sa maison destruite; et si elle ne l'est du tout, si est elle bien desollée. (Commynes, ed. Calmette, I, 38.)

¹ It may even be found at the present day in authors of archaizing tendencies, e.g. 'J'ajoute enfin que notre orthographe étymologique est peut-être discutable, mais qu'une orthographe phonétique est du tout impossible' (J. Boulenger et A. Thérive, *Les Soirées du Grammaire-Club*, p. 12).

Frequently, however, the context is less decisive, and one may be tempted at first sight to translate by the apparent equivalent 'pas du tout' or 'not at all'. But evidence to the contrary is sometimes provided by translations, e.g.:

...si que il nes volt del tut destruire. (*Quatre Livre des Reis*, ed. Curtius, p. 148; 2 Chron. xii, 12. nec deleti sunt penitus.)

Ne me weilles mies laissier dou tout. (*Lorraine Psalter*, p. 122; Ps. cxviii, 8: non me derelinquas usquequaque.)

and by MS. variants, e.g.:

Ja...Ne seront mi anfant mangié,
Se del tot n'ai le san changié.

(*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, ed. Foerster, 540-4; MS. *P* and ed. Wilmotte: Se trestout le sens n'ai cangié; cf. *Perceval* 4895 and var.)

Bien pot savoir sanz nul redot
Qu'il n'avoit mie le san tot.

(*Yvain* 2833-4; MS. *H*: Qu'il n'ert mie an son san del tot. Cf. Et savoir et veour puet l'an Qu'il n'est mie bien an son san, *ibid.*, 2929-30, similarly 3081, 4829.)

Salemons dist en un sien livre
Que cil n'est pas del tot delivre
Ki compaignie a fenme prent.

(*Atre périlleux*, ed. Woledge, 4009-11, MS. *A*: Que cil n'est mie tos delivre.)

To render *del tot* by 'at all' in such passages as these is to fail to recognize in them the litotes which, not merely as a literary device but as a habit of speech, was so characteristic of Old French.¹ The expression means here 'completely', 'altogether'; it is probable that this is always its meaning wherever it occurs in Old and Middle French; in any case, the examples (including several of those quoted above) which have been adduced by various scholars² as showing *del tot* reinforcing the negation must certainly be rejected.

In the sixteenth century, and even for the most part in the first half of the seventeenth, the position is still very much the same, as regards *du tout* used in sentences containing an adverbial negation expressed by *ne*, *ne... pas* or *point*, or *non (pas)*. In many instances it is impossible to be certain of the value of *du tout*, but there are probably none earlier than 1600 where it undoubtedly modifies the negation and signifies 'at all', while it is quite clearly independent, and equivalent to 'altogether', in such cases as the following:

ne:

S'il n'est du tout croyable, aumoins elles ont apparence de le dire. (Montaigne, III, v; ed. Villey, 1922-3, p. 110; cf. I, xxvi, p. 186; I, xxxii, p. 279; II, xii, p. 318, etc.)

Si la piété...En toi pauvre insensé n'est du tout amortie...(Régner, in Littré.)

¹ Cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I (3. A., 1921), p. 202.

² F. Perle, 'Die Negation im Altfranzösischen', *Z. f. rom. Phil.* II, 412; G. Dreyling, *Die Ausdrucksweise der übertriebenen Verkleinerung (A. u. A. LXXXII)*, p. 100; A. Fischer, *Der Gebrauch der Negation im Französischen*, Göttingen, Diss. 1922 (unprinted), p. 34; also L. Constans, *Roman de Troie, Glossaire*, s.v. *tot*, etc.

Elle est de fort bon lieu, mon père; et, pour son bien,
S'il n'est du tout si grand que votre humeur souhaite...

(Corneille, *Le Menteur*, II, v, in Littré.)

ne...pas:

C'est autant que si je disois, Cela estoit vray en partie, Cela n'estoit pas du tout faux (H. Estienne, *Conformité*, ed. Feugère, p. 172; cf. pp. 71, 222)

Toutefois en ce divertissement même, il ne faut pas être du tout oisif. (Malherbe, ed. Lalanne, II, 479)

... Du moins son crime

N'est pas du tout si noir qu'il l'est dans votre estime.

(Corneille, *Touison d'or*, II, II; cf. *Le Menteur*, IV, III.)

ne...point adverbial:

Les Latins sont contraincts d'user de cinq ou six mots pour l'un de ceux-ci, et encores en la fin ne se trouvent point advenir du tout à la signification. (H. Estienne, *Conformité*, p. 159; cf. p. 102.)

Epicure... se vante aussi qu'il ne dépendoit pas un soul à chaque repas et que Métrodorus, qui n'étoit point encore du tout si philosophe, n'en dépensoit pas plus d'un entier. (Malherbe, II, 331.)

non pas:

Elle mourut deux jours après, encore non pas du tout. (Malherbe, III, 159; cf. II, 478.)

...Suis-je un sot à ton conte?

— Non pas du tout, mais bien quelque chose approchant.

(Molière, *L'Etourdi*, IV, 1.)

The examples quoted from Littré are misinterpreted by him, and classed under *du tout* meaning *nullement*; and Haase, *Syntaxe française du XVII^e siècle*, makes no mention of this difference between the usage of the seventeenth century and that of the present day. The true value of *du tout* in such constructions is, however, recognized by Cayrou, *Le français classique*, and by the various *Lexiques* of the language of Malherbe, Corneille and Molière, where further examples will be found.

The case is quite different when the negation is combined with *rien*, *nul*, or a quantitative complement such as *point* accompanied by a dependent genitive. With these, *du tout* does not seem to occur before the middle of the sixteenth century; and then, owing to the substantival nature of *rien*, *point*, etc., it is this term itself that is modified by *du tout*, even though the latter follows. *Rien du tout* thus signifies 'altogether nothing', 'nothing at all', and so on.¹ Clear examples are:

rien:

Ce que chacun y pense estre suffisamment entendu, signifie que chacun n'y entend rien du tout. (Montaigne, III, XIII, p. 393; cf. Amyot, in Littré, s.v. *rien*.)

¹ The circumstances are exceptional in such a passage as: 'Ce ne sont icy que resveries d'homme qui n'a gousté des sciences que la crouste premiere, en son enfance, et n'en a retenu qu'un general et informe visage un peu de chaque chose, et rien du tout, à la Françoisé' (Montaigne, I, XXVI, p. 187) Here there is no direct connexion between *rien* and *du tout*; the meaning is 'nothing completely', 'nothing thoroughly'.

Ne me dis rien du tout, ou parle tout à fait (Corneille, *Héraclius*, IV, IV; cf. *Galerie du Palais*, II, I, *Place Royale*, II, IV; *Illusion*, II, V.)

nul:

A la danse, à la paume, à la lute, je n'y ay peu acquerir qu'une bien fort legere et vulgaire suffisance; à nager, à escrimer, à voltiger et à sauter, nulle du tout. (Montaigne, II, XVII, p. 423.)

point quantitative:

L'evesque.. luy deffendit qu'il n'en eust point du tout. (Des Periers, *Recreations*, Nouv. xxxiv.)

Il vaudroit mieux n'en avoir point du tout que de les avoir en tel nombre que nous avons. (Montaigne, III, XIII, p. 381; cf. Malherbe, II, 231.)

plus quantitative:

Sa chemise estant pourrie sur lui, il n'en avoit plus du tout. (D'Aubigné, *Avantures du Baron de Fœnesté*, III, I.)

...Je sai ce qu'il m'a dit,

Et ne veux plus du tout souffrir de contredit.

(Corneille, *Galerie du Palais*, IV, X.)

There was thus, during the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, a striking discrepancy between the value of *du tout* accompanying *ne*, *ne...pas* or *point* adverbial, or *non* (*pas*) ('entirely, altogether'), and its value when accompanying *ne...plus* or *point* quantitative, *rien*, or *nul* ('at all'). In the case of *point* especially, there was considerable risk of ambiguity. This risk was evidently perceived by many writers; and there were two interesting consequences in the literary language. The first of these was the practice, perhaps inspired by the Latin distinction between *non omnino* and *omnino non*, of placing *du tout* before *point*, *rien*, etc., when it was intended to modify the negation,¹ e.g.:

rien:

Des mariniers qui ne sçavoient du tout rien, estoient patiemment escoutez. (Amyot, in Littré, s.v. *rien*: cf. Calvin, *ibid.*, Amyot, *ibid.*, s.v. *tout*, Du Vair in Godefroy, s.v. *tot*.)

Je n'y adjouste du tout rien, que la moderation du plus et du moins. (Montaigne, III, XIII, p. 400; cf. II, XII, p. 348.)

personne:

Il ne paroissoit du tout personne près de la ville. (*L'Astrée*, V, I, ed. Vaganay, 1925-8, p. 20.)

¹ Examples may be found at all periods of *du tout* and similar expressions placed before the negated verb, and so falling outside the negation and modifying the phrase as a whole: Del tot en tot pas ne l'otroi. (*Floire et Blancheflor*, in Littré.)

...veu que du tout ils ne s'y trouvent point. (H. Estienne, *Conformaté*, p. 202.)

Ou nous pouvons juger tout à fait, ou tout à fait nous ne le pouvons pas. (Montaigne, II, XII, p. 314; cf. III, IX, p. 266.)

Après, nous ferons voir qu'il me faut d'une affaire

Ou du tout ne rien dire, ou du tout ne rien taire.

(Corneille, *La Veuve*, IV, VII.)

point quantitative:

Quant au Grec, duquel je n'ay quasi du tout point d'intelligence. . . (Montaigne, I, xxvi, p. 224, cf. II, xii, p. 287.)

Celui qui ne s'émeut a l'âme d'un barbare,

Ou n'en a du tout point.

(Malherbe, I, 41; cf. II, 22, 38, 307, etc., Descartes, in Littré.)

point adverbial:¹

Il y a quarante ans que je ne m'en suis du tout point servy. (Montaigne, III, II, p. 35; cf. III, x, p. 310.)

Il m'eût bien fait plus d'honneur de ne se souvenir du tout point de moi. (Malherbe, II, 40; cf. *ibid.*, 43, 52, 55, etc.)

This anteposition of *du tout* effectively did away with all risk of ambiguity; but it appears to have been merely a literary device, not a generally accepted development, and in spite of the authority of Malherbe it was condemned by Vaugelas:² '*Du tout point* ne me semble point bon du tout, quoyqu'un de nos plus célèbres Escrivains ait accoutumé d'en user souvent. Au moins s'il est François, il n'est pas fort poli.' After the middle of the century it seems to have gone out of fashion, though *du tout point* is used by Alemand³ in 1688, and *du tout rien* is quoted by Littré from J.-J. Rousseau.

A second consequence of the ambiguity which has been mentioned was the temporary eclipse of *pas du tout* (with *ne* or *non*). In the sense of 'not altogether', as has been shown, it occurs at least down to 1661 (Corneille, *Toison d'or*, quoted above.) After that date it is not attested, in any sense, in Corneille or Molière, and it appears to be unknown to the principal writers of the later seventeenth and of the eighteenth century. Writing between 1675 and 1679, Cassagne⁴ prescribes *point du tout*, never *pas du tout*.

Both the anteposition of *du tout* and the avoidance of *pas du tout* are, however, facts which concern primarily the literary language. Behind these we can perceive the trend of the evolution of *du tout* in the main current of French speech. As in the case of words like *rien* and *aucun*, the sense of *du tout* was affected by the negation with which it had come to be

¹ *Du tout point* is misinterpreted by Haase, who remarks that here '*point* est employé en quelque sorte dans son acception propre' (§ 101, Rem. iv), he apparently identifies it with *de tout point*, *de tous points*, which had in fact been used in the same sense as *du tout*: . . . que ce soyent gens mal montez qui n'ayent point de regret à perdre leurs chevaux, ou que de tous pointz n'en ayent point. (Commynes, I, 26.)

² In one of the *Remarques* which were not published in his lifetime, and first appeared in 1690 (ed. Chassang, II, 397).

³ Quoted in another connexion by J. Hoepner, *Die Syntax der mit unus zusammengesetzten unbestimmten Pronomina im Französischen*, Berlin, Diss. 1907, p. 44.

⁴ *Remarques nouvelles sur la langue française* (published 1690), quoted by J. Streicher, *Commentaires sur les Remarques de Vaugelas*, p. 709 (cf. p. li). The passage is also quoted by Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, IV, 1033, where the *Remarques nouvelles* are attributed to Furetière.

associated. *Rien du tout*, *point du tout* quantitative having come to mean 'nothing at all', 'none at all', this sense of 'at all' attached itself also to *point du tout* adverbial, which had previously signified 'not altogether':

Car celui qui n'est qu'un peu fidelle ne l'est point du tout, et qui l'est, l'est en extrémité. (D'Urfé, *L'Astrée*, I, viii, p. 289; cf. p. 286.)

Point du tout me semble fort bon, soit qu'on le dise tout de suite sans interruption, comme 'je ne le croi point du tout', soit qu'on le sépare comme j'ay fait, en disant que 'du tout point ne me sembloit point bon du tout'. (Vaugelas, II, 397.)

Je n'en veux point du tout douter. (Molière, *L'Avare*, I, 1; cf. *Impromptu*, sc. i; *Don Juan*, III, iv; *Femmes savantes*, I, 1, I, iv; III, II, III, III, v, III, v, iv, etc.)

Cela vous détourne de votre ouvrage. — Ah' point du tout. (Molière, *Le Sicilien*, sc. xi; cf. *Femmes savantes*, I, II, etc.)

The same thing must have happened to *pas du tout* in the spoken language although, as has been said, literary examples are difficult to find. *Ne . . du tout*, in cases where a complement of negation was not required, underwent a similar change of sense:

Que lui dirai-je enfin? je lui dois rendre conte.

— Que je ne puis du tout consentir à ma honte.

(Corneille, *Le Cid*, II, 1.)

Non, avec l'auteur de ma peine

Je ne puis du tout demeurer.

(Molière, *Amphitryon*, II, vi; cf. *Tartuffe*, v, III, 16 and 50; *Don Juan*, v, iv, etc.)

Du tout even comes to be considered as a complement of negation in its own right, and sometimes takes the place of *point* in a construction where this would not normally be omitted:

Non, je ne veux du tout vous voir, ni vous entendre. (Molière, *Amphitryon*, II, vi.)

Finally, like the other complements of negation, it acquires independent negative force, and can constitute a negative reply:

Pour moi, je vous dis la vérité. — Qui est que vous ne m'aimez point?

— Oh' du tout.

(Marrivaux, *L'Ecole des mères*, sc. xii.)

Antonia vous avait raconté mon plan. . . — Mais du tout.

(Scribe, *Le Puff*, III, x.)

The evolution from 'altogether' to 'not at all' is thus complete.

II. 'NON QUE'

Negation in the absence of a finite verb has always been normally expressed in French by *non*. And just as the unstressed proclitic negation *ne* could be reinforced by the addition of complements such as *mie*, *pas*, etc., or modified by the addition of adverbs such as *plus*, *guère*, *jamais*, etc., so also the stressed independent negation *non* could be similarly reinforced or modified. Sixteenth-century examples are:

Vous portez le minois non mie d'un acheteur de moutons, mais bien d'un coupeur de bourses. (Rabelais, IV, vi.)

Seigneur d'une ville non gueres grande. (Amyot, in Littré, s.v. *guère*.)

On fait un superieur, non jamais pour son profit, ains pour le profit de l'inferieur. (Montaigne, III, vi; ed. Villey, 1922-3, p. 158.)

In the same way, corresponding to *ne...que*, with a finite verb, in the sense of 'not...except', 'nothing but', 'only', there are examples of *non que* used in the same sense in the absence of a finite verb. This is, however, much less frequent than *non pas*, *non jamais*, etc., and seems to occur only in a few sixteenth-century authors.

... Qui sont de naturel pour aymer le proufit, mais non que bien à point. (La Boétie, in Littré, s.v. *non*.)

Et non que cela, sire? (Marguerite de Valois, in Haas, *Französische Syntax*, p. 450.)

L'invasion touche tous. La defense non, que les riches. (Montaigne, II, xv, p. 388.)

Je sens que ma langue s'est enrichie; mon courage, de peu; il est comme nature me le forgea, et se targue pour le conflict, non que d'une marche naturelle et commune. (Montaigne, III, xii;¹ cf. also *ibid.*, p. 354.)

While *non pas*, *non point*, *non plus* have survived in Modern French, the parallel construction *non que*, although an equally natural development, has disappeared.²

This disappearance may have been due in part to the fact that there existed at the same period a second use of *non que*, in almost the same syntactical conditions as the first, but with a signification which is sometimes exactly opposite. This second *non que* is almost as rare as the first; curiously enough, here again Montaigne³ provides a large proportion of the examples:

(a)

... Ville que jamais l'empereur n'a ausé regarder, non que l'assaillir. (Carloix, in Littré, s.v. *non*.)

Je prie Dieu qu'il ne me laisse pas tant vivre que de penser seulement (non qu'escire) chose qui soit contre son honneur et de son Eglise. (J. du Bellay, *Lettre au Cardinal du Bellay*, in *Divers Jeux rustiques*, ed. van Bever, p. 274.)

Car quelle pitié toucha jamais des ames qui, pour la douteuse information de quelque vase d'or à piller, fissent griller devant leurs yeux un homme, non qu'un Roy si grand et en fortune et en merite? (Montaigne, III, vi, p. 171; cf. *ibid.*, III, i, p. 16; III, v, p. 148.)

¹ Ed. J.-V. Leclerc (Garnier), p. 430; the words *non que* do not appear in Villey's edition (p. 344).

² Like *jamais* and *guère*, *que* is now used alone in the absence of a finite verb, though this construction has not retained its place in the literary language.

Notre infortune leur est un supplée que trop rigoureux. (Vaugelas, in Haase, § 138, Rem. II.)

En fin de compte, t'las vue? — Qu'un jour, ou plutôt qu'une nuit. (Barbusse, *Le Feu*, p. 100.)

The same meaning may sometimes also be expressed by *rien que*

³ Dr Walburga Heimer (*Der Gebrauch der Negation in den Essays von Montaigne*, Munster Diss., 1935) does not mention the first use at all; for the second, examples are quoted (p. 30), but no attempt is made to provide an explanation.

(b)

Mais tost apres il eut moyen (et non sans danger de sa vie) d'en juger par experience, non que de l'œil. (G. du Bellay, in Godefroy, s.v. *non*.)

Sont elles pas encores femmes et amyes des trespassez, qui ne sont pas au bout de cettuy-cy, mais en l'autre monde? Nous embrassons et ceux qui ont esté et ceux qui ne sont point encore, non que les absens. (Montaigne, III, ix, p. 258.)

Vramy, Mademoiselle, vous devriez bien prendre garde à vos affaires, vous serez peut-estre plus tost en peine que nous, car l'on commencera premierement par vous et non que par nous. (*Les Caquets de l'Accouchée*, 3^e journée.)

It is clear from these examples that the general sense of the expression is 'a fortiori', 'to say nothing of'; in the passages classed under (b), i.e. those which are purely affirmative in form and sense, it could be rendered by 'not merely'.¹

Now, this rather rare and short-lived usage cannot well be accounted for by any natural evolution in the sense of French *non* and *que*. It is undoubtedly a borrowing from Italian, where *non che* had long been used (as it still is) in exactly the same way:

Ma nè di Tebe furie nè Troiane
sì vider mai in alcun tanto crude,
non punger bestie, non che membra umane.

(Dante, *Inf.* xxx, 22-4.)

Era tanta nella città la moltitudine di queghi che di dì e di notte morieno, che uno stupore era a udir dire, non che a riguardarlo. (Boccaccio, *Decam. Introd.*)

Non che un di loro che gentiluomini sono, ma un ribaldo, quando a voi piacesse, mi piacerebbe. (*Ibid.* Nov. xvi.)

And in Italian this *non che* followed by a term (noun, infinitive, adverb phrase, etc.) can be traced back² to a *non che* in the same sense introducing a complete clause, a construction which appears to be unknown in French:

Ch' a pena oso pensare, non ch' io sia
Ardito di parlarne in verso o in rima.

(Petrarch, in Tommaseo-Bellini, s.v. *non che*.)

Ogni gran cosa...farei volentieri, non che io promettessi. (Boccaccio, *Decam.* Nov. xxvii.)

Tolga Iddio, che così cara cosa come la vostra vita è, non che io, da voi dividendola, la prenda, ma pur la disideri. (*Ibid.*, Nov. xciii.)

The Italian *non che* followed by a term has been recognized as the source

¹ Sense (b) could of course also be expressed at all periods by *non seulement*, *non pas tant seulement*. In Middle French *non pas* (*seulement*) is sometimes used, by a not unnatural extension, to express sense (a) also:

Et vous semble il que ce soit chose honneste à homme du monde, et non pas à vous tant seulement qui estes du sang royal et filz de roy, de estre homicide de soy mesmes? (*Troilus, Nouvelles françoises du XIV^e siècle*, p. 278.)

...estimant que ce seroit trop entrepris à luy de seulement y penser, qui fut cause qu'il ne luy en osoit, non pas parler, mais monstrier aucun semblant. (*Le premier livre d'Amadis de Gaule*, ed. Vaganay, p. 44.)

² Cf. Ebeling, *Probleme der romanischen Syntax*, pp. 87-96. The history of Latin *nedum* provides an exact parallel.

of the similar use of *no que* in Spanish, which is little more general¹ than that of *non que* in French. But even where the Italian and Spanish forms are both discussed (e.g. Ebeling, p. 91; Diez, *Gram. d. rom. Spr.*, p. 1062), the corresponding French form seems to have been overlooked. It nevertheless deserves some attention as being an instance of the syntactical influence of Italian on French in the sixteenth century, an influence which has sometimes been contested (cf. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, II, 215).

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¹ It appears to be confined almost exclusively to Cervantes; cf. R. A. Haynes, *Negation in Don Quixote* (Austin, Texas, 1933), p. 30, and the authorities there quoted.

THE BALLADS OF THE PRIOR DE SAN JUAN

THERE are two extant versions of the ballad which tell of a king's mad rush to Consuegra to catch the Prior de San Juan.¹ In both of the versions the portion of the original ballad which must have explained the failure of the Prior's plan to escape from the King is missing. Yet, by its greater degree of completeness, its use of slightly more primitive language, and, above all, its mention of proper names, the version beginning

Don García de Padilla

is generally accepted as being the earlier of the two.²

At first sight the ballad would appear to have been founded on an incident reported in the *Cuarta Crónica General*:³

E despues desto fecho (excommunication of Don Pedro, etc.) por volturas de un pariente de Doña María de Padilla, que se decía Juan García de Padilla, el rey don Pedro corrió desde Sevilla fasta Consuegra al Prior de San Juan, e en dos noches e dos dias, le corrió fasta el Castillo de Consuegra e no le alcanzó, e tornose a Sevilla.

The *Cuarta Crónica General* is the only early chronicle of the reign of Don Pedro *El Cruel* to report the incident at all; nevertheless, in the past the ballad has been assigned to the Don Pedro series upon its unsupported evidence.⁴

Furthermore, the appearance in the ballad of a Padilla, somewhat rashly identified with the well-known Diego García de Padilla, brother of Don Pedro's mistress, has also led to the supposition that the king of the ballad is Don Pedro.⁴

Lastly, in the lines

la comida que le dieredes
como dio el toro a Don Juane⁵

and

la cena que vos le diesedes
fuese como en Toro a Don Juan⁶

has been traced an allusion to three separate persons: firstly, the Infante Don Juan, half-brother of Don Pedro, killed, not in Toro, but in Carmona in 1359;⁷ secondly, Juan García de Villagera, Doña María de Padilla's

¹ 'Don García de Padilla', first published in Timoneda's *Rosa Española*, 1573, ff. 83-5 'Don Rodrigo de Padilla', first published in *Silva de varios romances*, II, 1550, ff. 94-6, Nos. 69 and 69a in Wolf's *Primavera y Flor*.

² Menéndez y Pelayo, M., *Tratado de los romances viejos*, Madrid, 1916, II, p. 115.

³ *Colección de documentos inéditos*, CVI, pp. 91-2.

⁴ Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15. Durán, A., *Romancero General*, Madrid, 1882, II, p. 41.

⁵ Timoneda version.

⁶ *Silva II* version.

⁷ Entwistle, W. J., 'The Romancero del Rey don Pedro in Ayala and the *Cuarta Crónica General*' (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* XXV, No. 3, 1930, pp. 319-20), founded on López de Ayala's *Crónica Vulgar*, 1359, ch. XXIII.

half-brother, killed in battle outside Toro in 1355;¹ and thirdly, Don Juan *El Tuerto*, put to death by Alfonso XI in Toro in 1324.² Although the above identifications do not in themselves prove that the ballad refers to Don Pedro's reign, they have helped to make possible the attribution of the ballad to the Don Pedro cycle.

It is sad that a historical foundation apparently so strong should in reality lack solidity, yet such is the case. In the first place, the *Cuarta Crónica General*, far from providing a basis for the ballad, is in all probability indebted to it for the story.³ The Chronicle, written as it was after the death of Juan II in 1454, mentions 'Juan García de Padilla' merely as a 'pariente de Doña María', not as a brother. Doña María de Padilla had only two brothers, Diego García de Padilla, Master of Calatrava,⁴ and Juan García de Villagera, Master of Santiago,⁵ the latter an illegitimate son of their father, Juan García de Padilla, Señor de Villagera. Any Padilla, including the one in the ballad, would, to the author of the *Cuarta Crónica General*, have seemed to be a relative of the famous Doña María, and it is possible that the name 'Juan', despite the ballad's 'García' and 'Rodrigo', resulted from the writer's familiarity with the name of his contemporary Juan García de Padilla, Señor de Calatañazor y Coruña, elder brother of Fernando de Padilla, the unhappy Master-elect of Calatrava who died in 1443.⁶ The mistake in the Chronicle merely proves its weakness as a historical source. Moreover, the tendency of the writer to confuse names is further illustrated in the following passage:

E asimismo fué muerto el infante don Juan en Toro a yerbas.⁷

in which the Chronicler ought to have been referring, not to a Don Juan who was poisoned in Toro, but to the Infante Don Juan, Señor de Vizcaya, who was clubbed to death in Bilbao.⁸ As a result of the author's carelessness or lack of information, the report of the Prior's flight in the *Cuarta Crónica General* is of no value in a consideration of historical sources for the ballad. Its sole value lies in its evidence that the ballad was well known by the middle of the fifteenth century.

¹ Depping, G. B., *Romancero Castellano*, Leipzig, 1844-6, founded on *Crónica Vulgar*, 1355, ch. xviii.

² Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 136, founded on *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ch. LI (Bibl. Aut. Esp. LXIII, p. 203), and Rodrigo Yañez de Logroño's *Poema de Alfonso XI*, coplas 225-46.

³ Entwistle, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

⁴ Rades y Andrada, F., *Crónica de las tres órdenes militares*, Toledo, 1572, *Crónica de Saniago*, f. 55 verso.

⁵ Rades y Andrada, *op. cit.*, f. 46. Juan García de Villagera has already been mentioned in connexion with the Don Juan of the ballad.

⁶ Rades y Andrada, *op. cit.*, *Crónica de Calatrava*, f. 71 recto.

⁷ *Colección de documentos inéditos*, cvi, p. 82.

⁸ *Crónica Vulgar*, 1358, ch. vi.

Thus not only is it impossible to establish historically that the main incident described in the ballad of the Prior de San Juan occurred during Don Pedro's reign, but careful examination of the available historical sources must convincingly prove that the Don Juan of the ballad cannot be other than the Infante Don Juan de Haro (*El Tuerto*), Señor de Vizcaya, put to death by Don Pedro's father, Alfonso XI, in Toro in 1324. He is the only one of the possible Don Juans to have been decapitated after being invited by the King to a feast in Toro, and thus the only one to fulfil all the conditions specified in the ballad.

It must be clear, therefore, that the assignment of the ballads of the Prior de San Juan to the Don Pedro cycle rests upon no solid foundation whatsoever. The edifice collapses altogether with the realization that no identification of the Prior himself, the Hernán Rodrigo of the Timoneda version, has been so much as attempted. In fact, it is quite impossible to identify him with any Prior of Don Pedro's reign,¹ or indeed with any head of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Castile and León during the second half of the fourteenth century.² No alternative remains then but to conclude that the Hernán Rodrigo of the ballad must be Fernán Rodríguez de Valbuena, elected Prior in 1319.³ Fernán Rodríguez did not die till 1331,⁴ seven years after the death of Don Juan de Haro and nineteen years before the accession of Pedro *El Cruel*. The knowledge that the ballad Prior and Hernán Rodríguez de Valbuena are one and the same removes all reason for ascribing the ballad to the Don Pedro cycle.

Since Fernán Rodríguez de Valbuena died before 1350, if the incident in the ballad has any counterpart in history, it must be sought, not in the chronicles of Don Pedro's reign, but in the accounts of Alfonso XI. In fact, the rimed chronicle of Rodrigo Yáñez de Logroño mentions the Prior in the following connexion:⁵

Quando el rrey esto oyó.
Ayuntó la su conpanna,
Por las tierras sse salió
Commo el leon con sanna.

¹ There appears to be no exact register of the Priores de San Juan in Castile and León. The Chevalier H. P. Scicluna, Librarian of the Royal Malta Library, finds records of the following Priors in Don Pedro's reign: Fernand Perez de Deza, 1352; Juan Fernandez d'Heredia, 1355-69; Guter Gomez de Toledo, 1358; Gomez Perez de Toires, 1364-7. See also Domingo Aguirre, *Descripción histórica del gran Priorato de San Juan Bautista de Jerusalem en Castilla y León*, 1772, Biblioteca del Palacio, Madrid, MS. 1541. Aguirre mentions Gutierre de Toledo, 1346; and Gomez de Porres and Pedro Diaz de Ibides y Ron, 1367.

² The Chevalier Scicluna gives Lop Sanchez de Somoza, 1373-81; Pedro Diaz de Bies, 1381-85; Rodrigue Gomez de Cervantes, 1385-6; Sanche Martinez d'Heredia, 1383-99; Rodrigue Gomez de Cervantes, 1399-1416.

³ According to the Chevalier Scicluna. Domingo Aguirre records that Fernando Rodríguez de Balbuena was Prior in 1321.

⁴ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ch. cxvi.

⁵ *Poema de Alfonso XI*, coplas 297-303.

Sobre Escalona boluó,
 Çercóla con la ssu gente,
 E luego la combatió
 El buen rey ssañudomiente.
 E muy bien sse defendia,
 E el buen rey cavalgó,
 Dexola e fue ssu via
 A Valladolid lego.
 Las puertas falló cerradas
 E los omnes bien armados,
 Ssobre mano las espadas,
 Los gambajes enlasados
 Todos bien prestos están
 E guisados noble mente,
 El Prior de San Johan,
 Que estaua con su gente,
 Don Ferrando Rrois de Valbuena
 Al conçejo ayudando,
 E otra conpanna muy buena
 Las barreras bien guardando.
 Enbiaron menssageria
 Al noble rrey que entrasse,
 Mas el conde que traya
 Que luego lo enbiasse.

The incident formed part of the revolt against the Conde Alvar Núñez, a revolt which was encouraged by the King's own sister in Valladolid. The prose *Crónica de Alfonso XI*,¹ probably based on Rodrigo Yáñez's poem,² gives a much fuller account of the whole matter, showing that there were really two separate incidents, namely, the revolt of the Prior in Zamora³ and the revolt of the Infanta Doña Leonor, helped by the Prior de San Juan, in Valladolid.⁴ Both incidents were part of the attempts in 1326 of Don Juan Manuel to make trouble between Alfonso XI and Alvar Núñez. The beginning of the resistance of Zamora may well have inspired the ballad-poet:

Et el acuerdo auido en su poridad, desde el Rey fué venido a cercar la villa de Escalona, el Prior dexó de venir en servicio del Rey su Señor dó él estaba, et fuese para Zamora. Et desdeque entró dentro y, aquel Pero Rodríguez acogiolo en el Alcazar; et amos dos fablaron con los de la ciubdat, et posieron muy grand guarda en las puertas et en las torres de los muros de Zamora, et eso mesmo en el Alcazar. Et desdeque el Rey esto sopo, enuioles su carta et su mandadero, con quien les envió decir que cuál era la razón porque facian esto. Et el Prior et los de Zamora enviaronle responder, que lo facian por su servicio.⁵

¹ The best edition is that of E. Llaguna, *Crónicas de Castilla*, VII, Madrid, 1787.

² The *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, p. 132, reports 'Et desdeque llegó a esta villa (Valladolid) falló las puertas cerradas', surely reminiscent of

'A Valladolid lego
 Las puertas falló cerradas'.

³ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, pp. 127-8.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 129-31.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 127 (Bibl. de Aut. Esp., LXVI, p. 214).

The poet seems to have combined the revolts, giving the Prior's part in the revolt of Zamora together with the King's rôle in the affair at Valladolid.

The evidence in favour of the ballad's referring to Alfonso XI is therefore threefold. There remain but two somewhat less important points to be considered, namely, the identification of certain place-names in the ballad and of the Padilla who caused all the trouble.

The substitution of Consuegra in the ballad for Zamora or Valladolid may have been intentional, or have had some long-forgotten political significance, but it seems more likely to be due simply to poetical licence. Zamora was already so closely related to the Sancho II and Cid traditions that it may have been unsuitable for use in any other connexion; in any case, the poet would know that the headquarters of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem in Castile and León were at Consuegra. He might therefore suppose the Prior to be interested above all in saving that town from a rapacious king. The mention of Toledo would arise simply from its proximity to Consuegra, whereas the 'Azoguejo' of the Timoneda version, which seems to be impossible of identification, is in all probability the augmentative of *azogue* 'a market square'.¹ It may even be another name for the central square of Toledo, now known as Zocodover.

The well-known Diego García de Padilla was indeed Master of Calatrava in 1355 under Don Pedro,² but he was a relative of a³ past Master of Calatrava, Garci López de Padilla.⁴ The latter was several times turned out from Calatrava during his long tenure of the Mastership, but he did not finally retire until he was aged about eighty,⁵ in 1329, three years after the revolt of Hernán Rodríguez de Valbuena and five years after the death of Don Juan de Haro. Rades y Andrada, who seems to have written the only extant survey of the Padilla family,⁶ gives many Padillas called 'García', from Garci Gutiérrez de Padilla, father of the above-mentioned Garci López to García de Padilla, Comendador Mayor de Calatrava under the Emperor Charles V,⁷ but he never mentions any member of the family called 'Rodrigo'. However, even his account is often confused, and it is possible that the ballad-poet, even as the author of the *Cuarta Crónica General*, did not himself know exactly to

¹ Cf. *El Quijote*, I, ch. iii for mention of *El Azoguejo de Segovia*.

² Rades y Andrada, *op. cit.*, *Crónica de Calatrava*, f. 55 verso.

³ Rades y Andrada, *op. cit.*, *Crónica de Calatrava*, f. 56 recto.

⁴ Rades y Andrada, *op. cit.*, *Crónica de Calatrava*, ff. 50 recto, 54 verso.

⁵ Rades y Andrada, *op. cit.*, *Crónica de Calatrava*, ff. 48 verso and 52 recto.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, *Crónica de Calatrava*, ff. 48 verso—49 recto.

⁷ Rades y Andrada, *op. cit.*, *Crónica de Calatrava*, f. 78 recto.

which of the Padillas he was referring. At least it must be conceded therefore that the Padilla of the ballad may as well be the Garci López of Alfonso XI's time as the Diego García of Don Pedro's reign.

To resume: first, the Prior of the ballad was Hernán Rodríguez de Valbuena, accounts of whose revolts against Alfonso XI are to be found in the *Poema de Alfonso XI* and the *Crónica de Alfonso XI*; secondly, the ballad appears to be based upon those accounts, thirdly, the substitution of Consuegra for Zamora or Valladolid may be ascribed to poetic licence; lastly, although no Padilla appears in the historical accounts of Fernán Rodríguez's revolts, Garci López de Padilla may well have played some part in them. Thus it is possible to establish that the ballad of the Prior de San Juan refers to Alfonso XI, and not to Pedro *El Cruel*.

The ballad was probably not composed before the fifteenth century. Although it was evidently well known by the time the writer of the *Cuarta Crónica General* used it as a source, he did not finish his work until after the death of Juan II in 1454. The ballad itself, besides being based on the Chronicles of Alfonso XI, was greatly indebted to the ballads of the Carolingian cycle, both for general epic tone, and for certain lines found among the ballads of French origin, but absent from the more usual Spanish historical ballads.¹ According to Menéndez y Pelayo,² French narrative epic poems entered Spain with Enrique de Trastámara's French forces, and were received with favour by the latter's successors. Towards the beginning of the fifteenth century a free and intelligent imitation came into being to the south of the Pyrenees, and it assimilated various essentially Spanish elements. In the case of the ballads of the Prior de San Juan, then, it seems likely that the poet-juggler, familiar both with the *Crónica de Alfonso XI* and with Rodrigo Yáñez's more primitive poetical account, the latter itself not uninfluenced by the ancient *cantar de gesta*, tried to produce on a theme essentially Spanish, but as yet relatively unknown, a ballad after the manner of the new tales from France.³ The origin of the Prior's trick

¹ The lines

'Mantenga Dios a tu alteza
y a tu corona real'

are in the Conde Claros ballads and in those of Don Gaiferos. those

'Media noche era por filo
los gallos querían cantar'

are found both in the Conde Claros ballads and in those of Don Gaiferos, and the line

'Abriolas de par en par'

comes from the Don Gaiferos ballad

² *Op cit*, pp 363-4

³ The reference to Don Juan de Haro in the ballad further supports the theory of the many sources, since a very full account of the murder is given by Rodrigo Yáñez (coplas 225-46) whereas the author of the *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, from whose tale come most of the details of the Prior's flight, scarcely gives the matter any space at all (LI, p. 95).

is yet to be discovered, and the existing versions of the ballad omit to give any reason for its failure.

Thus, when in the fifteenth century the poet composed a ballad on a stirring tale from Spanish history nearly a hundred years old, ornamenting his bald tale with quotations from the newly popular French ballads, he produced a work of great artistry, but already somewhat alien to the spirit of the primitive Spanish ballads. The King in the ballad of the Prior de San Juan is a poor figure indeed, whereas the heroes of the tale are Fernán Rodrigo and his *macho rucio*.¹

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¹ Solalinde, A. G., 'Figures de Romancero: Le Prieur de Saint Jean' (*Hispania*, Paris, 1919, pp. 201-8).

IBSEN AS A STAGE CRAFTSMAN

It is a matter of considerable importance to remember that Ibsen's development as a dramatist was intimately connected with his practical association with the stage. His years of apprenticeship were spent first as salaried dramatist and instructor at the Bergen National Theatre (1851-7) and then as 'artistic director' of the Christiania Norwegian Theatre (1857-62), while for a short period he was literary adviser to the Christiania Theatre (1863). After leaving Norway in 1864 his connexion with the stage was severed and, apart from schemes for the establishment of a new theatre in Christiania, he no longer evinced any interest in the stage, though he was considerably influenced by the performances of the Meininger company, which he saw first in 1876 when Duke Georg invited him as his guest to attend a performance of his own play, *The Pretenders*, and decorated him with the Ernestine Order. Ibsen's most characteristic works, his social dramas, cannot fully be explained without reference to his particular experience of the stage in his early days, and it was this experience which stereotyped the dramatic form which he later adopted. Unlike his contemporary, Strindberg, he was uninterested in the practical innovations of the theatre which occurred towards the end of the century, and his last plays were written with reference to the formal picture stage of his own experience with all its conventional resources of lighting and mechanism. The only instance of an experimental stage effect in Ibsen's later dramas is in his *John Gabriel Borkman*, in the last act of which Borkman takes a walk through the forest while the scenery moves past him. The following examination of his experience as a stage craftsman endeavours to assess the influence of the practical theatre on his work as a dramatist.

Ibsen wrote *Catiline*, practically speaking, without any knowledge of the stage. His next play, *The Warrior's Barrow*, was also written without much acquaintance with the practical side of the theatre, but it procured him a free ticket to the performances of the Christiania Theatre which he was otherwise too poor to frequent. He there became familiar with the current repertoire, and in his criticisms we find him paying considerable attention to the style of acting and the setting of the plays. But it is also obvious from these articles that Ibsen had not as yet 'got behind the scenes'. His chance came when Ole Bull summoned him to the Bergen National Theatre in 1851. On 6 November he signed a contract to 'assist

the theatre as dramatic author'. This post as salaried dramatist was rather an anomaly in a theatre of such small means, and in order to initiate Ibsen into the intricacies of the stage the management decided in February 1852 to give him a travelling grant for the purpose of studying European stages. On 15 April Ibsen left Bergen for Copenhagen in the company of the actors Johannes and Luise Brun, who were to study dancing and acting with Danish instructors. Ibsen was to produce a report of his studies and had been promised the position of stage-manager and producer in the theatre on his return.

Ibsen installed himself in a room in Reverentsgaden 205. He had a personal introduction from Judge Hansson in Bergen to the manager of the Royal Theatre, the philosopher-critic-poet J. L. Heiberg, and was received very kindly. He was handed on to the care of the stage-manager of the theatre, Thomas Overskou, who was most helpful. The season was then approaching its close, no new plays were being rehearsed, and Ibsen was advised to spend the first part of his time in the auditorium watching the finished products. He was given a free pass to all performances and this 'little hard-bitten Norwegian with his watchful eyes', as Overskou called him, had excellent opportunities to witness a very extensive repertoire. He saw Phister play in Holberg, N. P. Nielsen in Oehlenschläger; he saw for the first time Michael Wiehe, whose performances he recalled many years afterwards, and, most important of all, he saw Høedt play his realistic version of Hamlet in direct opposition to the idealistic manner which was favoured by J. L. Heiberg and the Germans. He saw Shakespeare's *Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *As you like it*, saw plays by Scribe and admired their stage structure, and also plays by Hertz, Hostrup and Heiberg. Besides the Royal Theatre there were two others in Copenhagen at the time, the Casino and the Royal Court Theatre, both of which he visited. The latter Ibsen attended for a gala performance at which Hostrup's play, *Master and Apprentice*, was produced for the first time. This work probably influenced Ibsen's future production in its attack on the morals of journalism, while Hostrup's use of supernatural creatures may have played its part in the forming of the fantastic play Ibsen was writing at the time, his *Midsummer Eve*.

When the season was over Overskou at last took Ibsen behind the scenes at the Royal Theatre. Of Ibsen's impressions we can only judge from a letter he wrote a few days before (30 May 1852). 'The theatre's season ended last Friday', he writes. 'Mr Overskou has promised to make me acquainted with the theatre machinery etc., which was impossible during the season; however, the machinery at the Copenhagen

theatre is not of the best, and I hope in this respect that the German theatres will make a much more profitable study.' Ibsen remained in Copenhagen another week studying the stage and procuring copies of plays, a costume book and musical scores for the Bergen theatre. His choice of repertoire in Bergen was profoundly influenced by his stay in Copenhagen, in his productions of Scribe and of Scribe's Danish imitators, a repertoire well suited to the public with which he had to reckon at home.

Ibsen left Copenhagen on 6 June and arrived in Dresden on the 9th, where he stayed with a veterinary surgeon, Troitzk, at Topfergasse 13. He had letters of introduction to the Norwegian painter and art professor, J. C. Dahl, but on account of the latter's absence on holiday had to wait till the 16th before he met him. On 24 June he wrote: 'He (Dahl) has now managed to procure me access behind the scenes at the theatre, which I am certain will be of great value to me, since everything is in excellent condition.' He had to pay for his admission to the performances, but in spite of straitened circumstances managed to see some sterling productions. He saw the Pole Bogumil Dawison play Hamlet, and he also saw Emil Devrient. Of other Shakespearean plays here he saw *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Richard III*. Hettner's book, *Das moderne Drama*, had just come out and here he was once more able to find support for his admiration of Scribe and Shakespeare. Hettner's book he had probably already read in Copenhagen, as the paper *Fædrelandet* advertised the opening of a new newspaper reading room in Silkegade where Hettner's *Das moderne Drama* and *Die romantische Schule* were displayed for the benefit of the readers.

In September Ibsen returned to Bergen. Here he took up his new post as stage-manager and producer. He was not independent, as he had hoped, but under the control of Hermann Laading, who was also given the same title, a situation which annoyed Ibsen and even resulted in making him challenge his superior to a duel. Whatever his official position may have been, Ibsen nevertheless both wrote and produced plays on his own. He was now able to put into practice the results of his studies abroad. His producer's note-book for the years 1852 to 1854 is preserved in the Bergen Museum, and this not only gives a very good idea of how he set to work but is also instructive in throwing light on his own dramatic technique.

For the period 1852-3 his method of preparation was as follows. In a broad column on the left side of the page he drew a painstaking diagram of the stage setting. In every case we find him using flats set behind one another, whether for indoor or outdoor scenery. These were of course

painted in perspective to give an illusion of reality. The theatre museum at Bergen has some amusing relics from this period which show with what skill the scene-painters could use their two dimensions. The diagrams were then filled in with the positions of the characters, whose movements were indicated by dotted lines. To the right of this diagram was a smaller column for cues and to the right of this again a broad column with notes indicating the movements and gestures of the characters. Pages without diagrams contained four columns, two for cues and two for notes on the movements of the actors. In 1853 the arrangement of his notes takes another form, more detailed and more practical for reference. Each page has four different columns, one for stage directions, one for positions, one for properties and a fourth for notes. The column of stage directions is filled in either with written descriptions of the setting or diagrams, the latter often in two planes, vertical and horizontal, and frequently executed in colour. The stage directions are divided into scenes according to exits and entrances in the French tradition, a convention which Ibsen used with his own plays at the time and only gave up when he wrote *Love's Comedy* in 1862. The directions are written and the diagrams are drawn with 'right' and 'left' as seen from the stage, in direct contradiction to his later custom and in conformity with the French models which he so closely followed in his own earlier plays. In a letter to August Lindberg (22 November 1884) he wrote: 'In reply to your question I hasten to inform you that *The Wild Duck*, like all my plays, is set from the auditorium and not from the stage. I set everything as I see it before me when writing.' When Ibsen made this change it is impossible to say with any certainty, but it would seem to date from *The League of Youth*, which was written with the conscious intent to create a realistic illusion, or from *Ghosts*, where Ibsen declared his intention to be 'to give the reader the impression that he was experiencing a piece of reality while reading'. It is at any rate connected with the intention to write for the reader and not for the producer, an intention which is not obvious with Ibsen until he has left Norway and has severed his connexion with the stage.

This producer's note-book, together with the plays Ibsen wrote on his return to Norway, show clearly what he learnt from his study tour. He had grasped the importance of the visual stage effect. Not only can we follow this in the diagrams and notes of his producer's book but also in the wealth of stage directions which now fill his plays. The contrast between *Catiline* and *Midsummer Eve*, the play he wrote during his tour, is very striking in this respect. The first act of *Catiline* is headed: 'On

the Flaminian highway outside Rome. A wooded slope. In the background rise the heights and walls of the town. It is evening.' The setting of the first act of *Midsummer Eve* is described as follows: 'Mrs Berg's garden, which is cut off from the highroad in the background by a fence with a gate. On the right the main building, erected in an attractive modern style; on the left farther up stage an old-fashioned timbered house.' The stage directions in *Catiline* give only a hint of the locality, they give no indication of the distribution of the various sets about the stage. There could, however, be no doubt about the stage plan in *Midsummer Eve*. The setting here is bounded by foreground, background and the right and left wings, which is not the case in *Catiline*. Ibsen has begun to set his plays in relation to a definite stage. The stage directions in *Catiline* and *The Warrior's Barrow*, with their sign-board curttness, are an inheritance from Shakespeare's editors, handed down via Schiller and Oehlenschläger. The extensive stage directions which we meet for the first time with Ibsen in *Midsummer Eve* are taken direct from the contemporary French drama of intrigue, which in this respect as in many others was a direct offshoot of the realistic English bourgeois drama of the eighteenth century.

The lavish settings and numerous changes of scene in Ibsen's Bergen plays would lead one to believe that the Bergen stage possessed extensive technical resources. This was by no means the case. The theatre was built in 1800 in neo-classic style with a stage which was singularly ill equipped. In 1825 a Danish portrait painter was engaged to furnish the stage with modern machinery. This consisted of a variation of the apparatus which was employed in the eighteenth century court theatres, and as far as scene-shifting was concerned it was very efficient. The flats in the wings were mounted in grooves and connected to a central winch below the stage. Each flat had a group of two, three or four grooves in which the successive sets could be mounted simultaneously. The winch could then in a very short time pull into position or withdraw any one of the sets. The sets worked in combination with a backcloth which was quickly changed by folding or rolling. This expeditious method of scene-shifting, together with the scene-painter's proficiency in perspective painting, made practically speaking any scene possible. Ibsen's later demands for realism discarded two-dimensional perspective scenery and introduced three-dimensional scenery with walls and solid properties. The wagon or lift stage had by then not been invented, no one yet thought of using curtains, and it took much more time to change scenes of this kind. This latter consideration no doubt contributed to Ibsen's artistic

economy in the unity of place which dominates in his early realistic plays.

Lighting was always of supreme importance to Ibsen in creating the atmosphere of a setting. In a letter to Schröder with reference to the setting of *The Wild Duck* he wrote: 'The lighting also has its significance; it is different for each act and is intended to correspond to the mood which gives each of the acts its special character.' This symbolical use of light is characteristic of Ibsen even in his earliest works. In his preface to the second edition of his first work, *Catiline*, he dwells on the fact that the play was written at night and adds: 'I believe that this is the unconscious reason for nearly all the action taking place at night.' The play was undoubtedly written with a sense of the importance of the lighting in order to give it atmosphere, but certainly without regard for the technical possibilities. Not until Ibsen came to Dresden did he realize the possibilities of the lighting effects embodied in gas illumination. Oil lamps were used in Bergen until 1856, when gas was introduced in the theatre. His appreciation of the importance of being able to control the strength of the lighting with gas illumination can be seen in *Midsummer Eve*, the play which he wrote abroad under the influence of his impressions there. The first act begins in the evening and a stage direction tells us that it 'begins to get dark'. In the second act 'it is night; the moon is in the sky'. The scene is then suddenly lit up by the opening of the fairy mound, a purely operatic stage effect, and the third act shows us the whole stage in bright daylight again. The play was a failure, and this no doubt was largely due to the fact that the theatre machinery and lighting were not equal to Ibsen's demands. Anyhow, it is noticeable how Ibsen's next play, *Lady Inger*, follows the model of *Catiline* and passes in a crescendo of gloom, completely abandoning the effects of light contrasts which he developed to such an art later, and only indulging in such effects as would conform to the demands of realism on a lamp-lit stage. Ibsen, in his dual position of dramatist and stage-manager, would naturally advocate such a reform as the introduction of gas into the theatre, and it appears not unlikely that he was responsible for its installation. Gas illumination was used in Bergen for the first time in 1856 and the theatre was one of the first institutions to take advantage of it. *The Feast at Solhaug*, which was produced in January 1856, shows as yet no signs of the effect of the new illumination, but the next play, *Olaf Liljekrans*, is full of lighting effects, dusk, dawn and a midnight fire. The next play, *The Warriors of Helgeland*, with its full-blooded realism of setting, spares no opportunity for stage effect, and it is significant that

Ibsen first sent his play to the Christiania Theatre before producing it at his own, because he knew among other things that it possessed a very much better technical equipment. From now on Ibsen's stage directions never omit indications of lighting. Here, in the first act, the curtain rises on 'thick snowy weather and storm'. This is followed later by the stage direction: 'The storm has ceased during the previous scene; the midday sun appears like a red disk on the horizon.' The second act is by contrast illuminated by a log fire, the third is daylight, and the fourth act is lit by torches and the rising moon, which spreads an atmosphere of peace after the passing storm. Light is from now onwards used by Ibsen, not only to indicate the passage of time, but also as a symbolical accompaniment to the action. His early appreciation of the importance and possibility of light effects on the stage he owed to his visit to Dresden in 1852.

During his tour in Denmark and Germany, Ibsen became acquainted with contemporary stage machinery and lighting, together with the routine of producing. We have seen the fruit of his experiences in the detailed settings and stage directions of the plays he wrote at the time, which form a parallel to the painstaking plans in his producer's note-book. So far we have watched him exploiting the technical resources with which he became acquainted. If we now turn to the individualization of Ibsen's technique of setting and stage directions, we find here as everywhere a growing tendency towards a realistic illusion combined with an equally strong inclination to romantic symbolism. It is the latter which dominates in the later plays.

In *Cataline* and *The Warrior's Barrow* there is no conscious attempt at realistic setting. *The Ptarmigan of Justedal* and *Midsummer Eve* offer only vague indications of conventional sets and properties. The disposition of the various scenes is indicated, but not the nature of the individual objects. In the former we meet with a 'wild but beautiful part of Justedalen', which only evokes a very vague picture. In the latter we know that the main building is 'erected in an attractive modern style' while the building on the left is an 'old-fashioned timbered house'. This tells us nothing of the peculiarities of the two buildings, but is rather an indication for the property-man as to what sets are to be used. In *Lady Inger* and *The Feast at Solhaug* we find a slight increase in detail, but we are dealing with standard props all the time, 'a magnificent room', 'an old-fashioned carved high seat', and so forth. The same is the case with *Olaf Liljekrans*. *The Warriors of Helgeland* is the first play with a specifically realistic setting, and it is significant that it was written

in the year that Ibsen left Bergen and no longer had to reckon with the theatre stock of properties and sets. The setting of the first scene is as follows: 'A high shore which slopes steeply down to the sea in the background. On the left a boat-house, on the right mountains and pine woods. The masts of two warships can be seen down in the bay; far away on the right rocks and high islands; the sea is very rough, it is winter with thick snowy weather and storm.' The striking feature about this setting is not so much the absence of standard props and scenery but the way in which Ibsen sets an outdoor scene and overcomes false perspective. He uses a high foreground which masks receding perspective, behind which the backcloth can represent the middle and far distance without risk of showing up the actors out of proportion. The foreground is the only area of the stage on which the actors appear and their size is then always in proper relation to the scenery. This method of giving an illusion of reality to outdoor settings was in future always employed by Ibsen with only two variations. The first was the high foreground which we meet again in *The Lady from the Sea*, *John Gabriel Borkman* and *When we dead awaken*, the second the fenced-in garden where the fence has the function of masking the perspective, a setting which we remember as far back as *Midsummer Eve*, and which recurs in *The Lady from the Sea*, *Little Eyolf* and *When we dead awaken*.

One frequently hears of the stuffy atmosphere of Ibsen's plays, the atmosphere which pervades the indoor settings of his modern tragedies. From 1877, when *The Pillars of Society* was published, until 1886, the date of the publication of *Rosmersholm*, all his plays were set indoors, while the first three of these six take place in one and the same room. After this date there is only one totally indoor play, *Hedda Gabler*, two are set entirely out of doors (*The Lady from the Sea*, *When we dead awaken*), and the remaining three have both outdoor and indoor settings. The indoor setting is the direct result of Ibsen's conscious effort to create a realistic illusion, while its abandonment coincides with his reversion to romantic symbolism. Even more than in the case of the outdoor setting, the interior had to overcome the difficulties of perspective. As we can see from Ibsen's diagrams for interior settings, the Bergen theatre used the type of scenery which was common at the time; that is to say, that the side walls of a room were represented by transverse flies set parallel behind one another as in the outdoor scenes, while the back wall was represented by a flapping backcloth perforated with doors and windows. The whole proscenium opening was used for rooms of all dimensions and the illusion of varying size was brought about by the

false perspective of the scene-painter. In the setting of Ibsen's *Lady Inger*, for instance, the room in the first act would occupy as much stage space as the knight's hall in the third, though the latter might of course use a little deeper stage. In the impoverished theatre at Bergen economy was everything as regards properties and scenery, and the painter was in consequence called upon to include in his settings flat pasteboard cupboards, chairs and ornaments which the theatre could not afford to procure in the solid. The effect of these settings as a peep-show panorama was often very illusory, but the impression was immediately destroyed by the movements of the actors. A reaction against this type of indoor setting began to make itself felt in Europe about this time. The study of the Elizabethan stage which had begun with Tieck led to various attempts at reconstruction, especially in the use of the little inner stage and the curtain background. Laube, in his historical productions, had already begun to simplify his scenery and had set his actors against a plain background, but the tendency of the day was for historical realism and against stylization, and here it was that the Meininger company seemed to have impressed Ibsen with their solid realistic scenery. Solid interior walls and ceilings for modern settings had already been introduced previously in France and England, and it may well be that Ibsen, during his residence in Germany, had seen imitations of this in modern plays. The settings of *Emperor and Galilean* are mostly outdoor ones and the few interiors show as yet no signs of modern realism. But when we come to *The Pillars of Society* it is a different matter. The earliest notes for this play date from 1870 and it was not finished until 1877, the year after Ibsen saw the first Meininger performances. As far as we can judge from the notes and sketches before 1876, the scene was removed in each act. The first act took place in Consul Bernick's morning-room, the second in the garden, the third on a road by the shore and the fourth in a wood. After 1876 the setting immediately took shape and was restricted to Consul Bernick's morning-room for all the acts, while the directions give the most detailed description of the stage that Ibsen had hitherto indulged in. In this setting he has transferred the historical realism of the Meininger into modern surroundings, and has combined the interior with the fenced-in garden exterior to give a complete illusion of the 'fourth wall'. We have only to compare this scene with a corresponding scene in *The League of Youth*, its predecessor as a modern play, to see how Ibsen had individualized his technique. The second act of the latter play has the following setting: 'The chamberlain's morning-room. Elegant furniture, a piano, flowers and rare plants. Entrance door in

the background. On the left a door into the dining-room; on the right several glass doors opening into the garden.' In this case we are still dealing with props and standard sets. In *The Pillars of Society* we find the following setting: 'A spacious morning-room in Consul Bernick's house. In the foreground on the left there is a door leading into the Consul's room; farther back on the same wall is a similar door. In the middle of the opposite wall is a fairly large entrance-door. The wall in the background is almost entirely composed of mirrors, with an open door leading out on to broad garden steps, over which is stretched an awning. At the bottom of the steps one can see part of the garden, which is enclosed by a fence with a little gate. On the other side of the fence, and parallel to it, runs a street which is flanked on the opposite side by small brightly painted wooden houses. It is summer and the sun is shining warmly. People pass by in the street from time to time; they stop and converse; they go and make purchases in a shop on the corner etc. . .' Here there is no question of standard props or sets, the whole scene is an individual solid structure. We find Ibsen for the first time giving directions for a realistic setting and following the example of contemporary producers. The producers had hitherto looked to the past for their dramatists, and now Ibsen appeared and immediately carried them off their feet.

With *Pillars of Society* Ibsen inaugurates his series of modern indoor plays, and he becomes a master in electrifying these settings with dramatic potentiality. The dramatic importance of the ground plan and elevation of the houses in which his plays are set, together very often with the locality in which the houses stand, is very great in Ibsen's work. He transforms and adapts to his own use the secret stairs and trapdoors and sliding panels of romantic melodrama so that his doors and curtains and windows are equally pregnant with secrets in spite of their prosaic surroundings. Ibsen once spoke of himself as a builder, and there is no doubt that he had a supreme sense of the dramatic in architecture. We remember houses and parts of houses from Ibsen's plays as well as we know our own. His insistence on architecture begins with *A Doll's House*. The room in this case has four doors, each of them having its function, while two of them, the door to Helmer's study and the one into the hall, become the focus of dramatic tension, especially when Krogstad's letter is lying in the hall letter-box. In the course of the action we learn that the flat is on the first floor, we know where the kitchen and the nursery and Nora's bedroom are, and we hear the music from the fancy-dress party in the flat above. The effect of this technique is to give one a sense

of tremendous dramatic activity focused on the one room visible on the stage, and also to give this one room an extension far beyond its real dimensions. This latter effect is increased by noises off and talking off the stage. In *John Gabriel Borkman* a similar illusion of architectural solidity is brought about by the continuity of the four acts in which the action progresses without any time interval. At the end of the first act in Mrs Borkman's room on the ground floor we hear music from Borkman's room above. The second act opens in Borkman's room where Frida Foldal is playing the piano, in the third Borkman comes downstairs and at the end rushes out of the hall door into the snow. The fourth act shows the outside of the house and Borkman walking out. The door to Borkman's room is also charged with dramatic tension. He is always waiting for the knock which will announce the arrival of the delegation which is to clear his reputation. A similar dramatic door we have in *The Master Builder*, when Solness says, 'One of these days youth will come here knocking at the door', in response to which Hilde Wangel seals his fate by her prompt knocking. In *Rosmersholm* we find a genuine survival of romantic melodrama in the curtain behind which Rebekka overhears Rosmer's conversation with Mortensgård.

Ibsen's appreciation of the dramatic value of a realistic setting is well illustrated in the case of *The Wild Duck*. In this case a study of the drafts of the play shows exactly with what care he worked out the details. The last four acts of the play pass in Hjalmar Ekdal's studio, and in the back wall we see the door which leads into the weird garret where the duck and the rabbits and pigeons are kept. In the second draft the stage directions describe the door as follows. 'A large double door in the middle of the back wall constructed so that it can be pushed aside.' When Ekdal insists on showing Gregers the attic, the directions state: 'Ekdal and Hjalmar have gone to the back wall and each pushes aside the upper part of his half of the door.' In the third act the same process is repeated: 'Hjalmar and Ekdal open the upper part of the half-doors to the garret.' Ekdal squeezes himself into the garret by opening the lower half of the doors slightly. Then Hjalmar 'pulls a string; a piece of stretched fishing-net slides down in front of the door opening'. In the play the door into the garret is constructed differently. Instead of being divided into four parts, which enables the upper half to be open while the lower remains shut, it is made of only two partitions, one on each side, which open and disclose the whole floor of the garret. It is a 'broad double sliding door'. In the second act Hjalmar and Ekdal disclose the whole attic in the moonlight, the animals being hidden in the shadow,

whereas formerly the floor was not visible. In the third act Hjalmar and Ekdal again open each of the sliding doors and disclose the whole attic in the sunshine, together with its inhabitants. After this full glimpse, Hjalmar 'pulls a string; from inside a curtain is lowered, the bottom part of which consists of a strip of old sailcloth, the upper of a piece of stretched fishing net. Thus the floor of the garret is no longer visible.' In the earlier version the contents of the garret were seen by the actors alone and the duck still remained a formless figure for the audience. In the play the garret is fully revealed to the spectators with its bizarre display of animals and rubbish. The momentary glimpse of what is behind gives the sailcloth and the closed door a weird suggestive power which was absent when the duck remained unseen and unreal. This is only one instance of Ibsen's capacity for increasing the dramatic effect by a pure arrangement of scenery.

This constructive sense in Ibsen's indoor settings is equally strong in all his later plays and it is combined with great economy of material. His stages were set with regard to the function of the various units, the doors, windows and pieces of furniture, and he cleared the stage of all the superfluous junk that was popular in the dazzling settings of French social dramas. His settings were inspired with a sympathy for the effect of milieu on the characters and often possess a *dramatic quality* independent of the characters themselves. Concentration and elimination were his principles in developing dialogue and character, and it was the same principles he applied to realistic settings; his dramatic sense was greatly aided by his painter's eye in their conception, and they form one of the characteristic features of Ibsen's drama.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

NOTES ON 'THE KINGIS QUAIR'

The Kingis Quair is one of the most neglected of medieval poems. The Scottish Text Society edition by Professor W. W. Skeat, published in 1884, seems to have been the first in which the manuscript (Selden B. 24, in the Bodleian Library) was at all carefully examined; and Skeat, with his usual thoroughness, gave us a text that is on the whole accurate, and used his great knowledge to clear up many obscure points. Indeed, many of his notes could not be bettered. Unfortunately, the matter of giving a good text of the poem, and of clearing up the numerous difficult points, was forgotten in the excitement raised by Dr J. T. T. Brown's *The Authorship of the Kingis Quair; a New Criticism* (Glasgow, 1896), in which he suggested that the evidence in support of the authorship of James I was none too conclusive.

In consequence of this publication, any work upon *The Kingis Quair* since has largely consisted of an attempt to refute Brown's theories: for instance, the revised S.T.S. edition of 1911, again by Skeat, differs from the first edition mainly in containing a discussion of Brown's thesis; and in the edition by Professor Lawson of St Andrews (London, 1910) the question of authorship overshadows all else.

Since then there have been editions of *The Kingis Quair* published by the Grafton Press, in 1914, and by Neilson and Webster in *Chief British Poets of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, in 1916; the first consists of texts with a short glossary at the end, the second has footnotes consisting of translations of difficult words. Neither is exactly according to the manuscript. Selections are given in M. M. Gray, *Scottish Poetry from Barbour to James VI* (London, 1935)—in all 108 stanzas out of a total of 197—and in *A Book of Scottish Verse*, by R. L. Mackie (World's Classics, 1934)—27 stanzas in all. Both of these selections simplify the spelling of the original.

Clearly, then, the important editions textually are those of Skeat and Lawson. Skeat's is the more comprehensive, though it is inadequate from several points of view. (1) The historical material is out of date, as may be seen by consulting the most detailed account of the period, *James I, King of Scots*, by E. W. M. Balfour-Melville (London, 1936). (2) It is over-punctuated. (3) Some expansions are made not in the Scots manner—though the manuscript was the work of Scottish scribes—but according

to English palaeographical practice. Lawson's edition suffers from an inadequate vocabulary and an over-faithful adherence to the emendations of Dr Wischmann of Kiel

In the notes which follow I have used throughout the manuscript readings and the manuscript punctuation: the latter was extremely simple, consisting of /· together or separately. Its use is spasmodic, but sometimes valuable as marking what the scribe considered the end of a sense passage: it does not by any means coincide with the punctuation of the various editors.

Stanza 1. Heigh In the hevȳnis figure circulere
The rody sterres twynklyng as the fyre
And In Aquary Citherea the clere
Rynsid hir tressis like the goldm Wyre
That late tofore in fair and fresche atyre
Through capricorn heved hir hornis bright
North northward approcht the myd nyght

It is very probable that Skeat's interpretation of *twynklyng* as a present indicative plural and *Citherea* as a wrong expansion of *Cithia* (Cynthia, the moon) are correct. But *rynsid* (l. 4) has given trouble, Skeat gives for the line 'having her tresses, which resembled golden wire, rinsed, or cleansed'; and Wischmann also suggests an absolute construction. But is this necessary? Surely *rynsid* is an ordinary instance of a weak preterite? Then ll. 5-7 can be explained by referring them back to l. 3; and we have a straightforward reference to the function of Aquarius.

Stanza 4. And there to here this worthy lord and clerk
his metir suete full of moraltee

Neither editor has seen fit to criticize the use of *metir* here; yet it makes clumsy sense. Emendation to *matir* is all that is needed; and the spelling *matir* is vouched for, from Barbour's *Brus* (c. 1387) and Holland's *Book of the Houlate* (1450). (See *N.E.D.*, Matter, Metre.)

Stanza 5. For quhich thought I in purpose at my boke
To borowe a slepe at thilke tyme began
Or euer I stent/ my best was more to loke
Upon the Writng of this noble man

The first part of this passage causes no difficulty; 'because of which, though I began reading in order to induce sleep at that time, before I stopped...'. But the next is awkward; if the MS. reading be kept, paraphrase is necessary—for instance, '[I thought] my best (plan, course) was to look longer...' (Skeat). Emendation is simple—*best* to *lest*, noun, a form found elsewhere in the poem. 'My wish, desire, was to look longer. ...' We get thereby, too, a good alliterative phrase.

Stanza 18. My wit vnto the saile y^t now I wynd
To seke conyng/· though I bot lytill fynd

Lawson's suggestion, that *wynd* should read *bynd*, is quite unnecessary here. The word is O.E. *windan*, which may be taken either as 'wind, turn' (Skeat), or possibly 'raise' (cf. *N.E.D. Wind*, v). Both make good sense.

Stanza 37. Eft wald I think· o lord quhat may this be
That lufe is of so noble myght and kynde
Lufing his folk/ and such prosperitee
Is It of him/· as we in bukis fynd
May he oure hertes setten and vnbynd
hath he vpon oure hertis such maistrye
Or all this is bot feynyt fantasye.

There are two points of interest in this stanza. First, Skeat punctuates l. 4 with a comma after *him* and a question-mark after *fynd*. But the punctuation of the MS. makes it possible to punctuate with a question-mark after *him*, and a comma after *fynd*, thus joining l. 4 to l. 5, and not l. 3. Second, the rest of the stanza continues the question; but the last line, as it stands, is a statement, not a question; emendation to *Or is this all* is therefore suggested.

Stanza 39. Than wold I pray his blisfull grace benigne
To hable me vnto his seruice digne.

Skeat and Lawson translate *hable* by 'enable', which is hardly adequate. The verb is clearly from the O.Fr. adj. *hable*, suitable; hence, 'to make suitable, qualify', as in M.E.

Stanza 45. Quhen I a lytill thrawe had maid my moon
Bewailing my infortune and my chance
Vnknawin how/ or quhat was best to doon
So ferre I fallyng Into lufis dance
That sodeynly my wit/ my contenance
My hert/ my Will/ my nature and my mynd
Was changit clene ryght In an othir kynd

The main difficulties in this stanza are *vnknawin* and *I fallyng*. *Vnknawin* may be taken as either a past participle—'it being unknown to me'—or as a present participle—'not knowing'. *I fallyng* is generally hyphenated, and regarded as the past participle with prefix. What, however, seems to have escaped the notice of the editors is that *vnknawin* and *I-fallyng* are parallel forms, and that therefore both must be regarded as past participles, or neither.

Stanza 47. Full of quaking spangis bryght as gold
Forgit of schap like to the amorettis
So new so fresch so pleasant to behold
The plumys eke like to the flour-Ionettis
And othir of schap like to the flour-Ionettis.

This passage, with the repetition of the rhyme *flour-Ionettis*, has produced a long note in Skeat's edition, in which he gives a list of possible emendations, and finally decides for *round crokettis*. Lawson adopts

another alternative, *violettis*. Still, while it is likely that emendation is necessary, it is not at all certain; and the MS. reading can be defended. This is not the first instance of a word repeated as a rhyme in *The Kingis Quair*—witness stanzas 7, 31 and 36. Again, if, as Skeat suggests, l. 4 is a reference to the tuft of stamens in the centre of the great St John's wort, l. 5 could refer to the shape of the flower itself.

Stanza 49. And for to walk that fresche mayes morowe
 Añ huke sche had vpon hir tisew quhite
 That gudehare had nocht bene sene toforowe
 As I suppose/

Skeat, quoting Cotgrave and Skelton, translates *huke* as 'frock, dress', and *tisew* as 'thin (white) under-garment'; Lawson adopts the second translation, but translates *huke* as 'mantle, cloak with hood'. One can scarcely imagine that the author had seen the lady in a state of *déshabille* such as Lawson's translation suggests; but it is true that O.Fr. *huque* is used in M.E. with the meaning of 'cloak'. The quotation which Skeat, in his glossary, makes from Cotgrave seems to give a clue to *tisew*—a 'head-band of woven stuffe'. If this rendering be adopted, the lady appears with a cloak cast over her head, presumably because of the coolness of the morning. It need not have kept her lover from seeing her hair.

Stanza 50. In hir was ȝouth beautee with humble aȝort

 Wisedome largesse estate and cōnyng sure.

Skeat translates *connyng* as 'skill'; Lawson by 'cunning, skill'. The word is used in the ordinary M.E. sense of 'knowledge, wisdom'; the translations of the two editors are not at all appropriate here.

Stanza 53. A wele were him y^t now were In thy plyte.

The lover is addressing the lady's 'Lytil hound'. The rendering 'plight' for *plyte* is hardly fitting; 'position, condition' would be better.

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WARTON'S LAST WORDS ON THE ROWLEY PAPERS

Although Thomas Warton had been interested¹ in the authenticity of the poems ascribed to Rowley as early as 1772, it was not until after Tyrwhitt's edition of the poems in 1777 that Warton spoke out publicly.

¹ *An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley. In which the arguments of the Dean of Exeter, and Mr Bryant are examined*, by Thomas Warton (1782), p. 1. Warton says that the Earl of Litchfield had shown him some Rowley manuscripts from Bristol and 'on reading them, I expressed my Suspicions that they were most probably spurious'.

In Section VIII of the famous *History of English Poetry*¹ Warton examined the poems at length and, after adducing extensive evidence, stated: 'It is with regret that I find myself obliged to pronounce Rowlie's poems to be spurious.'² Nobody has questioned the sincerity or honesty of Warton's opinion save one spiteful—and, deservedly, unnoticed—critic who said:

Perhaps you never heard the reason of this gentleman's enlisting himself so eagerly and forwardly, as he did in our service, I can tell you we are not so much obliged to him, as you may imagine. For he had one while some hopes, it seems, of publishing the Poems himself, being then as thoroughly persuaded of their authenticity, as even you or I can be (in reality) at this instant: and had applied accordingly through one Mr Villey, as appears by a letter from that very gentleman to Mr George Catcott, dated from the house of Mr Cleaves at Ongar, in Essex. But not succeeding, determined at once to blast the whole, and forthwith set about his eighth section.³

It is true that Warton thought that Chatterton 'was a prodigy of genius: and would have proved the first of English poets, had he reached a maturer age';⁴ but never, so far as the evidence goes, did Warton believe in Rowley. Some time before Tyrwhitt's 1777 edition, Thomas Warton wrote to Percy, 25 January 1776: 'I own I lean to the side of the forgery.'⁵ But the anonymous accusation is interesting in indicating the possibility that Warton had hoped at one time to edit the Rowley poems.

The famous Section VIII was attacked almost immediately, probably by Henry Dampier,⁶ and the Rowley controversy was definitely under way, a ghost had been evoked which was to disturb literary historians until Professor Skeat laid it forever in its grave. Warton himself returned four years later to the issue with his *Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley* (London, 1782), a much more elaborate and carefully worked out analysis of the Chatterton forgeries. This was Warton's last published statement on Rowley and Chatterton.

A year later Warton's friend, Thomas J. Mathias, hinted his approval of the authenticity arguments in his *Essay on the Evidence relating to the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley* (London, 1783). On reading this brochure Warton wrote Mathias the following unpublished letter,⁷ valuable in that it gives us Warton's last word on the Rowley question in an informal statement never intended for public consideration.

¹ *The History of English Poetry, from the close of the eleventh to the commencement of the eighteenth century*, vol. II (1778) Section VIII occupies pp. 139–64.

² *Ibid.*, p. 164.

³ *The Genuine Copy of a Letter found Nov. 5, 1782, near Strawberry Hill, Twickenham. Addressed to the Hon. Mr H—ce W—le.* (London, 1783), p. 25 n.

⁴ *History of English Poetry*, II, p. 153.

⁵ Quoted in 'Bishop Percy, Thomas Warton, and Chatterton's Rowley Poems' (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, I (1935), p. 781).

⁶ Or possibly Dr Woodward. For this point, and for a complete survey of the Rowley controversy, see E. H. W. Meyerstein, *A Life of Thomas Chatterton* (New York, 1930), pp. 449–500.

⁷ In the Theatre Collection, Harvard College Library.

Old Park near Darlington
25 Febr. 1783.

Dear Sir.

I have been the easier under the consciousness of not having acknowledged receiving the favour of your present, because my Nephew promised me that he would acquaint You, that not having read all the Poems I did not think myself sufficiently qualified to judge upon the case. at length, I have got the Octavo Editions of 1778, both of those attributed to Rowley, and those known to be Chatterton's, have read them, and also your Essay again with fresh pleasure. nothing can be more just than your general reasoning upon the subject, nothing fairer than your state of the Arguments which have been alledged on both sides; but when You come to the Conclusion I should have your pardon to beg for dissenting, if my Nephew has not secured to me your favourable condescension, by apprising you as I desired him, of a certain obstinacy, of which I have lately perceived symptoms arising in my head, and which I attribute to Age. but seriously, I think You pay too great respect to the External Evidence. Chatterton invalidated his own by falsifying to Mr Barret about the first part of the Battle of Hastings, and the other Witnesses acknowledge themselves either ignorant, or inattentive, except Mr. Barret, who appears to have questioned the authenticity. in his possession are Manuscripts which when published perhaps may open further light. at present therefore I rest the Decision upon the Internal Evidence. to those Arguments of that kind which You have stated, I will add another of great weight with me viz That there are in these Poems no Imitations (very few and very slight if any <those of Homer bear evident marks of Pope's translation>¹) of Passages of Poets of the times previous to the reign of Edw^d. the 4th. now it seems inconceivable that the example of Lydgate, Gower, and Chaucer should not have inspired a man so amply endowed with poetic powers and in a literary station of life with a desire to read and to imitate the Italians and the Ancients. I recollect no instance of a Poet of any age or country who hath not enriched his own compositions with such imitations of his predecessors. on the other hand the imitations of passages of poets of a later date than that reign are very numerous, and many of them so interwoven with the subject that in my opinion they could not be interpolations by Chatterton, as this in Elnoure and Iuga,

No moe the miskenette shall wake the morne,
The minstrelle daunce.—
No moe the amblinge palfrie, and the horne
Shall from the lessel rowze the foxe away.

from Gray,

[For them no more]²

incense-breathing morn

.
The cocks shrill clarion, and the ecchoing horn
No more shall rouse them from their lowly bed
For them no more

again in the same Elnoure and Iuga,

Whan smokie clouds doe hange upon the leme
Of leden Moon in sylver mantles dyghte.

from Milton,

. there did a sable cloud
Turn forth its silver mantle to the night.

many of this kind might be produced as was truly said by the writer in the Saint James's Chronicle. I will venture to say, that this observation may be extended even to whole poems. it is allowed that Chatterton did not understand Greek. but the Tragical Interlude of *Aëlla* is formed upon the Grecian model. You will bear

¹ Angular brackets enclose words or phrases written above the line as an afterthought.

² Words in brackets crossed out.

with me though perhaps accuse me of begging the question while I say, in reality upon the model of Elfrida. Mr. Pope in his Essay on Homers Battles remarks the...¹ of the Deaths, and the frequency of similitudes. the Battle of Hastings seems [to have]² been written in a noble emulation of this praise, and with wonderful success Chatt[er]ton³ told Mr. Barret, that the first part of it was his own composition nor can I admit that the excellencies in either part, or in the other poems are unattainable by a youth of Chattertons age, because I believe the Genius of Mr. Gray at that age could have reached the highest of them and had he made the attempt the happy circumstance of a better education would have prevented any puerile defects, from which these poems are by no means clear. Mason tells us from Mr. Walpole, that Gray never was a Boy. I can give testimony, that he never was a youth, for he was only in his eighteenth year when I was introduced to his conversation, and a very free communication of his studies and I firmly believe that his faculties of imagination and judgment were then mature, though certainly his acquisitions of learning and knowledge increased with his years. The letters to Mr. West dated before he went abroad I presume corroborate what I have asserted. You see by this comparison that I hold the poems in as high a degree of estimation as you however we may differ about the Author.

I look upon it as a fortunate circumstance for me that my Nephew is now in Town for after all these freedoms, I must add another, in charging you with my request to him to be my advocate and make my peace with You. he knows his good offices upon this occasion will be very agreeable to me.

I am Dear Sr Your much obliged
and faithful humble serv.
Tho: Warton

[Postmark, partly erased]· 28 F[eb ?]

[Address] Thomas James Mathias Esq^r
Scotland Yard
Whitehall

London

[Note in another hand] Answered
24. March. 1783.

HOWARD P. VINCENT.

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ROMANIC ETYMOLOGIES

The following etymologies are chiefly supplementary to those given in Meyer-Lubke's *Romantisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Other works quoted are J. Haust, *Dictionnaire légeois* (Liège, 1933); S. Pușcariu, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der rumanischen Sprache* (Heidelberg, 1905); J. Ronjat, *Grammaire historique des parlers provençaux modernes* (Montpellier, 1937); M. L. Wagner, *Lautehre der sudsardischen Mundarten* (Halle, 1907).

1. **aestas**: Walloon *osté*. Haust fails to explain the *o*: it came from misdivision of *lo *state*. Similar developments are seen in Walloon *ostèdje* 'étage' and *onê* 'anneau'. *L'anel* was felt to contain feminine *la*

¹ Manuscript torn.

² Manuscript torn; words supplied. H. P. V

³ Manuscript torn, letters supplied. H. P. V.

prefixed to a masculine, and was therefore changed to *lo *nel*, whence **l'onel*.

2. *aetas* + *iuventas* = **aeiutas*. This blending explains the dialectal Italian forms that puzzle Meyer-Lübke: *euà*, *etrà*, *aitade*, *ajetà*, *aità*.

3. *autumna* + *october* = **automna*: Rumanian *toamnă*. An *o*-basis is needed for Rumanian *oa*. Pușcariu's **autumna* is impossible: it would have given **tumie*.

4. *barbare*: Spanish *bable*. For adverbs as language-names, cp. *romance* and *vascuence*.

5. *cannape* + *linum*. Ronjat says that he cannot explain the *i* of Provencal *chibre* = *charbe* < *cannape* (§ 132). It came from the influence of *lin*.

6. **capsea*. Meyer-Lübke says that Spanish *caja* cannot come from **capsea*. This is wrong: *ese* < *ipse* and *bajar* < **bassiare* show that **capsea* would make *caja* (*Hispanic Review*, v, 349). Ronjat protests in vain against the assumption of such a form as **capsea* (§ 310). Rohlf's has dug up clear derivatives of **capsea* or **capsia*: *kaspia* and *kassia* in the Greek of southern Italy, with early Greek suffix-stress, and *gepsa* in Swiss German (*Revue de linguistique romane*, II, 286).

7. *clauus* + γόμφος = **clouus*. This basis with open *o* is needed for Neapolitan *chiuovo*. For open *o* from omikron, cp. open *e* from epsilon in the Romanic derivatives of πέτρα.

8. *cremare* + *kaij*: Portuguese *queimar*, Spanish *quemar*. The alteration from *cremare* can be explained by a blending with Arabic *kaij* 'cauterization'.

9. *gorri* 'red': Aragonese *rogo*, *arruego*. Meyer-Lübke leaves these words unexplained. Apparently they came from Bask *gorri*, with the consonants transposed under the influence of Spanish *roxo* or *rubio*.

10. **tiuplus* 'blind': Sardinian *thurpu*, *tzurpu*. Meyer-Lübke and Wagner (§ 172) fail to explain these words. The source is **tiuplus* from τυφλός. For *iu* from upsilon, cp. Rumanian *jur*, *giur* < **giurus* < γῦρος. For the Sardinian consonants, cp. *puthu*, *putzu* < *puteum* (Wagner, § 166), and *artu* < *altum* (Wagner, § 133).

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SOME ASPECTS OF HEINSIUS' INFLUENCE ON THE RHYTHM OF OPITZ

In *The Modern Language Review*, xxxiv (1939), pp. 230-9 I gave an account of an investigation into the influence which Daniel Heinsius exerted on the syntax of Opitz in *Trostgedichte in Widerwertigkeit des*

Krieges. The passage quoted on pp. 2-3 tends to show that Opitz also underwent the influence of Heinsius' rhythm. It recalls the rhythmical qualities and peculiarities of his *Elegie*. Heinsius' lines are always strictly iambic, end-stopped and sharply divided by the caesura. The strong contrast between light theses and heavy arses hardens the iambic alternation into a hammering beat. But in the sententious passages one observes some additional peculiarities. There is a tendency to isolate the lines and half-lines still further by means of strong stresses on the first and seventh syllables of the alexandrine. This tendency is also noticeable in *Trostgedichte*, II, ll. 385-416, but is it marked enough throughout the poem to be considered a symptom of Heinsius' influence?

An impression of this kind can only be verified by some statistical method, cautiously applied. As we are here concerned with the frequency of strongly stressed syllables, and not with the subtler rhythmical qualities due to the occurrence of various gradations of half-stress, it will be sufficient if we distinguish only two kinds of syllables: those prominent in the line through either emphasis or pitch or both, and those which, in relation to the surrounding syllables, are unobtrusive. Even so, there will be an element of uncertainty in some cases, but the risk of arbitrary distinctions and decisions is not so great as when a finer scale of gradation is adopted.

Since one can only obtain a correct picture of the frequency of certain phenomena within the line if the line as a whole is considered, I have tested the average frequency of strong syllables in each of the twelve members of the alexandrines of Opitz and Heinsius respectively, by counting the strong stresses that occurred in each position. The length of the two passages used was 100 lines each. Thus, for each member of the alexandrine a percentage of strong syllables was obtained, and these twelve percentages can be represented by means of graphs, one for Opitz and one for Heinsius.¹

It should be borne in mind, of course, that a method which distinguishes only two kinds of syllables is a fairly coarse rule-of-thumb. Its chief advantage lies in the fact that it reduces the percentage of errors and arbitrary decisions to a minimum in cases where no checking by means of other readers or phonetical instruments is possible. But because secondary stresses are ignored, the difference between the even and the odd syllables is very much exaggerated, since secondary stress is more frequent in the latter. Therefore, the percentages give a false

¹ For this method I am indebted to A. W. de Groot's article 'De structuur van het vers' (*De Nieuwe Taalgids*, xxx, pp. 197-212).

impression of the relative strengths of one poet's arses and theses generally. Comparison of the six arses of one poem among themselves, and similarly of the theses, is possible, though even here the results should be used with caution. But the method is reliable when one is comparing the average frequency of stress, with the two poets, in the same position of the alexandrine.

Another difficulty is the difference in language and the fact that even a strong influence will affect the average structure of a poet's verse to a small degree only: his personal idiosyncrasy must always be much the stronger force. Therefore, one must expect considerable differences between the percentages for Heinsius and other Dutch poets on the one hand and those for Opitz's poems on the other. Influence of Heinsius will be rendered probable if we find that the differences between Opitz's pre-Heinsian alexandrine and that of his *Trostgedichte* are similar to those that exist between his early models: the poets of *Den Bloem-Hof van de Nederlantsche Jeught*, and Heinsius.

Such similarity can be demonstrated from the graphs of the following percentages:

1. <i>Lentes Clagh-ghedicht</i> , ll. 1-100												1. <i>Frulings Klag-Gedichte</i> , ll. 1-100											
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
21	79	8	60	0	92	14	72	6	61	2	96	31	75	10	74	2	83	17	79	6	70	1	97
2. Heinsius's <i>Lofsanck van Bacchus</i> , ll. 1-100												2. <i>Trostgedichte</i> , Bk I, ll. 1-100											
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
26	83	1	55	2	94	17	87	1	48	4	99	35	83	4	72	3	87	25	82	1	72	0	97
3. Heinsius, Sententious passages (total: 100 lines)												3. <i>Trostgedichte</i> , Sententious passages (total: 100 lines)											
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
30	76	5	59	4	98	18	82	4	58	7	97	36	79	5	78	2	90	20	78	3	76	0	98

The first impression is as might be expected. In relation to the considerable differences between Opitz and the Dutch poets, the development as from *Den Bloem-Hof* to Heinsius and from *Frulings Klag-Gedichte* to *Trostgedichte* seems slight. Opitz distributes his stresses more evenly over the six arses, and he appears from the first to have had a greater preference for a stressed opening syllable. But once these facts have been registered, one perceives that what development there is runs parallel in several respects.

The verse of *Lentes Clagh-ghedicht*, the longest poem in alexandrines which Opitz translated from *Den Bloem-Hof*,¹ belongs to the Dutch classicist school, which regarded Heinsius as its head. Hence it possesses

¹ *Den Bloem-Hof*, etc., pp. 1-4.

the characteristic peculiarity of this school: a 'decrecendo' in the middle of the half-line, due to the frequency of the type:

○ " ○ — ○ "

But this is more marked with Heinsius himself, who has a greater percentage of stresses on the second, the sixth, the eighth and the twelfth syllables, and a smaller percentage on the fourth and tenth. Especially in the second half-line his stresses are very unevenly distributed.

Now Opitz, before he began to translate and imitate Heinsius, already had a slight tendency towards this in the second half-line. This remained unaltered in the *Trostgedichte*: each arsis has a slightly higher average of stresses, but the relation between them is the same. But the first half-line shows a development in the same sense as the difference between *Lentes Clagh-ghedicht* and Heinsius: the first and third arses are stronger, the second arsis is weaker than before.

As we noticed above; Opitz had from the first shown a certain tendency towards a stressed beginning of the line. This was further strengthened, although not so much as in the seventh syllable (the beginning of the second half-line), where the increase is considerable. It might be argued that the difference between *Lentes Clagh-ghedicht* and Heinsius in this respect is so slight that it could scarcely have exerted any influence. This is true as regards the *Lofsanck van Bacchus*, but not in the case of the *Elegie* and other sententious passages, and we have seen that the quotations from Heinsius in the *Trostgedichte* are mostly from there. A graph of Heinsius' sententious passages actually shows a considerable increase of stresses on the opening syllable of each half-line. Indeed, if allowance is made for the difference in language, the resemblance of this graph to that of the *Trostgedichte* is striking; it shows that in Heinsius' sententious passages the graphs for the two half-lines are nearly congruent (as they are in the *Trostgedichte*), whereas the second half-line in the *Lofsanck* is distinguished by an excessively low percentage of stresses on the tenth syllable. This result bears out the conclusions drawn from the syntactical material. Opitz mainly imitated Heinsius in his sententious passages, and it is by them that he was influenced most.¹

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¹ The most important difference in the sententious passages is the greater frequency of stress on the sixth syllable with Heinsius. It is in accordance with his greater preference for the self-contained half-line.

REVIEWS

Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark. Herausgegeben und erklärt von WOLFGANG KRAUSE. [*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, 13. Jahr, Heft 4.] Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1937 xv+258 pp. (=pp. 423-680 des Sammelbandes). RM 18; gebunden, RM 20.

Die Runenschrift, Ihre Geschichte und ihre Denkmäler. Von HELMUT ARNTZ. [*Handbucherei der Deutschkunde*, Band 2.] Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1938. 122 pp. + 31 Tafeln. RM. 2-80.

The study of Germanic Runes has long been looked upon as the domain of Scandinavian scholars, on account of the great number of Runic monuments preserved in those countries in consequence of the late introduction of Christianity in the North. But the recent political development in Germany has given a strong impulse to the study of the earliest sources of Germanic history and civilization. After some youthful exaggerations of enthusiastic and uncritical archaeologists in the beginning, the study of the Runes has come back to the sound methods of philological research. The scholars of to-day draw a separating boundary between the study of the earliest Germanic letters, the Runes proper and all kinds of earlier and later symbols of perhaps magic powers, the interpreting of which must be left to folklore and ethnology. This does not, however, exclude that many Runes were used for the same magic purposes as those crosses, swastikas, arrows, scales, stars and rings which have been employed at the most different periods and in the most distant parts of the world and which still await the industry of scholarly collectors and explainers.

The standard work on Runes, George Stephens's magnificent collection of *The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England* (1866-8, 4 vols.; reprint 1901), needed to be supported, if not supplanted, by a less expensive edition of all, or at least all important, Runic documents, a book which the private scholar could afford to put on his shelf. This is the aim of Professor Krause's edition of a hundred Runic inscriptions (the rest are mostly dealt with in special notes) in the earlier alphabet of twenty-four Runes. And he provides us with an excellent and trustworthy edition, plentifully illustrated by very good pictures of all the more interesting objects. Though we may at first regret that he excludes the English monuments and other objects with Runic inscriptions—of which, however, we are told that Professor F. Norman of King's College, London, is preparing a parallel edition—his book is in other respects more complete than that of Stephens, because it treats of all the recently discovered inscriptions, especially those found in Germany. It is evident that no book of this kind, which tries to interpret so many texts of doubtful meaning, can ever be final: what we consider the great value of the edition is the simple and faithful reprint of the inscriptions, not their

translation. The latter will in many cases have to be changed in the future, but the texts themselves will remain, especially those illustrated by photographs, to be quoted after this edition. Many of the pictures, above all some enlarged ones, are really marvellously done. Every single object is most exactly described, the writing analysed and an explanation and a translation tried; then the probable date is indicated and short bibliographical notes appended. Though some of the linguistic explanations leave room for a question-mark now and then, on the whole one gets the impression of the utmost possible trustworthiness of the whole book. It will be found of greatest usefulness in the hands of all students of Runic problems.

The little book by Dr Arntz is of a different kind. It does not aspire to be used as a manual, but to be read as an abbreviation of his own larger manual of *Runenkunde* issued three years earlier by the same publishing house. It would perhaps be unjust to demand of it the same measure of philological exactness as of that other publication. It purports to offer to a larger public a first introduction into the whole discipline of Runic studies. And this purpose is fulfilled to such a degree that it may be said to be the best little book of its kind. Krause had adhered to the Scandinavian transcription of the Runes, e.g. in constantly transcribing \mathfrak{h} as *R*, while Arntz shows a more modern conception, using *z* in its stead. The explanation of Krause, that 'rhotacism' had at an early date already spread also among the Southern Germanic languages (as was shown by proper names in Jordanes), does not consider the seventeenth-century Gothic of the Crimea, where *z* (*s*) is evidently preserved. The dropping of final *-z* (*-R*) is one of the characteristics of West Germanic, as opposed to Gothic and Scandinavian; those Runic texts which exhibit that characteristic then cannot be accepted as Old Norse or Gothic, while those with *-z* may belong to an earlier West Germanic, however. We must never forget that we are only at the beginning of investigation, and many linguistic or ethnological facts have still to be elucidated. The first chapter of Arntz's book emphasizes the Italic origin of the Runes, but the second, by adducing the pre-Runic symbols, tries to show up a way by which national Germanic influences might have become active. Yet the only Rune which is clearly identical with such a pre-Runic symbol \uparrow (O.E. *tīr* = O.N. *Tǫr* < **Tewaz*) shows by its name that it does not mean 'arrow' [**flain*-], as the earlier symbol evidently did, but *T*, the first letter of the Germanic god whose name it bore. It seems obvious that the letters borrowed from the Italic alphabet, just as the pre-Runic symbols, each had from the very beginning a definite name, which by its initial may have indicated the significance in the alphabet. In a similar way the primitive fork symbol ψ is often connected with the late Scandinavian Rune of the same shape for *M*, called 'man'. Yet the earlier form of the Rune of this name, as Arntz also has pointed out, was clearly \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{M} : the Anglo-Saxon and German tradition being older than the Scandinavian. The swastika, one of the oldest magical symbols, has, like the cross, never become a letter. What we principally miss in Arntz's explanation of the forms of the Runes is

the shaping influence of the material, which Wimmer had so ingeniously put forth: the evident aversion against all curved and horizontal lines. Now, as the Greek inscriptions on bronze may teach us, engraving on metal tended to break all curves into angular lines, but only wood with horizontal fibrous grain will turn all horizontals into oblique or vertical strokes. Yet it was only the less frequent engraving on metal, not that on wood, which overcame the destructive influences of the atmosphere. These are facts which are, of course, known to Dr Arntz, yet he does not use them for an explanation of the differences of the Italic and the Germanic letters. The reader will also think it going rather far when Dr Arntz heads his fourth chapter 'The Germanic origin of the Runes'. With regard to the word **rūn* itself, I see no reason which could prevent us from attributing to it the original meaning of 'secret', which it has in *Beowulf*, and from which the meaning of the verb, German *raunen*, may be derived.

The phonetic significance of the letters might perhaps be given with greater exactness by considering the phonetic status of the Germanic language at the time of the borrowing of the Italic alphabet, i.e. about 100 B.C. or somewhat later. At that time, perhaps the period of Germanic sound-shifting, there were no more voiced explosives—they had lost their 'voice'—but the Indo-Germanic aspirates had become spirants. We could then expect no *b*, *d*, *g*, but only *þ*, *ð*, *z*, and the way from Latin *D* (pronounced *ð*) to *p* in the Rune *þ* would not be as long as it appears in Arntz's or Krause's books. There are many questions which one would like to discuss further—such as the origin of the shorter Scandinavian *futhark*, the meaning of *bōc* and *bōc-stæf*, etc.—if space would permit us to do so. The last chapter, on the relation of Runes and Ogham, shows that Dr Arntz has accepted my explanation as to the influence of Donatus on the primitive script of the Irish. The little book by Dr Arntz, as well as the stately edition by Professor Krause, will again give fresh inspiration to the study of the Runes.

WOLFGANG KELLER.

COLOGNE-BAYENTAL (GERMANY).

A Study of the French Words in the 'Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter'. By OLE REUTER. 60 pp. *English Verb-Adverb Groups converted into Nouns.* By UNO LINDELÖF. 41 pp. (*Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Comm. Hum. Litt.* ix, 4 and 5.) Helsingfors: Akademische Buchhandlung; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz. 1937.

These two contributions by Finnish philologists to the study of the vocabulary of Middle and Modern English certainly merit the attention of scholars in this country.

Ole Reuter has successfully followed up the researches of Miss A. C. Paues on the fourteenth-century 'Glossed Prose Psalter', or the 'Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter' as it was designated by Karl Bülbring in his E.E.T.S. edition of 1891, or the 'West Midland Prose Psalter' as it is inaccurately named in Wells's *Manual*. He has corroborated Miss

Paues's conjecture that this version, now known to be extant in three manuscripts, was based to a large extent upon the glossed French Psalter in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. fr. 6260. Taking the British Museum MS. Add. 17376 as the best text for comparison, Reuter proves conclusively that, however familiar the English translator may have been with his Vulgate, he had the French text before him too, and he was often guided by it both in choice of words and in sentence-structure. The parallel passages cited are convincing. Even so, Reuter makes no claim to having made an exhaustive examination, and he reserves for later investigation the study of the precise interrelation between the Latin text with its glosses, the English versions, and the French manuscript. On the whole, he thinks that this Psalter compares favourably with that of Rolle who followed the Vulgate closely and who was often stiff and unidiomatic. But then Rolle set out to write an English 'that is mast lyke til the latyn'. Reuter is probably correct in his surmise that the use made of the Psalter was devotional rather than liturgical, but for this very reason, as R. W. Chambers and G. R. Owst have shown in respect of devotional literature in general, its influence upon the language of the period may have been considerable. This study is therefore a welcome supplement to Joseph Mersand's recent examination of Chaucer's Romance Vocabulary. In the second part of the dissertation, the Romance elements are arranged in five categories. Words of old standing in the language are considered in the first group; then words recorded previously in writing, but rarely; words appearing in earlier documents, but used here in a new sense; words not hitherto recorded; and lastly, hybrids. The provision of a complete Index makes this competent treatise handy for reference.

In the same volume, the doyen of English studies in Finland turns his attention to the historical development of 'phrasal verbs', as Henry Bradley called them, when used as nouns and as epithet adjectives. Beginning with Langland's gad-about preacher, the *Robert renne-about* of the B-text of *Piers Plowman*—but with not even a mention of *Do-wel*, *Do-bet* and *Do-best*!—he ends with the *frame-up*, *get-away*, *spread-over*, *laze-off* and *black-out* of our own day. Lindelöf is aware of the limitations imposed upon him by circumstances and yet he attempts to apply American statistical methods in assessing material which he fully realizes to be by no means exhaustive for either the earliest or the latest period. The appearance of such nominal compounds in the period before 1700, when they were relatively rare, is important. Yet one looks in vain for mention of so well known a figure as Mr Standfast of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and Standfast, or Stanfast, as Weekley records, was a surname for centuries before Bunyan. So too, *cast-away*, though strictly a past-participle formation, should be given, with a reference to its earliest citation in *N.E.D.* from Tindale's rendering (1526) of 2 Corinthians xiii. 5, where the Authorized Version has 'reprobates'. *Come-down* is likewise completely absent from these lists, although Foxe saw fit to use it in his *Book of Martyrs* (1563). As for the present century, Lindelöf has been compelled to rely upon Dictionaries of Slang and Colloquialisms, and the

like, rather than upon contemporary literature and everyday conversation. One wonders how anything at all can be deduced from statistics based upon the inadequate material derived from such sources. Otherwise this paper is a valuable and stimulating commentary upon one of the most prolific tendencies in the living speech of to-day.

SIMEON POTTER.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Die nationale Literatur Schottlands von den Anfängen bis zur Renaissance.

Von FRIEDRICH BRIE. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1937. 371 pp. RM. 14.

This is one of the most important books on Scottish medieval literature in relation to history that has appeared for many years. Though its title may at first sight be misleading, it is an attempt to analyse the conception of nationality in Scotland as reflected in its literature, in the works of Barbour, Wyntoun, 'Blind Harry', Fordun, Bower, Major and Hector Boece.

Professor Brie begins by pointing out the great difference between English and Scottish literature during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, how in English literature no national characteristics are discernible, while Scottish history and literature from 1286 to the Reformation are ruled by the joint conceptions of independence and opposition to England. The Scots of all oppressed peoples in the Middle Ages were most vocal in their protests, and first of European peoples they made the idea of national freedom their spiritual property. The fight for freedom becomes a sort of *leitmotiv* in Scottish historical chronicles; yet generally they try to keep some sort of historical perspective—all save *The Wallace*.

It is fitting that Professor Brie should devote two hundred pages to the study of Barbour's *Brus* and 'Blind Harry's' *Wallace*, for it is clear that from a comparatively early date Wallace and Bruce became focal points of national sentiment. It cannot be stressed too much that Barbour's work was in the middle of a long literary tradition, not the beginning, and early poems on Wallace are mentioned by Wyntoun. The central figures in *The Brus* reflect in their patriotic sentiments the same feelings as are found in historical documents of the day, such as the famous Declaration of Arbroath in 1320, and it is evident that the author of *The Wallace* is attempting to raise the level of patriotic feeling, which fell to a low ebb in the second half of the fifteenth century in Scotland.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the work is the way in which Professor Brie dissects these two poems, and, by means of a detailed examination of their contents, shows how *The Brus* was, for instance, a higher form of art than contemporary English verse chronicles, and how the patriotism of Barbour was of a defensive type, not romantic or imperialistic; Barbour can still find occasion to praise the enemy, even though his main theme is the struggle for Scottish freedom. *The Wallace*, on the other hand, is a retrograde step, the hero being of the common

Germanic outlaw type, and the story resembling in many points the exaggerated verse romance.

One of the most interesting points in the book is the Scottish attitude to the Arthurian legend. This, an insistence upon Arthur's illegitimacy and the rightful claims of Mordred, has been touched upon by Sir E. K. Chambers, just as certain aspects of the legend of the Egyptian origin of the Scots have been dealt with by Professor R. K. Hannay; but Professor Brie's treatment of both is the most exhaustive that has yet appeared. This hostility to Arthur is significant when one realizes that in the seventeenth century a genealogy of Clan Campbell includes Arthur among the ancestors of MacCalein Mor.

The sixteenth century gives us least patriotic material from Scotland; internal dissensions and other troubles caused *The Complaint of Scotland* to be the only Scottish response to a vigorous English nationalism.

Professor Brie's method of a minute examination of the available texts makes for completeness; one's only complaint is that it entails also a good deal of repetition, which occasionally becomes wearisome. Again, his argument is sometimes fallacious, as when he assumes that certain sources for chronicles must have existed, then at a later stage, without real proof, takes their existence for granted. One could have wished, too, that he had given the modern rather than the contemporary spellings for place and personal names; it becomes irksome to see several different spellings for the one name.

Finally, there are a few errors of fact and of spelling (one of the latter in the German); the Union of the Crowns took place in 1603, not 1605 (p. 354), and Flodden was fought in 1513, not 1514 (p. 358); *Macay* (p. 26) and *Neison* (p. 287 n.) are errors, and it is better to speak of the Coupar MS. of Bower than to use the confusing form Cupar. But these are minor errors in what is a most important study of medieval Scottish 'hero-worship' and patriotism in history and literature.

ANGUS MACDONALD.

EDINBURGH.

The Mirror for Magistrates. Edited from original texts in the Huntington Library by LILY B. CAMPBELL. Cambridge: University Press. 1938. vii + 554 pp. 42s.

The last editor of the *Mirror for Magistrates* (Joseph Haslewood, in 1815) had originally intended it as 'one of a series of reprints of poetical works of the Elizabethan aera that had ceased to be attainable, though entitled by merit to be rescued from an undeserved obscurity'. Those words long continued to be applicable to the *Mirror*; time and the growth of knowledge, especially the comparatively recent realization of the essential continuity of medieval and Elizabethan poetry, have enhanced its merits but have not until now made it really accessible. To say this is not to depreciate Haslewood's edition (of which, however, only 150 copies were printed) nor the constant anthologizing of Sackville's *Induction to The Complaint of Buckingham*; nor, certainly, to overlook the pioneer critical work of W. F. Trench and much valuable recent

criticism and bibliographical research. Such work has kept the *Mirror* respected, but could not ensure that it was generally read. Teachers of English must be familiar with that look of reverent acceptance and invincible ignorance which is apt to cross the undergraduate's face when the *Mirror* is mentioned. Yet it is not perverse to say that this collection of poems is more pervasively and comprehensively part of the sixteenth century than the work of Spenser or Shakespeare. One cannot move in that period without touching it.

Professor Campbell's scholarly edition will go far to remedy this obscurity, although in one important respect it does not go far enough. She has taken the first extant edition, that of 1559, as her basic text, and has printed the tragedies added to the original *Mirror* in subsequent editions (1563, 1578, 1587) in the text of their first appearance. Variants from all editions up to 1587 are included. Yet she does not include the British tragedies of John Higgins, which first appeared (as a separate volume, but called the 'First Part') in 1574, and were joined to the original collection in 1587. It is not merely a disadvantage that the present edition should lack such stories as those of Loqrine, Sabrine, and Cordila; it fails in fact to represent the *Mirror* as it would be known to a reader of the fifteen-nineties, the period in which these legends had their most effective influence on poetry and drama. There is perhaps less of a case for including Blenerhasset's supplement of 1574 (not in 1587) and Niccols's continuation (1610), as Haslewood did; Blenerhasset is, so to speak, an unsuccessful applicant for admission to the *Mirror*, as William Wyrley describes himself in *The True Use of Armore* (1592), and Niccols is not unfairly characterized by Professor Campbell when she says that he 'played Colley Cibber to the *Mirror*'. But Elizabethan readers were not purists, and the *Mirror* was a popular work, obviously regarded as an expanding framework. Ideally, Higgins's tragedies should have been in the present volume, and Blenerhasset and Niccols (if somewhat ill-assorted) should follow in a second. Professor Campbell makes no defence of her exclusion of Higgins, and she presumably would still hold by what she wrote of the *Mirror* in 1935—'its primary importance lies in the fact that it popularized as literature the stories of English and British history'.¹

In all other important respects the present edition is satisfactory. It has been beautifully printed and produced, without sacrificing the convenience of textual notes below the text, and there is a generous supply of colotype illustrations. Included in the appendices are collations of Sackville's contribution with the version in the recently published St John's College manuscript,² and of two of the Scottish legends with the versions in Harleian MS. 2252.³ The editor has included an immense

¹ *Tudor Conceptions of History and Tragedy in 'A Mirror for Magistrates'* (University of California Press, 1936).

² It should be noted that Professor Campbell's readings occasionally differ from those of Miss Marguerite Hearsey in her edition of the manuscript, especially in the newly-discovered lines at the end.

³ In checking this I have found two or three small errors and doubtful readings; the only one affecting the sense is on p. 549, l. 52, where 'torne' should read 'sorne'.

amount of information, mainly biographical and bibliographical, in her 60-page introduction, which is admirably selected and lucidly presented. She disclaims any intention of 'settling the problems of [the] printing history, or [the] literary or political significance' of the *Mirror*, but this is unduly modest, especially in the former respect, of the widely shared credit in the preliminary clearing of these problems, a large part must be hers.

Nevertheless, much still remains to be done on the *Mirror*. The present edition does not, for example, provide commentary or glossary; and the content, form, language and metre of these poems all deserve expert attention. To take a small point, some one should try to discover the motive or special circumstance behind the extensive stylistic revisions of the 1578 edition, many of which were not incorporated in 1587. Professor Campbell herself will, it is hoped, further explore the complex and highly significant inter-relations of the verse legends, the chronicles, the history plays, and contemporary politics. The importance of the *Mirror* in the development of Elizabethan tragedy (narrative as well as dramatic) has already been ably demonstrated by Professor Willard Farnham. But more could still be said of the form and style of the *Mirror*. The poems of Baldwin, Ferrers, Churchyard, Sackville and their very numerous imitators ought to be studied as experiments in a definite form, a form which remained popular for some sixty years, and which became as conventionalized yet variable as the sonnet-sequence or the pastoral. Both the conventions and the variations are essential to an understanding of the technique of the Elizabethan 'long poem' as a whole; and such a study would reveal not only much fine poetry, but also the continuity of sixteenth-century poetic style, which critical pre-occupation with the lyrics, the drama, and Spenser has perhaps hitherto concealed. For such an approach the new edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates* is a necessary preliminary.

KATHLEEN TILLOTSON.

LONDON.

Shakespeare's Life and Art. By PETER ALEXANDER. London: James Nisbet. 1938. vi+247 pp. 8s. 6d.

The title of this book recalls, and no doubt is meant to recall, that of Dowden's more bulky *Shakspeare: his Mind and Art*. It is now sixty-four years since Dowden published what he described as an 'attempt to connect the study of Shakspeare's works with an enquiry after the personality of the writer'. From that time, to the publication of Professor Alexander's book last December, there has been no work which puts together, in so satisfactory a way, and within such moderate compass, what can be known about Shakespeare. Yet the intervening years have been marked by that enormous output of which some record will be found amid the Herculean labours of Sir Edmund Chambers's two-volume *William Shakespeare*. What has been the result of all our mass

of published research? Can it be said that the Englishman reading Shakespeare is better instructed about him than he was sixty years ago, in Dowden's day?

We might answer this question by comparing together the review by Richard Simpson in *The Academy* (27 February 1875) which heralded Dowden's book, and the article in which Mr St John Ervine welcomes in *The Observer* the work of Professor Alexander in 'restoring Shakespeare's credit'. Dr Alexander's book contains, Mr St John Ervine truly tells us, 'a most impressive and valuable examination of the plays as a proof of the mental and spiritual development of their author'. He devotes the rest of the fifteen hundred words of his article to showing how Dr Alexander, following the late Dr Smart, has proved that Francis Bacon did not write Shakespeare; and he does this so well that his article is worth cutting out and preserving for future reference.

But that it should be worth while to write such an article shows to what a pass the 'Shakespeare industry' has brought us. As Charles Gore has said on other subjects, 'So many theories let loose in the air produce in "intelligent", but uncritical, minds a feeling that everything . . . is uncertain, but that meanwhile all theories are interesting. This frame of mind—which hardly even seeks . . . to form decisions or convictions for life—is indeed disastrous.'

In 1787 George Washington wrote: 'Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair.' It is such a standard which we most need to-day, in every department of life. For our Shakespearian studies Dr Alexander has issued a stirring recall to sanity. Twentieth-century scholarship has too long imitated the lady in *Piers Plowman* who, in her Biblical reading, came to the text *omnia probate*, 'and that pleased her heart': but, as the leaf ended there, she omitted to turn over to *quod bonum est tenete*. This Pauline text might have been justly prefixed to Dr Alexander's book, as Professor Klaeber, with equal right, prefixed it to his *Beowulf* Notes. No one has been more thoroughgoing than Dr Alexander in making trial of our accepted Shakespeare-dogmas, and in abandoning even such time-honoured figures as Carlyle's 'poor Warwickshire Peasant' 'whom Sir Thomas Lucy, many thanks to him, was for sending to the Treadmill!'. But he holds fast to that which is sound, with the result that the broad framework of his book resembles that with which Dowden has made us familiar.

That Shakespeare's work can be very conveniently divided into four periods is a fact, but Dr Alexander takes care to avoid those question-begging names by which Dowden in his statement of this fact gave an opening to subsequent exaggerations. Those exaggerations have been heaped up until the continuity and consistency of Shakespeare's plays have been concealed under a mass of reckless biographical conjecture accepted as fact. The plays of Shakespeare's Third and Fourth Periods are the same in Dowden and in Alexander (except that Alexander includes *All's Well* in the Third Period). But in place of the well-worn *Out of the Depths* and *On the Heights* we have the more cautious chapter-headings 'From the opening of the Globe (1599) to the taking over of

the Blackfriars Theatre (1608)' and 'From the opening of the Blackfriars (1608) to the burning of the Globe Theatre (1613)'.

Those who are familiar with Dr Alexander's earlier work will expect to find, and will find, a satisfactory account of the young Shakespeare. Stratford was no village of ignorant yokels: long before Shakespeare's day 'it had given London a Lord Mayor, and England an Archbishop of Canterbury'. A better understanding of the phrase 'upstart crow' and of the bibliographical problems of *The Contention* and *The True Tragedie* opens the way for a picture of Shakespeare's First Period free from the misunderstandings which have dogged it for a century and a half. Here Dr Alexander is following in the track of Dr John Semple Smart, a great scholar and teacher whose memory he loses no opportunity of honouring. It is a dozen years since Dr Alexander transcribed the pencilled notes of Dr Smart, and so made possible the publication of his work. How he has continued Dr Smart's work 'as Dr Smart on his death bed bade him', in his *Henry VI and Richard III*, is known to every student of Shakespeare. But people have been very slow to see that our acceptance of the results of Smart and Alexander must carry with it a very thorough revision of our outlook on Shakespeare's work as an artist.

It is impossible to summarize this book briefly. Certain leading doctrines may be noted. To Dr Alexander, 'the root of almost every error about Shakespeare' is the idea 'that Shakespeare is not among the supreme artists of the world'. That Shakespeare 'wanted art', that, in the words of Rowe, 'art had so little and nature so large a share in what he did', has been stated dogmatically by a succession of great critics and great poets. I remember listening as an undergraduate to the first academic discourse A. E. Housman ever gave. 'Virgil and the Greeks', Housman told us on 3 October 1892, 'would have made Shakespeare not merely a great genius, which he was already, but, like Milton, a great artist, which he is not'; and he continued:

Perhaps it is not too much to hope that with the example of the classics before him he would have developed a literary conscience and taken a pride in doing his best, instead of scamping his work because he knew his audience would never find out how ill he was writing. But it was not to be; and there is only too much justice in the exclamation of that eminent Shakespearian critic King George III, 'Was there ever such stuff as great part of Shakespeare?'

And Housman clinched this by declaiming, 'Her eyes became two spouts'. 'The classics', he concluded, '*must* have done for Shakespeare what they did for Milton.' W. P. Ker was seated beside Housman, and I fancy that, as with his paper on Burns on a later occasion, Housman was seeking to provoke his colleague; but in a less provocative way this verdict has been repeated from the beginning of Shakespearian criticism to the present time.

Against Housman, Dr Alexander calls the witness of an even greater poet:

'The "Paradise Lost,"' wrote Keats, 'though so fine in itself, is a corruption of our language... a northern dialect accommodating itself to Greek and Latin inversions and intonations.' Shakespeare [Alexander continues] is master of a purer

English. His worst manner is, perhaps, his most Latinized style. And what is unpleasing in *Titus* is not untutored barbarism but the artificial and imitative. (p. 76.)

There have been other protests, above all one which Dr Alexander quotes effectively, that of Wordsworth:

How long may it be before it becomes universally acknowledged that the judgment of Shakespeare in the selection of his materials, and in the manner in which he has made them, heterogeneous as they often are, constitute a unity of their own, and contribute all to one great end, is not less admirable than his imagination, his invention, and his intuitive knowledge of human Nature? (p. 6)

Peculiarly enlightening is Dr Alexander's parallel between the erroneous judgment upon Shakespeare and that upon Gothic architecture:

The age of 'enlightenment' had as little perception of the structural integrity of Shakespeare's work as it had of the engineering science of the Gothic builders. But architects and archaeologists have shown the fallacy of the traditional judgment. 'Gothic' was long thought ignorant and barbarous. Nevertheless: Its foundations are laid deep in the ancient civilizations of the world, and whether one considers the colour of its glass, of which the flame was kindled in the Persia of the Sassanids, or the Euclidean precision of its framework, that speaks of the mathematical genius of Greece, the elements that make up its perfection are in their variety only less wonderful than the unity in which all coalesce. . .

It is because of this inward vital power that there is between the Greeks and Shakespeare, as there is between Greek and Gothic, for all their outward and obvious differences, a profound artistic kinship, deeper than that to be attained by any direct imitation, however zealous and scholarly... To suppose that Shakespeare lacks 'sureness of perfect style' because his diction and phrasing would be out of place in *Paradise Lost* is like criticizing the south spire at Chartres because it will not fit St Paul's or St Peter's. (pp. 4, 7.)

It is no part of Professor Alexander's business to give us an aesthetic discourse on the nature of Shakespeare's art. He indicates what Shakespeare is seeking to do; he clears the ground by destroying many long established fallacies; and he leaves his reader to follow up the train of thought which has been indicated, and to ponder for himself on Shakespeare's intention.

In combating the view that Shakespeare is no artist, Dr Alexander is resisting an ancient but, let us hope, a declining heresy. The peculiar heresy of our day, that the Shakespeare of the tragedies was a pessimist or a defeatist, finds in Dr Alexander an even sterner combatant. To Dr Alexander the essence of Shakespearian tragedy is that the 'very lack of correspondence between the infinite within and the limited world without, while it calls forth the poet's sympathies to redress the balance, also reveals most plainly to him the real nature of the heart':

And so strongly does this revelation grow upon the poet, and the reader to whom his virtue goes out, that in tragedy, at least, the sense of pity for virtue in an unrewarding world gives place to the assurance that such virtue is above the rewards the world can give....

Any view of *Hamlet*, or of tragedy in general, which represents it as the outcome of some distaste for existence, or inspired by misery and despair, misses the artist's intention and distorts Shakespeare's story....

Such a view is contrary to common experience as well as to the intuitions of religion. The Christian does not regard earthly misfortune and disaster as the evidence of wickedness, though this is what every perverse generation is only too ready to take as a sign of guilt or sin. The friends of Job argued thus, and the argument that

failure to survive in the struggle for existence necessarily reveals some defect in the victim is only the old materialism in modern guise...

Tragedy is no more than an extreme instance of the exercise of that self-determination which gives men bounded in the nutshell of their material existence the infinite space their souls desire. (pp. 63, 142, 144, 147.)

Of course these words, like much else that Dr Alexander writes, will not be understood by those who regard Macbeth's disillusionment as demonstrating the disillusionment of William Shakespeare.

All our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death.

Mr Bernard Shaw and others [says Dr Alexander] have considered this a proof of Shakespeare's profound pessimism. But had Shakespeare represented a murderer like Macbeth as a man of cheerful yesterdays and confident to-morrows, he would indeed have despaired of human nature. Here are words bitter with the very dregs of despair, but in the mouth of Macbeth they reveal in the dramatist a faith in the rule of righteousness as firm as that graven in the Aeschylean Chorus, which tells how memory of wrong-doing becomes in sleep an agony to the heart, and how the unwise become wise against their will. Nothing could be more classic than the revelation of this truth to Lady Macbeth: the linking of sleep and the deeper knowledge one would deny by day is truly Aeschylean in its solemnity and power to move tragic fear. (p. 171.)

One of the weak points of Dowden's book, as Richard Simpson noted at the time, was the unconvincing way in which he attempted to relate Shakespeare to the spirit of his age: and here, as everywhere else, Dr Alexander speaks convincingly. Shakespeare's was 'a resolute and serious generation'.

Writing to the Queen of the war in the Netherlands Sir Philip Sidney had said: 'Methinks, I see the great work indeed in hand against the abusers of the world; wherein it is no greater fault to have confidence in man's power, than it is too hastily to despair of God's work.' This is indeed the consecration of the national spirit in the service of what Milton calls the free and heaven-born spirit of man. (p. 220.)

This is to see Shakespeare as Carlyle saw him: 'A true English heart breathes, calm and strong, through the whole business; not boisterous, protrusive; all the better for that. There is a sound in it like the ring of steel. This man had a right stroke in him, had it come to that.'

It is more clear to all now than it was when Carlyle wrote, or even when Dr Alexander wrote his book some months ago, that once again we must be serious and resolute, or must perish. Dr Alexander has written a book which should teach us all to think and feel in the spirit in which the men of 1588 (and the men of 1914) acted. Men pass, but that spirit lives:

Eigi eru enn allir Jomsvikingar dauðir.

LONDON.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

The Sonnets of Shakespeare and Southampton. Edited by WALTER THOMSON. Oxford: Blackwell. 1938. 199 pp. 12s. 6d.

Shakespeare's Sonnets. Edited by C. F. TUCKER BROOKE. London: Oxford University Press. 1936. 346 pp. 21s.

These two books play tricks with Shakespeare's Sonnets, one in an unscholarly, the other in a scholarly way. Mr Thomson is not a scholar

and the results of his long reading of the poems are to make him 'express strong and earnest expostulation against the allegation that Shakespeare in his Sonnets or elsewhere made confession of moral perversity' and 'to suggest for consideration, not to assert, that Shakespeare wrote only about one hundred of the Sonnets usually attributed to him, . . . that the greater number of the remainder of the Sonnets are probably from the pen of Southampton or were collected by him . . .'. Mr Thomson's belief in the normality of Shakespeare's mind fills him with a crusading zeal against Wilde and Butler and their followers, he inveighs against Schmidt for his explanation of 'master-mistress' (Son. 20), and demands a new Lexicon on the strength of it. Sonnet 20 is crucial for him, and he tries to make it innocent by reiterating that the word 'passion' meant also 'poem'. But he misses the real objection to any theory of homosexuality based on that Sonnet, which is, that the psychology of its writer is not homosexual but heterosexual. The true homosexual finds no pleasure in woman and is repelled by the female body, but is excessively jealous if his friend has anything to do with the other sex. Shakespeare, however, regrets that his friend was not a woman, physically as well as mentally, and urges him, without jealousy, to use women for his own pleasure and theirs, while keeping all his true affection for his male friend.

The remainder of Mr Thomson's argument, tending to show that all the Dark Lady sonnets were written by Southampton, probably in prison after the Essex rising, does not deserve serious consideration. He prints the *Sonnets*, *A Lovers Complaint*, and *The Phoenix and Turtle* (together with the other poems from *Love's Martyr*). These latter poems he regards as 'a tribute from theatrical friends to Southampton' (in prison), 'a means to get into his hands a communication declaring their admiration and affection, and imparting a ray of hope'. Southampton is the Phoenix, Shakespeare the 'treble dated Crow' (Shade of Robert Greene!).

Professor Tucker Brooke's book is in quite another category. His scholarship is well known. His Introduction provides perhaps the best technical account of the Shakespearian form, of the relationship between the plays and the Sonnets, and of the linking of many of the latter by verbal ties or sequence of thought. He finds that the first 126 poems in Thorpe's Quarto consist of 13 isolated poems, and 38 groups made up of 17 groups of 2 sonnets each, 8 groups of 3 sonnets each, 10 groups of 4 sonnets each, and 3 groups of 5 sonnets each. 'This is consistent with the hypothesis that the sonnets were normally written and sent to the friend in groups such as would not overfill a sheet of Elizabethan paper, and that these sheets were the ultimate basis of the Quarto text.' Apparently the order of the sheets was changed, probably in the printing-house after the first 35 sonnets had been numbered or set up.

We may suspect that the Sonnets as we have them do not appear in chronological order, and we may admire Professor Brooke's daring and ingenuity in rearranging them according to his own idea of the poet's mind and story. But the result is arbitrary and in finding some links he has overlooked others.

For instance, Professor Brooke takes Sonnets 94-6 and places them

after 70. But 94 carries on the thought of 92-3, substituting the image of 'Lilies that fester' for that of 'Eve's apple' (fair without and false within) in 93. The tone of 70, with its faint suspicion, is far removed from that of these other poems, which, in their more open accusation, may well have been written later. Mr Brooke places 81 with 71-74. In 80 Shakespeare accepts inferiority as a poet; it ends

Then if he thrive, and I be cast away,
The worst was this; my love was my decay.

Now the idea of decay enters also in 81, though with a difference:

Or I shall live your epitaph to make,
Or you survive when I in earth am rotten

and Shakespeare goes on to declare that his verse will endure. It seems possible that this sonnet was written in a mood of rebellion against the mood of 80. He refuses to 'decay' in any sense; his friend may cast him off, but

Your monument shall be my gentle verse.

The poem has little in common with 71-74, where the attitude to death is different.

Such points suggest the doubtful propriety of Professor Brooke's rearrangement. The attempt was worth making if only because it stimulates one to examine Thorpe's order more closely and perhaps to find relationships of revulsion and antithesis and distant association of ideas which one had not hitherto suspected.

Professor Brooke's notes are useful. He seems to accept J. A. Fort's suggestion that Sonnets 153-4 were written 'to a lady who was going to stay at Bath'. Bath is probably the place meant, but it was Shakespeare who had been there and had not been cured of a distemperature which he ascribed to love. Since he says that his mistress's eyes alone can cure him, she was presumably not there. Nor is there any hint of her visiting the place.

G. BULLOUGH.

SHEFFIELD.

A Study in Milton's Christian Doctrine. By ARTHUR SEWELL. London: Oxford University Press. 1939. [xv]+214 pp. 7s. 6d.

In the present volume Mr Sewell considerably modifies, without retreating from, the bold conclusions to which his ingenious reasoning led him in 1934.¹ He still holds that the alterations in the *De Doctrina* in Skinner's and the two unidentified hands postdated (as he now puts it) the early books of *Paradise Lost*, and he still assumes that the first fourteen chapters of the treatise were re-copied because they abounded in such alterations. But he no longer asserts that '*De Doctrina Christiana*, rather than *Paradise Lost*, must be our authority for what we hold to have been final in Milton's beliefs'.² On the contrary, 'the later poems

¹ *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XIX, 1934, pp. 40-66. Cf. p. ix of the work under review, n. 4

² *Essays and Studies*, XIX, p. 66.

report 'a more fundamental part' of Milton's mind, 'perhaps in many places the whole man'. 'What Milton really believed . . . may be something different from the doctrine argued in *De Doctrina Christiana*' (p. xiii).

All serious students agree that the bitter disappointment of Milton's hopes for England, for religion and for freedom brought him face to face with himself and with the God in whom he had trusted, and ultimately issued in the more spiritual religion of the last poems. They will find in Mr Sewell's book much that is suggestive and illuminating. They will sympathize with his desire to draw the often harsh and intractable matter of the *De Doctrina* into his scheme. But they will be repeatedly disturbed by his too insistent effort to secure a verdict in favour of his new brief, and at the same time to salvage as much as possible of his old one.

We can select only a few points for criticism here.

(1) Mr Sewell persists in stating: 'The most important new developments in Milton's thought shown in the revised portions of the treatise concerned the abrogation of the Mosaic Law and the more exact description of Gospel liberty' (p. 22). In reality all the important developments had occurred before a single revision was made. The abrogation, by the Gospel, of the *whole* Mosaic Law, including the Decalogue (already asserted, as Milton discovers, by Zanchius and Cameron, and, as he might have discovered, by Luther); the belief, nevertheless, that 'the sum and essence of the Law is not hereby abrogated, its purpose being attained in that love of God and our neighbour, which is born of the spirit through faith'; the full definition of Christian liberty; the antithesis between subjection to the Law as negative, compulsory and servile, and acceptance of the Gospel as positive, voluntary and free; the inferences respecting the letter and the spirit, and the jurisdiction of the magistrate, especially in matters of religion: all these things are fully set forth in Picard's hand by 1660. The revisions merely assert (i) that the Law (while still in force) applied to the Jews alone, its office being fulfilled for the Gentiles by the law of nature, and (ii) that (as already stated in Picard's hand in the exposition of Acts 15. 10, 11)¹ in the Old Testament salvation or eternal life was by faith, not by the Law. Of the abrogation of the Law by the Gospel and of Christian liberty the revisions have nothing new to say.

(2) But Mr Sewell has always rested his case mainly on the chapters re-copied by Skinner, which he holds to embody extensive and important revisions. It is a rather damaging admission then, though obviously one demanded by the facts, that two of the most important, iii and iv, on the Divine Decrees and Predestination, expound a position already reached when Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*, Book III (p. 137). For just as the facts elicited above shake one's confidence in the importance of the known revisions in the treatise, so this fact raises the question whether the importance of the divergences between the poem and the first fourteen chapters, and of the revisions assumed to have been made in those chapters themselves, has not likewise been greatly exaggerated.

¹ *Columbia Milton*, xvi, p. 110.

(a) Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious; *in him all his Father shone*
Substantially expressed; and in his face
Divine compassion visibly appeared.... (III, 138-41.)

(b) The passage describing the Son as
 throned in highest bliss
Equal to God, and equally enjoying
God-like fruition.... (III, 305-7.)

38-2

Or perhaps Milton repented of the gift of equal glory. But certainly not of the gift of equal enjoyment: of *highest* bliss or *God-like* fruition. For at the end of *Paradise Regained* these reappear, in significant conjunction with the view of the Son as the image of the Father, and again with the keyword *throned*. The Son is

True image of the Father, whether throned
In the bosom of bliss, and light of light
Conceiving, or remote from Heaven, enshrined
In fleshly tabernacle and human form....

Here at least Milton has not changed his mind.

(4) In his treatment of the creation Mr Sewell makes some very interesting points, but does not always develop them fully. We will mention only one. No doubt many students of Milton have already decided for themselves that *Paradise Lost*, vii, 168-73, 'requires an interpretation precisely opposite to Professor Saurat's' (p. 125), and will be proportionately grateful to Mr Sewell for boldly saying so, though he does not himself quite escape the famous interpretation of 'retraction' (p. 133), or go as far as he might in demonstration. To do so would require a careful comparison with the *Timaeus* (of whose influence on *Paradise Lost* Mr Sewell appears unaware) and with the writings of Fludd (where one can find 'retraction' in its Miltonic form). In following out this inquiry one might perhaps discover a good case for regarding the poem, and not the treatise, as embodying, in this instance at least, the final development of Milton's thought.

A. S. P. WOODHOUSE.

TORONTO.

Sir William Davenant, Poet Laureate and Playwright-Manager. By ARTHUR H. NETHERCOT. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; London: Cambridge University Press. [1938.] viii + 488 pp. 20s.

In a brief foreword, Professor Nethercot defends the production of this second study of Davenant so soon after Professor Harbage's *Sir William Davenant* (1935) on the grounds that his book not only contains new material but places more stress on biographical detail: he is more interested in the man than in his work. The book's best justification, however, is its own quality; it makes excellent reading and renders real service to scholarship by its vitality and animation. Professor Nethercot has incorporated in his biography a very impressive amount of information on seventeenth-century history, life and personalities, but the reader is never surfeited with facts; he maintains a high standard of accuracy without sacrificing the imagination which is essential to the re-creation of a living human being.

Davenant's life is covered in detail from his Oxford origins to his death at the age of sixty-two—a very respectable age considering the arduous and endurances of his chequered career. Professor Nethercot takes the theatre to be Davenant's ruling passion and argues that his

activities as courtier, soldier and would-be statesman were but temporary diversions from his real love. They bulk large, however, and fill considerably more than half of this rather large book. Inevitably, theatrical history is compressed; perhaps quite properly in a book which is primarily a biography, but an adequate history of the Duke's Company remains a desideratum. No attempt has been made to fill in the outlines traced by Professor Hotson in *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (1928), or to investigate the Chancery suits there listed but not discussed in detail. There are still unused documents in the Public Record Office (e.g. the depositions in *Davenant v. Witherings*, a suit discussed by Hotson), and Chancery documents of later date often throw light on Sir William's activities.

Professor Nethercot has, however, given us one Chancery Bill and Answer, a suit brought by Davenant against a tailor named John Urswick. The documents, which are reproduced in Appendix III, are informative, but not so entertaining as many contemporary lawsuits. Those concerning the death of Thomas Warren (Appendix IV), whom Davenant killed 'inadvertently', are of greater interest and present a more vivid picture of seventeenth-century life. It is a pity that Professor Nethercot has missed one document to which Professor Sisson draws my attention: a recognizance recorded in the Middlesex Sessions Register (iv, 249 and 255), by which Davenant undertakes to carry out the magistrates' orders relating to a bastard attributed to him by one Marie — (the surname is indecipherable). Davenant describes himself as of Oxford, gentleman, and the date is 6th February 22 James I (1625).

But, in general, good use has been made of documentary sources, and the book reveals an extensive acquaintance with the by-ways of seventeenth-century literature and anecdote. The critical apparatus is, so far as I have been able to check it, accurate, but suffers from one serious defect, a tendency to quote secondary rather than primary sources; e.g. the first footnote on p. 368 refers to Nicoll and Halliwell-Phillips instead of to their source, the Lord Chamberlain's records. The danger of this method becomes apparent in the footnotes citing Montague Summers, who is notorious for his failure to produce any authority at all for his statements. It is also a great pity that there is no subject index.

ELEANORE MURRIE.

EDINBURGH.

The Relation of Molière to Restoration Comedy. By JOHN WILCOX. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1938. ix + 240 pp. 15s.

This is an exceedingly valuable book dealing with a problem of comparative literature concerning which there has hitherto been much unintelligent dogmatizing and much vague conjecture but very little clear thinking or helpful criticism. What is the real relationship between Molière and the English Comedy of Manners? Mr Wilcox is, I believe, the first critic who has produced a satisfying answer to that difficult and

intricate question, and his success is due to the fact that he has not merely assembled and classified a large mass of evidence, but has also applied to that material a critical judgment of an order which is unfortunately only too rare among literary research workers.

Mr Wilcox begins his approach to the subject with a careful examination of the 'Background' of previous opinion on the subject from Langbaine and Voltaire to Macaulay, Thackeray, Gosse and more recent writers in England, France, Germany and America. He concludes this survey with words that describe admirably the scope of his own inquiry: 'An investigation is needed that will give accurate information regarding the exact nature and extent of each borrowing from Molière in Restoration Comedy, appraise these borrowings judiciously as contributions to the development of each author using him, and show clearly the extent and limits of his influence on the English Comedy of Manners.'

Instead of passing on at once to grapple with the great mass of English plays that have or are alleged to have some relation to the work of Molière, Mr Wilcox very wisely pauses at this point, and devotes a whole chapter to a consideration of the right method of dealing with a problem of this kind. After showing how supposed examples of 'literary influence' are often due to the independent use by authors of different types of literary commonplace, he avails himself of the distinction between Spirit, Matter and Form used by Goethe and Herder in order to classify real 'influences', and formulates three very useful criteria as guides to his inquiry. Starting from these firm foundations, he proceeds to build up an investigation which for thoroughness and acuteness must be unexcelled among recent literary studies in the English language. A consideration of seven illustrative English adaptations of Molière by Restoration authors is followed by a series of studies of the works of the chief writers of Restoration Comedy with reference to their relationship or alleged relationship to Molière's plays. Finally, in a very interesting chapter, there is an attempt to view the borrowings in relation to their background, consisting of the large number of English comedies of the period which owe nothing whatever to Molière.

Mr Wilcox's conclusions finally explode the notion which still lingers in many quarters that the English Restoration comedies owe any considerable debt to Molière in particular or to French comedy in general. He shows that Molière was indeed freely pillaged for characters and situations especially by dramatists of the second and third rank, but that his Spirit, Matter and Form were wholly alien to the English theatre of the Restoration and had no real influence at all on the English writers, who, in the main, continued dramatic traditions which go back to the times of Ben Jonson, Fletcher, Brome and Shirley. The only real exceptions to this general rule are Wycherley, and Shadwell in a single play. Mr Wilcox's study of Wycherley is, perhaps, his most notable critical achievement; he shows in a convincing way that Wycherley's two last plays owe a real debt to Molière, and that it was probably through the reaction of Wycherley's mind to Molière's art that the English writer achieved greatness.

To accompany Mr Wilcox in the orderly yet highly stimulating exploration which leads to these conclusions is an experience which should be of the highest value not only to the specialist in seventeenth-century drama but to all students of comparative literature. His book includes a useful chronology of Molière, valuable bibliographies and a good index.

V. DE SOLA PINTO.

NOTTINGHAM.

The Letters of William Shenstone. Edited by MARJORIE WILLIAMS. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1939. xxviii + 700 pp. 32s. 6d.

The latest collection of Shenstone's letters is the largest, the most fully annotated, and the most elaborate with respect to ancillary apparatus so far to appear. Miss Williams has reprinted all the generally known letters and has added many from obscure sources, some of them hitherto unpublished. Unfortunately, she has overlooked several letters that have been quoted or announced in print: one to the Duchess of Somerset (*PMLA*, XLVI, p. 1113), two to Hylton (*Cornhill Magazine*, LXI, n.s., pp. 79-80), and one to William Lyttelton (Wyndham, *Chronicles of the Eighteenth Century*, I, p. 178). A letter to Lady Luxborough dated 22 March 1749, in a manuscript collection at Harvard, whence she drew other valuable items, also escaped her notice. There are a few other minor omissions.

Shenstone's letters present perplexing problems in chronology. Miss Williams has produced a generally satisfactory sequence. Closer study of the Shenstone-Luxborough correspondence might have enabled her to date a few letters more closely, where dates were wanting: XCIX, between 20 September and 10 October 1749; CI, 3 November 1749; and CII, between 3 November and 8 November 1749. Two postscripts are out of order in the manuscript from which Miss Williams took most of the letters to Lady Luxborough: one, Miss Williams has assigned to its proper place (Letter CLX), but the other is appended to the letter of 3 June 1749, whereas it belongs by context to the letter of 4 June 1750.

In the production of diplomatic texts from manuscripts, Miss Williams has worked with thoroughness and discrimination, but her proof-readers have allowed an unduly large number of petty errors to persist (99 were found in 15 letters examined at random), as indeed they have, though less frequently, in other parts of the volume. In her transcriptions from the chief printed source (*Letters to Particular Friends*, Dodsley, 1769), Miss Williams's following of the text of the first edition without reference to the later ones based upon it has resulted occasionally in slight distortions of meaning or emphasis:

p. 38, XXI, line 5 following salutation, insert *not* after *could*.

p. 59, line 8, insert *not* after *does*.

p. 122, line 28, insert *it* after *receiving*.

p. 495, line 8, insert *very* before *man*.

Of special interest are the variant versions of letters, some of which Miss Williams prints. Two interesting ones she apparently overlooked

(B.M. Add. MSS. 21508, fol. 38 ff. and 24419, fol. 3),¹ and in one instance she has printed variants as though they were distinct letters (CCXXII and CCXXIII).

The annotation is very full, though occasionally erroneous and sometimes tenuously conjectural. The documentation might in some instances be more complete.

DUNCAN MALLAM.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA.

Mary Shelley. A Biography By R. GLYNN GRYLLS. London: Oxford University Press. 1938. xvi+345 pp. 18s.

The Unextinguished Hearth. Shelley and his Contemporary Critics. By NEWMAN IVEY WHITE. Durham, N C.: Duke University Press. 1938. xvi+397 pp. \$3.00.

On Shelley. London: Oxford University Press. 1938. vii+99 pp. 5s.

The life of Mary Shelley presents peculiar difficulties for the biographer. Overshadowed by her husband during his lifetime, Mary became after his death but a brooding, introspective and retrospective figure, her spring of life broken, forced by financial necessity to write novels for a livelihood until the so long delayed death of her father-in-law, shortly before her own, brought ironically belated relief. Such in brief and in its truest perspective was the life of Mary Shelley, a short period of passionate absorption in her husband's genius, affection, ideas, idealisms and sorrows followed by the long years of anticlimax after his death, an anticlimax of which she was ever bitterly conscious, and in which her chief consolations were sentimentalized memories, an increasing idealization of the husband so early lost, and the expression in her romances of this inner world of psychological compensations into which she gradually retreated from reality. It was thus that, long before Matthew Arnold, her own idealized image of Shelley as an 'ineffectual angel' was created, and the so misleading Shelley legend began.

But to present Mary Shelley in this perspective in a detailed biography is almost impossible. For in the first period, so treated, Mary must appear as a merely subsidiary, almost passive associate of her gifted husband, must seem less conspicuous, less dramatic in her self-restraint and largely negative virtues than so many other men and women in Shelley's circle, while in the later period of her existence she appears little more than a ghost, a spirit of sorrow, of pity, of memory and regret lingering upon a darkened stage from which the genius which was her light and life has departed.

In such a dilemma the duty of the biographer is surely to set his subject, Mary Shelley, firmly and conspicuously in the centre of his stage, to arrange his values in the terms of that figure rather than of absolutes, to admit that his perspective is but factitious and temporary, and by incidental allusions and a final survey to remind the reader of

¹ Letters CLXXXII and CLXXIX, the former reproduced from a printed source only (Hull's *Select Letters*, I, p. 227).

that other, permanent scale of values which has for the moment been set aside. Nor would a view from this angle be all loss, even from the absolute standpoint. It would focus attention upon several important but largely overlooked circumstances of Shelley's life and facets of character, and would demonstrate beyond all doubt that Shelley had the luck perhaps rather than the wisdom to choose from amongst the maddening bevy of chiefly hysterical, pseudo-intellectual, idealistic, sentimental, foolish or futile females who throughout his existence wasted his time and energy and reduced him largely to futility, almost the only honest, honourable, sincere and able woman of them all. The character of Mary Shelley, its development through high ideals, bitter trials and disappointments against the background of her husband's genius and so largely mediocre circle of acquaintance, on through the dreary, empty years of regret, of sordid trials, of hardship and sentimental retrospection during which the legendary Shelley of her romantic imagination was born, would, from this standpoint, be the portrait the biographer must present, one involving nice shades of colour, beauty and ugliness, joy and sorrow, humour and irony, all the subtleties of inter-related human actions.

Miss Grylls, however, has not seen the subject in this light, and the result is a work which resolves itself into a necessarily unsatisfactory account of Shelley's life (with many references to his wife Mary), followed by an equally unsatisfying account of Mary Shelley in widowhood, and in its final pages degenerates into a hotch-potch of documents and information about the later Shelley family, its interest in private theatricals and in the Bournemouth Bicycle Club! How confused, how 'undigested' is Miss Grylls' material, the mosaic of text, quotations and footnotes shows, while as a biography it must surely be unique in relegating the death of its subject to a footnote! (p. 249). Nor can this work rival the literary grace, the understanding and sympathy for a woman almost of her own period that Mrs Marshall showed in her excellent two-volume *Life of Mary Shelley* published in 1889; still less the fine insight into character and fundamental significance that makes Richard Church's short study of Mary Shelley, published in 1928, so interesting and valuable.

Nevertheless, Miss Grylls' painstaking and honest account of Mary Shelley is far from negligible. Readable although undistinguished in style, it contains hitherto unpublished or but partially published material which, while in no case of fundamental importance, is often of considerable interest to readers of Shelley. Time, for the biographer, is a two-edged sword, and if Miss Grylls, more remote from Mary Shelley's day than was Mrs Marshall, understands her subject less completely than did her predecessor, she is also released from contemporary restrictions, which at times hampered Mrs Marshall's pen, may quote letters which both personal considerations and the manners of the time prevented Mrs Marshall from revealing, while others formerly unknown or inaccessible are now available and brought into use. Most of these letters, however, were written after Shelley's death.

Space permits but a cursory examination of detail in this biography. Miss Grylls has utilized the results of the considerable recent research relating to Shelley and his circle, but her treatment of Mary's gifted and unfortunate mother, whom in many ways Mary resembled, is regrettably casual, nor, even more surprisingly, does her bibliography contain such important works as Godwin's moving *Memoirs of Mary Wollstonecraft* or Mary Wollstonecraft's *Letters to Imlay*. It must suffice here to point out that Mary Shelley's own works are inadequately treated, both as contributions to the English novel and as biographical material, that the circumstances of Shelley's and Mary's departure for the continent in 1818 are painted in too rosy colours, that Mrs Marshall (1, p. 70) suggested adequate reasons for Shelley's taking Claire with them when he and Mary eloped (cf. Grylls, p. 31, footnote), that Miss Grylls does not seem to have seen the letter in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 10 July 1937 (p. 512) when making her own footnote 1 on p. 109, nor the protracted correspondence in the same journal of that year when making footnote 2 to p. 75, in reference to the famous Shelley letter of doubtful authenticity describing Harriet's moral decline and suicide.

These and other details are open to correction and discussion, but the chief defect of the volume lies in the writer's inability, after Shelley's death, to subordinate detail to the major significance of Mary Shelley's life. She was but twenty-five when Shelley died, and with his death it was as if some magic spell had broken, releasing and revealing the mediocre, often contemptible qualities of those who had gathered about him, no longer upheld and illumined by his own idealism. Of that circle, Mary almost alone continued to see life in the light of Shelley's ideal, to show unselfishness, generosity, nobility of feeling to those who, like Jane Williams and even the once loyal Trelawny, ultimately betrayed her. And while these followed their natural instincts in love and hate, while Jane Williams made her secret connexion and ultimate marriage with Hogg and traduced her former friend, while Trelawny vainly pestered Mary with proposals of marriage and later in his disappointment maligned her, Mary, ever more remote at heart, remained faithful to the memory and ideals of the husband who had been the mainspring of her own existence, recreating him in these later years into her absolute ideal—beyond what actuality had granted her. This surely was the biographical pattern to detach from inessential detail, but which is blurred and lost amidst long quotations from letters of Claire and others and general information about the interests and relaxations of the later Shelley family.

The Unextinguished Hearth, deserving more detailed consideration than space permits here, is an admirable collection of contemporary criticisms of Shelley preceded by a long and excellent introduction on Shelley and these periodical critics, including an account of the reviews of the time, of their attitude to politics, religion, morality, general taste, and to Shelley personally. The widespread belief that Shelley was ignored by his contemporaries here finds its surprisingly complete refutation, and not less surprising is the readiness of critics, even of those who most

violently attack Shelley's social, political and religious beliefs, to admit and respect Shelley's genius. Upon Shelley himself new light is thrown by this volume, particularly upon his earlier interest in public opinion of himself despite the appearance (and in a deeper sense the reality) of his scorn of it.

Of the three short essays that constitute the little volume *On Shelley*, essays such as usually appear only in academic journals, *Shelley is Expelled*, by Edmund Blunden, carries the most general appeal, but is marred by his almost tentative acceptance of Thornton Hunt's scandalous and unsupported and in many ways improbable suggestion about Shelley's conduct at Oxford, a suggestion which, if true, would surely have received much wider affirmation amidst the animus the atheistic Shelley aroused. So good a stick to beat a dog with would hardly have been neglected. There are, too, obvious 'Freudian' reasons for such suggestions, most frequently invented without any show of authority against the memories of the famous. Indeed, twenty years ago at Oxford the same tale went round undergraduate circles about Keats without, so far as I know, the slightest evidence in support, exactly as in this case of Shelley.

The last of these three essays, *Mary Shelley: Novelist and Dramatist*, by Sylva Norman, is a careful, somewhat unimaginative account of Mary, consisting largely of summaries of her works. The opening quotation from Mary Shelley's letters is rendered misleading through the omission of a long and important reference to Shelley. *The Atheist: An Incident at Chamonix*, by Gavin de Beer, discusses the various versions of the well-known tale relating to Shelley's having described himself in an inn album as *ἄθεος*. *On Shelley* as a whole throws little light upon the essential Shelley, and is of but minor and academic interest.

OSWALD DOUGHTY.

CAPE TOWN.

Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry. By DOUGLAS BUSH. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1937. xvi+647 pp. 21s.

Professor Bush has made the realm of mythology in modern English literature his own. His earlier volume, which dealt with the Renaissance period and the seventeenth century, was a milestone in scholarship, and is indispensable as an original and authoritative survey of its field and as a corrective to many *pseudodoxia epidemica*. The present volume can hardly fail to bear equal authority for the second half of the vast period of which the survey is now completed. Dr Bush has reached Mr Pound, Mr Eliot and Mr Jeffers in his concluding chapter upon American Poets, having set out (after an introductory chapter upon the Eighteenth Century) from Byron, Coleridge and Wordsworth.

Something of the spirit of Professor Bush's manner and temper in recording his extensive explorations may be gathered from his frequent happy inconsequence, which is only apparent inconsequence. 'The father

of English mythological poetry of the nineteenth century, the author of *We are Seven* (p. 50); 'Mr Eliot was born five months after the death of Matthew Arnold' (p. 508). The reader is buoyed up in his formidable task of reading a lengthy work of severe scholarship, fully supported by all its necessary *apparatus*, by the author's unfailing gaiety and wit, which never flattens into facetiousness, though he occasionally takes risks, and in general by his individual style of writing. Scholarship, to be scholarly, need not be unpalatable, as it too often is.

Professor Bush arrives at his own conclusions, but is no novelty-monger. He is fair to his poets, having a gift for liking many things, though capable of stern judgments. 'Tennyson, who can be so satiny, so weak and tame, is nevertheless the greatest English poet of the sea' (p. 210). In general, his chapter upon Tennyson is an admirable piece of creative criticism. His occasional severity is usually justifiable, as in a footnote upon a certain *Defence of Shelley* (p. 156). But the chapter on Shelley may raise some question of imperfect sympathy for all that.

An immense amount of reading has preceded the writing of this book, but nowhere has Professor Bush failed to keep his head above water. He has read his authors, and has them readily accessible in an alert mind, quick to recall and quote. And his familiarity with the classics is shown in the number of additional hints which he throws out, as well as in his competence to talk about Aeschylus or Vergil to good purpose. 'Research' in the narrow sense is to be found here also, as in his note upon *Lamia* and Potter's *Archaeologia Graeca* (p. 113). And he has been most faithful in his attention to critical writings, recorded in a valuable Bibliography in the appendix to the volume. The appendix contains, as in Dr Bush's first volume, a catalogue of mythological poems, limited by necessary restrictions, in chronological order, which is most instructive.

Dr Bush's short discussion of Wordsworth appears to me pregnant and stimulating, highly significant and fair. I think better of Maurice Hewlett than does Dr Bush. And I grieve that his plan eliminated from consideration certain matters of mythological interest in a wider scope, for example Edwin Arnold. But the scope is already immense. And this book is a critical work of great magnitude. We have reason to be grateful to its author for his labour, his critical mind, and his manner of setting forth his thought.

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

Rehabilitations and other Essays. By C. S. LEWIS. London: Oxford University Press. 1939. viii+197 pp. 7s. 6d.

It may seem ominous that Mr Lewis enters upon his process of rehabilitation, beginning with Shelley, by unfrocking Dryden. But he has been much provoked—in this instance by Mr Eliot. And his rehabilitations are not, in fact, a redistribution of alphas and gammas. He is more interested in appreciation than in denigration, an attitude heartily to be commended. Mr Lewis has some considerable advantages as a critic in these present days: he is a classical scholar, and he is a Christian.

We are in danger in these days of forgetting that English literature, in so far as it is worth observing, has been written by Christians, including Shakespeare for example. Shelley, after all, was a Christian *à rebours*. And the principal objection to Honours degrees in English is that they are apt to be substituted for a classical training, though Mr Lewis himself deliberately attacks this point of view, in his defence or rehabilitation of the English School at Oxford. But the truth is that it takes time for a fox with the requisite classical tail to appreciate the deficiencies of equilibrium and prehensility in the tailless variety. I feel that Mr Lewis has not dealt quite faithfully with the importance of the classics as an influence in English literature. For one thing, our Schools of English are not bent primarily upon the production of historians, but rather of instructed and critical readers, and students of English life and thought. Or so I conceive the matter. And I confess that I should prefer some experience of classical models and thought, as a basis for a critical education, to the study of Dr Richards which Mr Lewis recommends (p. 116), if one has to make an exclusive choice.

A Professor of the University of London, of course, with its long and honourable tradition in this matter, could hardly quarrel with Mr Lewis's plea for Old and Middle English. The common distinction between 'Language' and 'Literature' which dismisses the vast and gorgeous field of Middle English Literature as 'Language' is merely infuriating. The Voice of England after all is the great thing, our supreme study. And to this, incidentally, Mr Lewis's Low Brows and High Brows contribute—dare I say equally?

Mr Lewis could not possibly have written his remarkable chapter on 'Christianity and Literature' without both his qualifications for his critical task. They achieve a synthesis here which would have lent itself to a much fuller treatment—his next book, we may hope. I can only add that his discussion of *Prometheus Unbound* seems to me most illuminating, that he has new and true things to say about the way in which Shakespeare's mind worked, and that the whole set of essays excites equally the pedant and the amateur in one's breast. But the binding of his book is funereal and displeasing.

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

Le Lai d'Ignaure ou Lai du Prisonnier. By RENAUT. (Académie Royale de Langue et de Littérature française de Belgique.) Edited by RITA LEJEUNE. Bruxelles: Palais des Académies; Liège: H. Vaillant-Carmanne. 1938. 75 pp.

The good edition of this little poem furnished now by Mlle Lejeune is certainly welcome, for Renaut's work has both literary and historical interest. Its fundamental theme is legendary—the story of the lover's heart served up as a dish to his lady—and its hero, Ignaure, was evidently well known to Crestien de Troyes who gave of him in his *Lancelot* (ll. 5803–5809) a good thumb-nail portrait (cf. Introduction, p. 31).

Mlle Lejeune appears to me to have achieved successfully the task she set herself. the reproduction of the one manuscript containing the *Lai* with a minimum of corrections, and there are only two or three points on which I differ from her in the text. In l. 48 I should retain the reading *il*, replace the comma at the end of the next line by a full stop and interpret the passage: 'Each one pledged him her love entirely as he wished and (pledged) that he should be served as a count if he wished anything from her.' Varying dependent constructions are not infrequent in Old French and the stressed form *li* stands as a rule for *her* and not *him*. In ll. 52 and 55 I would adopt the corrections suggested by Bartsch, for the editor's admission of a 'phrase, un peu torturée' does not appear to me to meet the difficulties of the MS. reading here. In l. 459 replace *li* by *li*; l. 469 MS. *desirent*, either substitute the present participle *desirant* or retain the MS. reading, which is defensible because the verb *desirer* is occasionally completed by an infinitive introduced by *de* (cf. Tobler-Lommatsch), l. 625 replace *lors* by *lor* (indeclinable), expunge note on l. 136. we have here merely an example of the use of the compound tense of a reflexive verb, formed without reflexive pronoun (cf. Tobler, *Vrai Anel*, p. 31). Line 305 *Ceste raison n'est pas a moi* denotes, I take it, simply: 'This reason is not for me,' i.e. is not acceptable to me, and if so both the interpretation of *moi* in the vocabulary as *measure* and the two etymologies given in the Introduction, *medium*, p. 14, and *modium*, p. 15, fall to the ground. A careful study of the versification brings out points of interest, but I strongly deprecate the application of the term 'césure épique' to lines in which an extra unstressed syllable appears to be allowed after syllables other than the fourth.

The literary Introduction contains much of interest and here and in the interpretations of her text Mlle Lejeune shows the width of reading and discriminating competence that distinguished her earlier work on Jean Renart; the linguistic Introduction, I regret to have to point out, falls very considerably below this standard and contains not a few real blunders.

p. 13 § (3) rhymes of *talis* and *vassallus* are grouped together under the rubric *-olis* (misprint for *-alis*); § (4) the form *asase* is an ordinary O.F. form (cf. Tobler-Lommatsch); § (6) the rhymes between words containing *en* and *an*, listed here, all belong to the category of words among which such rhymes are permissible, even in texts in which the equivalence of *ē* and *ā* is not allowed; § (27, 1) *ore* in l. 350 is the adverb and not the substantive; § (27, 3) the existence of the O.F. doublet *paür* (for *paour*) deprives the rhyme *paur*: *asseür* of the significance here attributed to it; § (28) should be deleted, cf. note on l. 305 (a derivative of *modium* is, further, here completely out of place); § (42) the forms *sire* and *prestre*, without flexional *s*, are traditional.

Some of these corrections affect materially the evidence on which Mlle Lejeune has based her conclusions about the dialect in which the poem is written. I am very sceptical about the presence of 'Burgundian' characteristics in Renaut's work, but a thorough discussion of the question would involve the re-consideration of the language of the romance *Li*

Biaus Desconneus, a poem also attributed to Renaut, and this cannot be undertaken in the limits of this review.

M. K. POPE.

MANCHESTER.

Crime and Punishment in the Old French Romances. By F. CARL RIEDEL. (*Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature*, No 135.) New York Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1938. viii+197 pp. 10s.

The student of medieval literature will find much to interest and to stimulate him in this happily conceived and well-executed book. The author has selected as illustrative material twenty-three romances, covering between them some hundred and fifty years (c. 1167-c. 1316). Most of them belong to the thirteenth century, the period of the earliest customals, to which Mr Riedel refers for legal detail. If he cites the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* of Philippe de Beaumanoir most frequently, it is because 'we may in a sense consider Beaumanoir our chief legal authority, just as Andreas Capellanus has often been regarded as the chief authority on the subject of courtly love' (p. 7).

After giving an outline of criminal law and procedure in twelfth and thirteenth century France and discussing *treason* at some length in view of its wide range of meaning and its many implications, the author compares the romances with reality in point of legal fact and underlying conception and then considers the literary significance of crime and criminals in his texts.

Although in the period under review the influence, through the ecclesiastical courts, of canon law on the administration of criminal justice was increasing, it is noteworthy that their role in the romances is negligible. Perhaps 'because in the thirteenth century most criminal cases came under the jurisdiction of the secular courts' (p. 48), but possibly, in part, because the aristocratic circles for which they were written naturally supported the seignorial system.

The romances also reflect the prevalent belief, and practice, that Might is Right, though, the author reminds us, 'little else... could be expected in the fiction of an age when, in spite of church, chivalry, courtly love, and law, force was, no matter what guise it assumed, perhaps the chief feature of honor, of men's conduct toward women and toward each other, and of their conduct in property relations and in politics' (p. 116).

Summaries of the principal romances studied, extensive notes, ample bibliography, and careful index complete the study and commend it to the reader.

ALEXANDER BELL.

PETERBOROUGH.

Saint Augustine and French Classical Thought. By NIGEL ABERCROMBIE.
Oxford University Press. 1938. 123 pp. 8s. 6d

La Pensée religieuse de Montaigne. By MATURIN DRÉANO. PARIS:
Beauchesne. 501 pp.

A contrast in bookmaking. for 500 pages of the Frenchman one must pay in England 6s. 6d.; for 120 pages of one of our own scholars two shillings more. The English book is excellently produced, but it is unfortunate that, like others from the same press, it is too highly priced to command a general sale.

Dr Abercrombie's slight and professedly introductory essays form one of the most important of recent English contributions to French studies. They are not easy to read, but difficulties are natural in a borderline subject between two fields like literature and philosophy. For students of literature, who will be the chief readers of this volume, the problems might have been made plainer. The first essay, which in the words of the publisher 'serves as a basis of discussion' for the others, does not in fact do so, and the Cartesian view of liberty (p. 13) is one of many things which one would like more clearly put. But readers of this journal will not expect a critique of Abercrombie as philosopher.

A most stimulating essay on Montaigne shows the use made in the *Apologie de Raymond Sebond* of the *City of God*, and in general the indebtedness of a writer whose 'philosophical scepticism was matched by the readiness of Augustine to admit the limitations of the human intellect' (p. 47). Some of the quotations from Augustine seem essential to a real commentary on Montaigne's famous essay ('God is better known by our not knowing him'). I notice that Abercrombie is as puzzled as most of us by Montaigne's relation to Fideism. He calls the solution of the problem of faith and reason in Montaigne fideistic, only to deny the adjective in the later rather obscure discussion in the fourth essay (pp. 104-5). He hints (p. 49) at the possibility of much that has been written concerning Montaigne's personal religion standing in need of revision, as if unaware that the process is already visible in recent German work. Abercrombie's own essay is the chief English contribution to the undermining of Sainte-Beuve's popular conception of a Montaigne 'qui joue la comédie'.

The last essay, on Pascal, will perhaps meet with more criticism. It is a most able account of Pascal's knowledge of Augustine and of the connexion between the main Pascalian themes with Augustinian thought. The whole essay is very informative, and very severe on Pascal. Despite its brevity, we are repeatedly assured that Pascal had no theological training, that he lacked both leisure and capacity for scholarly reading, that he knew his Augustine 'at second hand' (pp. 102, 103, 107). It is surely one thing to say that 'it was a selected Augustine, and occasionally a falsified Augustine, that Pascal followed' (p. 107) and another to speak of 'distorting' Augustine's meaning, when Pascal says something different from his source, or to assume the 'complete submission' to his Jansenist teachers of a Pascal 'helplessly the victim of partisan enthusiasm'

(p. 117). On Abercrombie's examples the case is not proven, though the student of French classical literature will forgive him much for citing Augustine's admirable definition of amour-propre: 'Amor privatus... volens subjicere proximum sibi.'

M. Dréano has written a good book with a bad title. Its novelty is to put themes of the *Essais* back into the context of Montaigne's own life and habits. The method is excellently defined on p. 5: 'aller de l'extérieur vers l'intérieur, du plus connu au moins connu', i.e. to interpret what he has written in the light of what he did and thought. Thus there are chapters on his family, friends, journeys and activities, all considered for the evidence they bring of Montaigne's habitual attitude to men and things. Since his religious thought has usually been judged apart from a careful consideration of all this evidence, this new method is important. Scholarship has underrated, for example, the relevance of his many contacts with the Protestants, or of his understanding of Jews and Turks. M. Dréano allows us to read opinions from the essays confronted with actual facts contemporary to their writing. The famous phrase in III. 2 about his *refrein*: 'non un refrain de ceremonie mais de naïve et essentielle submission', has a more concrete reference when one reads the account here (pp. 123-30) of the examination of the *Essais* by the inquisitors of the Holy Office in 1581, an investigation which appears to have lasted over four months.

The picture which emerges from this careful survey over well-known ground is that of a Catholic gentleman firmly attached to his religion, known within his own circle as a practising Christian. M. Dréano has a right to claim that his book disproves Sainte-Beuve's sharp criticism of a thesis on 'le christianisme de Montaigne' as a 'thèse sans sujet'. Perhaps the most valuable chapters deal with the *Apologie*, as is only right. M. Dréano shows how reason and faith were understood in the sixteenth century, and makes good his contention that a man was not then thought the less Christian because he doubted the final achievements of reason. Such was Montaigne. 'Pour lui le pyrrhonien est même le plus docile des croyants' and with good reason, for Montaigne's real enemy M. Dréano shows to have been that 'private judgement', the excess of which had resulted in civil war and the practical disruption of the French state. For the nineteenth century the attitude of Montaigne appeared so secular that the *Apologie* could only be read as more or less open duplicity, an enormous hoax. Thanks to recent scholarship, that attitude is seen to be the most normal which could be expected from a French gentleman of 1570, catholic by heredity and environment, conservative in politics and well-read in the ancient classics.

Yet, surely, a study of Montaigne's religious thought should give us more than the context and contemporary situation. The recent German studies referred to above have shown how complex is Montaigne's whole comprehension of religion, and in this regard the reader of M. Dréano gets no help. Were he really writing to his title, he could not have been satisfied with the few odd remarks given, for example, to the essay on Repentance (pp. 379-83). Nowhere is the cleft between piety and

intelligence so plain, nor the latent antagonism of humanism and orthodoxy so near the surface. Nowhere, more than in this essay, is Montaigne more explicitly in line with the seventeenth-century classics.

W. G. MOORE.

OXFORD.

Jean Le Clerc (1657-1736) et la République des Lettres. By ANNIE BARNES.
Paris: Droz. 1938. 280 pp. 40 fr.

It is probably only too true that, as Mrs Barnes fears, Leclerc has been, even for students of French literature, one of those vague figures whose date of birth and literary output can be allowed to remain vague with impunity. He was not even mentioned in M. Baldensperger's *Intellectuels français hors de France*, where not only his great rival Bayle, but *le Refuge*, received due attention. Even if this penumbral position were to remain his, a study as judicious and documented as this one, based largely on unpublished matter, would hardly need justification. But Leclerc's ways and personality are unquestionably interesting, if only as characteristic in many respects of the 'République des Lettres' of his time; or rather, one should say perhaps, of that section of the 'République des Lettres' whose loss of prestige and influence was deplored by Duclos, half-way through the eighteenth century. This book, however, establishes Leclerc's claim to something more than specimen value. Although more has been made of Bayle's impact upon the next generation than of his, it was his brand of dogmatic rationalism which was to prevail over Bayle's sceptical rationalism and lead to the widespread *épouvantable certitude* which scared Fontenelle in his declining years.

Without any powerful originality of thought, he had amazing flair and receptiveness for new ideas of major importance: Newton's, Locke's, Vico's; together with independence of mind. He does not fit readily into any group. His own friends, the Remonstrants, were liable to be taken for Socinians; he was constantly objecting to being bracketed with Socinians, atheists, infidels. Dogged after death by the same sort of ill-luck, he was penned by Voltaire among authors of *Bibliothèques*: 'La Bibliothèque Universelle, dans laquelle il imita la République des Lettres de Bayle, est son meilleur ouvrage' went the verdict. How markedly this periodical differed from Bayle's in its appeal to new interests, Mrs Barnes makes very clear. But anyway it was, to Leclerc, a sideline. It brought in money, brought him into touch with notable personalities in the intellectual world all over Europe, enabled him, directly and indirectly, to give further publicity to his views on matters philosophical and theological. But his life work was the Latin translation of the Old and the New Testaments, with critical dissertations on points of philology and history. Descartes, we know, had given up the study of Genesis because he found that it provided him with no 'clear and distinct' notions. Leclerc conceived that Scripture provides quite clear and practical notions, forming the only possible basis for Christian thought and

conduct, once a process of study had been gone through in which futile, because meaningless, dogmas were scrapped, and the ethical message understood. (It began and ended with toleration.) Metaphysics was of no use to man: nothing 'plus inutile et plus incertain'. The very words of Pascal on Descartes's quest, and Mrs Barnes elsewhere notes the likeness between Pascal and Leclerc's initial challenge to the unbeliever: a psychological examination of the frame of mind in which there is no desire to believe. But she does not think it necessary to consider the possibility of Pascalian influence, and indeed nothing could be more different from Pascal's than Leclerc's approach to Scripture: the work, in his eyes, of fallible, credulous men, to be scrutinized by the light of reason and with a knowledge of the languages in which it was written. St Jerome was therefore dismissed with as little ceremony as St Augustine, Descartes, or Malebranche. Not that more deference was due to Richard Simon, 'pas aussi docte qu'on le pense', and who failed to recognize in the Pentateuch the work of an Israelite sent from Babylon to Palestine in the reign of Josias. Or to Bayle, whose writings undermined Christianity. Or to an arrant freethinker like Collins, or a man without religion or principles like Toland. Leclerc was no less anathematized than anathe-matizing, and his activities as a Hellenist and Hebraist brought trouble with Bentley and Boileau amongst others. Delvolvé's account of the great quarrel with Bayle must henceforward be supplemented by Mrs Barnes's, and E. Lacoste could scarcely have felt justified in his brief and contemptuous references to Leclerc (in his *Bayle*, 1929), had all the evidence now collected and put together, concerning the Leclerc-Bayle affair and the Leclerc-Simon friction, been available at the time.

The man's life is so much the history of his works, that in spite of many interesting finds from archives in Geneva, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Oxford, London and Berlin, his biographer has little to reveal of his private existence. Even his wooing and marrying of Maria Leti—a happy union it seems—appear chiefly as a tale of financial worries and the saddling of a harassed writer with a most trying father-in-law. Nevertheless, stories of Geneva, Saumur, London and Amsterdam; of correspondents of many classes, nationalities and beliefs; of literary fights conducted according to the recognized rules of a peculiar though international code—all make excellent reading, from which emerges a figure very far removed from M. Lacoste's 'petit esprit'. It is not part of the author's scheme to assess the value of Leclerc's erudite contributions to thought; but the esteem in which his authority was long held, and the acquaintance with his writings shown by such men as Voltaire and Herder, sufficiently point to the unwisdom, whenever the complex of eighteenth-century influences is surveyed, of ignoring this *Johannes Clericus Polyhistor*.

The book is well produced and altogether free from any serious misprints. Very occasional Anglicisms (e.g. the use of *dévotion*, *ex-périences*, *frottement*) are not such as to disturb a French reader, but rather add piquancy to a lively manner of writing. Besides Appendices, which include six unpublished letters from Gilbert Burnet, there is a

full Index of names, indispensable, but too often missing, in books of this kind. If some trifling additional remarks may be allowed: Shaftesbury's coupling of the victory of Blenheim with England's triumph in gaining the mind-allegiance of Leclerc (p. 170), thought rather startling by Mrs Barnes, probably is a reminiscence of Guez de Balzac. This type of compliment, in his 1624 *Lettres*, was criticized as far-fetched and in bad taste. In the brief digression, p. 107, on the fashionable title *Entretiens* c. 1685 [' . Cette mode n'indique-t-elle pas une influence mondaine dans tous les domaines de l'esprit? . '], a theme is reverted to, already outlined on pp. 11-12, which awakens certain misgivings. Must Leclerc's *Entretiens sur diverses matières de théologie*; also no doubt Leibnitz's *Entretiens de Philarète et d'Eugène, . . . touchant le droit d'ambassade des électeurs et princes de l'empire* (1677); likewise Maimbourg's conversations between Eudoxe and Euchariste, on the history of Arianism (reprinted 1683); all be explained in terms of the already grievously overworked *politesse mondaine*? (Incidentally it is a little hard on Bouhours, whose Ariste and Eugène conversed in 1671, to say that the more celebrated *Entretiens* followed Leclerc's.) The use of dialogue-form for more or less abstruse subjects was anything but a novelty. Balzac, curiously enough, introduced only one speaker in his essays called *Entretiens*. But Descartes's *Recherche de la Vérité* consists of remarks exchanged by Polandre, Epistemon and Eudoxe ('M. Descartes ayant goûté l'art du dialogue principalement dans les dernières années' says Baillet). And it must be remembered that, in sixteenth-century Italy, *Dialoghi*, with or without the word on the title-page, enjoyed unrivalled favour for purposes of exposition and argument. Antiquity provided models.

H. BIBAS.

CAMBRIDGE.

Figures et Aventures du XVIIIe Siècle: Voyages et Découvertes de l'Abbé Prévost. By CLAIRE-ÉLIANE ENGEL. Paris: Editions 'Je Sers'. 1939. 272 pp. 30 fr.

The subject of Prévost and England was not one to tempt the critic in search of sensational discoveries; but Mlle Engel has now presented us with a picture of the abbé and his mode of working, which, though not in every respect new, is decidedly startling. Miss M. E. I. Robertson's work, and in particular her discovery of the details of Prévost's incarceration for forgery in the Gatehouse Prison in Westminster, have thrown a lurid light on one side of his character. The story of his exile has been carefully retraced in the present volume, which, however, adds materially to our knowledge of the *milieux* he frequented and the subjects he studied. Thus, in connexion with the Huguenot refugees, Mlle Engel describes the men whom Prévost met in London, and those (as they really were) who cut such strange figures in his novels. From various sources, including the archives of the French and Dutch War Offices, she has discovered the identity of 'M. de Montcal', who was Marc-Antoine d'Avessens de Moncal, and who came from the valley of Mazamet; and

has traced the story of his family and his own tragic and heroic story until his death. Describing the part taken by the Huguenot regiments in the war in Ireland, she shows that for this period Prévost had access to oral testimony, as well as printed records; he did not always respect either. And while he browsed omnivorously in the history of seventeenth-century England and of recent voyages to distant lands, his 'research' was hasty and defective, he had little or no objective sense and no understanding of general historical truth. Thus characters, both French and English, of a generation immediately preceding his own, offer, as he presents them, little resemblance to their counterparts in real life. It would be hard to say whether his portraits of Moncal (whom he calls 'Montcal'), Schomberg and Henri de Ruvinny, are better described as caricatures or libels.

'Le sombre coloris' which Prévost imparted to his heroes was even stronger than it seems to have appeared to J.-J. Rousseau: these beings live in an atmosphere of morbidity or despair. Once, it is true, Prévost had subdued himself to the tone of a tragic yet credible adventure; his best scenes, the truest and most poignant, are certainly contained in his first novel. We know that the story of Des Grieux and Manon was not the story of Prévost and the 'demoiselle de mérite et de naissance' (as he called her) who was his evil genius in Holland and in London; we know that the novel preceded the real adventure. But much of the framework of the novel as well as its general atmosphere were suggested by Penelope Aubin's *The Illustrious French Lovers* (1727): this discovery is the principal novelty of the present work. Mrs Aubin's book, itself a free and, in some respects, brilliant adaptation from a French writer named Challes, explains the outline of *Manon Lescaut*, though not of course the fact of its being a masterpiece.

Prévost's aesthetic is, in a sense, the opposite of the classical aesthetic. Particular truth is to him more important than general truth; likelihood is sacrificed to the *fait-divers*. When great historical figures are introduced, it is hoped they will serve as 'living references' for stories which turn on nothing more nor less than cases of pathological disorder. Perhaps the man was better than his writings? An inveterate plagiarist, he is vehement in denouncing real or fancied borrowing from his own work. When he himself borrows from recent or contemporary writers, he does not scruple to treat them with contempt, provided they are not in a position to retaliate—witness his venomous references to Mrs Aubin. The episode of the forged promissory note and the mentality of a writer who could turn Schomberg and Moncal from men of honour into absurd reflections of his own feckless, amorous nature, do not increase one's esteem for the good abbé. He was fundamentally weak; and this accounts for the lack of any moral sense in his characters. The psychology and ethics of his novels are, of course, ultra-Romantic; his belief in the goodness of Nature leads straight to Rousseau; and, in Mlle Engel's view, the *Nouvelle Héloïse* derives much rather from his novels than from Richardson.

Finally, Prévost's 'English' characters are not, in any specific sense,

English; they sprang from an idea which was becoming conventional in France, but the vision of life underlying them belongs to Prévost alone. His outlook was not really modified by his sojourn in this country; inspirations he found here, but 'not a trace of influence'. His story and example go to show that sensibility in the novel was a native growth in France, that its associations with England were adventitious and not essential. 'Le roman français du XVIIIe siècle', writes Mlle Engel, 'a bien l'Angleterre pour patrie spirituelle, mais c'est l'Angleterre de l'abbé Prévost'.

Mlle Engel's conclusions are adequately supported by the evidence she adduces. Her book, with its excellent bibliography and reproductions of eighteenth-century engravings, will be indispensable to students of French literature.

A. LYTTON SELLS.

DURHAM.

L'Exotisme dans la Littérature Française depuis Chateaubriand. Le Romantisme. By PIERRE JOURDA. (*Études de littérature étrangère et comparée*, 7.) Paris: Boivin. 1938. 210 pp. 40 fr.

Since the word exotic, as used to-day, may have many meanings covering all the stages between the weird and totally unfamiliar in space and time on the one hand and, on the other, the merely foreign, contemporary and slightly strange, M. Jourda wisely devotes an elaborate introduction to defining his terms and marking out the field. He leaves out of the discussion serious attempts to understand the culture and point of view of another nation such as *De l'Allemagne*, straightforward narratives of travel such as the *Voyage en Orient* of Lamartine, and all books of a purely scientific or geographical character. Exoticism in literature, as defined by M. Jourda, means a ready-made picture of a foreign country and its inhabitants which, whether based on direct observation or not, is always coloured by the national prejudices of the writer. It may be pure phantasy of the type now known as 'literature of escape', or it may claim to be strictly accurate, but it is always subjective inasmuch as the choice of material, the proportions, the emphasis and the omissions are dictated by the preconceived notions held by the majority of the writer's countrymen. Furthermore, in order to avoid endless complication and so as to present the average point of view of the Romantics, M. Jourda sets aside anything that may be ascribed to personal motives in the writer or that is the outcome of the particular technique or genre employed.

The early nineteenth century sees a great increase of exoticism as thus defined, thanks to the movements of soldiers and *émigrés* and to the fact that foreign travel becomes so much easier, though not yet so easy as to bring about that standardization which to-day has largely destroyed the element of surprise and discovery. The thing is not new, but most of the so-called exoticism of the eighteenth century is either frivolous and licentious or a means of philosophical and political propaganda. It is the exoticism of the Romantics which is the true product of the

eighteenth-century conception of the variety of races, as opposed to the old classical idea of the essential oneness of man.

The popularity of a given nation as material to be used in imaginative literature does not seem to bear any direct relationship to the purely literary influence of that nation. For example, M. Jourda shows that in spite of their enthusiasm almost amounting to idolatry for some English writers, the French Romantics knew very little about Great Britain. The conventional picture of England confines itself to the murkiness of industrial London and the 'spleen' of the Londoners, to a few touches of admiration for the freshness of the English countryside and excessively highly-coloured descriptions of the wild, 'romantic' beauty of the land of Ossian and Scott. The common people are ignored except by Michelet who naturally pities them as victims of the aristocracy, while the English gentleman is standardized as a creature of gross appetites and boorish manners, morose, phlegmatic and addicted to canting hypocrisy. Out of all this there crystallizes what is to be for a century the *ne varietur* type of English tourist: a red-haired figure in grotesque sports clothes who expresses his boredom in a loud voice and execrable French and whose womenfolk are brainless, prudish, abominably dressed but divinely beautiful. So with Germany, Italy and Spain. Germany is a fairyland of forests, castles, legends and music, peopled by sentimental dreamers, jolly students and buxom, golden-haired wenches. It is perhaps unfortunate that, in his anxiety to stress the contrast between this idyllic vision and the ugly reality of more recent developments, the author adopts a sarcastic and bitter tone not, after all, required by the subject and oversteps the limits of his period in order to show how Daudet and Maupassant express the rude awakening of 1870. The Italy of the Romantics is a sixteenth-century welter of love and murder set against a depressing picture of the decadence and superstition of modern times, with a repetition of the romance of Venice as general as the neglect of the beauties of other parts. Even Stendhal, with all his admiration for Italian energy and beauty, ruthlessly exposes in the *Chartreuse de Parme* the iniquity of modern petty despotisms and the listlessness of the downtrodden masses. Spain, largely absent from French literature since the days of Corneille, Madame d'Aulnoy and Lesage, comes back into the stock-in-trade of the Romantics owing to the wars of the Empire and Restoration, and of course is exploited to the full by Hugo, Mérimée and Gautier and to a lesser degree by Dumas and Balzac. The picture is compounded of passion, jealousy, fanaticism and points of honour with, in imitation of Spanish contrasts of light and shade, a background of gloom, discomfort, vermin and bad food.

The other chapters—on Scandinavia, the Near East and Russia—are less detailed and more obviously compilations of extracts from Marmier, Custine, Gautier and Mérimée. Indeed, the whole book is really a skilfully sewn patchwork of quotations, paraphrases and résumés. M. Jourda does not claim to be original nor does he seek to develop any particular thesis beyond his assertion that the Romantics were content to use again and again without examination certain stereotyped pictures

of the foreigner which they found to hand. One might wish that M. Jourda had made a fuller attempt to explain where each of these conventional pictures came from, but since in his foreword he is careful to call this book a 'rapid synthesis', lack of depth cannot fairly be used as a charge against him. What the book lacks in profundity it gains in clearness, which is no small merit when the subject-matter is so complicated and varied.

L. W. TANCOCK.

LONDON.

Poesía árabe y poesía europea. By R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. Habana, Cuba: Secretaría de Educación. 1937. 31 pp. *Poesía árabe y poesía europea* (extracted from the *Bulletin Hispanique*, XL, 1938).

Sr Menéndez Pidal has brought to bear on the problem of lyrical origins three new considerations. He has accurately defined the form and variants of the Andalusian *zejel*, has listed the occurrences of the same pattern in Galician, Castilian, Provençal, French and Italian poetry; and has shown that, as the popular equivalent of the *qasida*, the *zejel* makes use of the terminology of courtly love. Consequently, we have no longer to consider an amorphous and ambitious theory of the Hispano-Arabic origin of all modern European lyrical poetry. We deal with the occurrence of a particular set of art-forms in Christian and Moslem areas, and some coincidence of ideas.

Immaterial to the argument is the structure of the *zejel* lines. They are measured by quantitative feet in the same way as classical Arabic verse, save that it was a principle to fail to maintain the exact count. Classical Arabic verse, though measured by quantities, did prescribe also the number of syllables. A foreigner, therefore, would hear only a number of syllables that was more or less constant for each metre. The metres vary considerably; but the line does not make the *zejel*. It is rather the pattern, backed by the lost music. We know that the starting-point of the genre (in the late ninth century, when Muqaddam of Cabra first brought it into use) was the refrain or *markaz* (for which Spanish prosody provides the equivalent *estribillo*). The strophe followed with three lines of one rhyme (*aghśán*, *mudanzas*) and a fourth in the rhyme of the refrain (*simt*, *vuelta*), followed by the refrain. The basic pattern is thus AA dddAAA eeeAAA, etc., and was suited for performance between a singer and a crowd. The word means 'company, crowd' and 'din, hubbub', and its nearest Spanish equivalent would seem to be the Andalusian *juerga*. So the *zejel* is now performed in Tunis, according to an instance Sr Menéndez Pidal gives. First comes an instrumental prelude; then the soloist sings the refrain, which the crowd repeats; then follows the stanza, of which the fourth line warns the public to be ready to come in with the refrain. But performance was not always public or popular, and there is reason to believe that in more sophisticated performances the refrain was restricted to a minor role or omitted altogether. It follows that dddAAA eeeAAA, etc., is also a true *zejel* pattern. The essential

things are the triplet (*mudanzas*) and line in another rhyme (*vuelta*), preparing for a refrain which may be absent. Sometimes the triplet is extended to four lines; at others the rhyme of the refrain is worked into the triplets; there may be short lines, or lengthened refrains; lines with internal rhyme lead to criss-cross patterns; sometimes lines are left unrhymed.

This pattern is found in European poetry somewhat variably distributed. The Galician *cossante* is based on the distich, and so falls out of this tradition. In the more formal verses we find a great mass of *cantigas de refram*, and of these 4 per cent have the pattern of the *zejel*. On the other hand, 83 per cent of Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa María* show the *zejel* pattern, and it recurs in the Archpriest of Hita, the *Cancionero de Baena*, the *Cancionero musical*, and the classical dramas. In Italy the arrangement is unknown to the poetry of the great literary artists, but frequent in those of 'God's minstrels', Jacopone and the Franciscans. In Provence, 5 of William of Poitiers' pieces have the required form (out of 11 that are extant); 1 out of 8 by Cercamon; 7 out of 43 by Marcabru. The form is frequent in Bartsch's and Gennrich's collections of French songs.¹ The formal influence was very great in Castile. In Italy it prevails when poets take to the popular style. In Provence it was a resource ready to the hand of the first known troubadour, and so presumably an important component of the lost pre-troubadour lyric; but it was soon covered by the flood of new troubadour inventions.

The inventor of the style was, according to Ibn Bassam, the blind Muqaddam of Cabra, who flourished from 840 to 920 approximately. We know the names of a number of tenth- and eleventh-century practitioners, and we hear of the improvements they effected (mostly to do with internal rhymes). Some of their poems survive, but the only complete collection is the *Diwân* of the twelfth-century Ibn Quzmân. We have to go to him for texts exemplifying the style, but the style itself is much older; it goes back to the end of the ninth century in Andalusia, and was so popular and vigorous that it had spread all over the Mohammedan world in the eleventh century. The priority of the Andalusian *zejel* over the work of the known troubadours is absolute, one cannot use chronological arguments to deny its influence. But it rose in a bilingual milieu, where Spanish Romance and Spanish Arabic were both understood, and we know from Ibn Bassam that it arose because of this contact. The possibilities are: (a) that the *zejel* is an Arabic form with Spanish elements, and possibly akin to the quatrains of Persia (aaxa); (b) the *zejel* is a Spanish Romance form arabicized by Muqaddam; (c) that the form was current in Western Romania, but came to light in Spain because of the contact between the vernacular and a literary culture. The second solution was Ribera's; Sr Menéndez Pidal seems to incline to (a) or (b),

¹ But Gennrich (in *Musikwissenschaft und romanische Philologie*, 1918) shows that the *rondeau* is a pattern derived musically from the *refrain*—which excludes the influence of the *zejel*—and that two, at least, arise from liturgical clausulae—which excludes Moslem influence. I doubt if we can concede the *rondeau* to Sr Menéndez Pidal.

but recognizes (c) as a not too plausible possibility. If there be any evidence on this point in Sicilian Arabic, it would be of value, especially as possibly throwing some light on the Franciscan *laudi*.

The argument is conducted on the basis of prosody as the symbol of the music. It is here that a serious want is felt. No Arabic songs of the required date exist. A recent treatise by Dr H. Anglès entitled, 'La música medieval en Toledo hasta el siglo xi' (*Gesammelte Aufsätze der Gorresgesellschaft zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, VII, 1938), reproduces all that is known of Visigothic and Mozarabic music between the sixth and eleventh centuries. He attributes to the earlier period five manuscripts with neumes, and to the later seven manuscripts; but these neumes cannot be interpreted. He explicitly denies that the later group shows Arabian influence. The diastematic notation came into Spain with the Roman ritual in the eleventh century, so that there was everything to discourage its use for the Mozarabic liturgy. Cardinal Ximénez's reform of this rite destroyed our chance of hearing authentic Mozarabic church music. The profane music was not transcribed, but we know that it served for dances, weddings, funerals, love-making, the New Year, May, and Midsummer. 'Sic enim saeculares opifices inter ipsos labores amatoria turpia cantare non desinunt.' For ecclesiastical purposes the notation and understanding of music must have been of considerable accuracy, since St Eulogius was able to establish uniformity in the 'ordo psallendi' of the whole peninsula, extirpating vicious usages. The evidence does not permit our hearing a Visigothic or Mozarabic song, religious or profane; but it does show that they existed in abundance. The profane themes occur in Ibn Quzmân's *Divân*, and those for special dates are bound to the Christian calendar by Romance names.

The modern Tunisian tune is transcribed in the Habana lecture without the words, so that it is not possible to see how they fit the notes. The phrases are variable, wavy lines, of different lengths. The chorus seems more constant, and is given as

5 flats U8 fga.agagf. fga.agagf./ fgabcaagagf. fgagagagf./

The indeterminate structure of such phrases resembles the only traditional melodies which survive from the thirteenth century in Spain. These are Martim Codax's *cossantes*. His *Ondas do mar de Vigo* (apparently in the Mixolydian Gregorian mode) runs:

On.das. do... mar... de Vi.....go...	U8 gac.bcdccbacbcdcbaba.g.
se vis...tes... meu... a...m...go...	ac.bcdccbac.bcdcdcbaba.g.
e. ay... Deus...	gbaa.g.f.
se. verra... ce.....do...	gac.bcdcdccbaba.g.

It is a loose chant and very different from the firm phrasing of Marcabru's pastoral:

L'autrier jost'u...na se.bis...sa.	34 U4 cd./cd./eg./((fge))d /
trovey. pasto.ra mes.tissa.	cb./ab./cb./ac./
de joi. e de. sen mas.sis...sa.	cd./cd./eg./((fge))d./
e fon. filha. de vi.layna.	cb./ab./cb./ac./
cap'e. gonelh' e. pe.lis.sa.	cc./cb./((ab)c./((ba)g./
vest e. cami.za. tres.lis.sa.	cc./cb./((ab)c./((ba)g./
sotlars. e caus.sas de. lai.....na	gab/de./de./((bgaba.)/gar/

King Alfonso X's music is of this sort. It would seem clear that the music of the *cossantes*—half improvised—was distinct from that of the troubadours, and belonged to an older tradition. The modern Tunisian music is also improvised, but one does not know whether this is due to conservatism or corruption. Strangely enough, the most vivid of the anecdotes concerning Spanish Arabic music tells how a Frankish lord at Barbastro was moved by the singing of a slave-girl, though he did not understand the words. William of Poitiers's father was present at that siege, and he too may have been deeply moved by the Spanish Arabic music. It is here, even more than in the prosody, that we should expect to find traces of Andalusian practices in those of the troubadours; but the melodies cited would seem to point another way.

The Frankish count may not have been so ignorant as Ibn Ḥayyân would have him. In that bilingual company at Barbastro many persons, including the singer herself, could have given him the gist of the song. So he might hear of a *raqīb* or *gardador*, a *wāṣī* or a *nammām* which he would translate *lauzengier*, a *ḥāsīd* for his *enojos* or *gilos*, a *ʿadīl* or tedious sermonizer, and a friendly *rasūl* or *mesager*. He might learn to address a lady in the masculine as *sayyidī* or *midons*, and to express his devotion for her in terms of absolute subjection. Since Professor Nykl published his translation of Ibn Ḥazm's *Tauq al-Ḥamāma*, it is no longer necessary to make the puerile objection that Provençal adoration was given to sovereign ladies, but that of Moslems to slaves. Only those who have no acquaintance with slave-society imagine that the state is incompatible with a sort of power. Sr Menéndez Pidal has removed another objection by showing that the terminology used in the *qaṣīda* is found in its popular equivalent, the *zejel*. It is disconcerting, however, that while a Frankish count might so easily have learned so much, the Castilians remained wholly uninfluenced and the Galicians learned to know the conventions only from Provençal sources.

The theory of Christian and Moslem contact is thus brought within feasible dimensions. There is still room for differences of opinion, and there are still some serious gaps. The Andalusian evidence explains, at most, some of the more important forms of early lyrics, leaving others independent. It is, however, much too precise to be passed by as irrelevant. According to the anecdotage, we expect peculiar merits in Andalusian music and their repetition in France; but we cannot reconstruct an Andalusian *zejel* musically, and what evidence there is suggests that the music of the troubadours was of a sort that excluded improvisation. There is strong reason to believe that Spain had its own school of sacred and profane melody, exerting the same sort of influence as the school of Paris in France. In a bilingual context we cannot be sure which way the influences streamed. In Provence and Andalusia there arose a casuistry of love distinct from all Latin precedents and strangely coincident in terminology; yet the thought of Andalusia has failed to reach its nearest neighbours.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

*El Crítico*n. By BALTASAR GRACIÁN. Edición crítica y comentada por M. ROMERA-NAVARRO. Tomo Primero. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1938. viii+404 pp. 18s.

This is the first volume of the long-awaited critical edition of the *Crítico*n by Professor Romera-Navarro. We have for some time had foretastes of the thoroughness of the critical side of the work in the series of articles on Gracián's sources in the *Hispanic Review*. Suffice it then to say on this aspect of the edition that the whole work entirely comes up to the standard of the samples. If anything, the footnotes of explanation, reference and so forth are too copious, but this is a fault on the right side, especially in an edition which has to stand for perhaps two or three generations, and of an author so difficult as Gracián. The rest of the apparatus is likewise of very great value. a bibliography of editions, an exceedingly interesting list of divergent spellings in the first two editions which students of the phonetics and orthography of seventeenth-century Spanish will find invaluable, and other preliminary studies of Gracián, biographical, doctrinal and stylistic.

Professor Romera-Navarro gives us succinctly the best summary of Gracián's life we have so far read. We would only demur to his comments on the Graus episode. Professor Romera-Navarro follows Sr López Landa in seeing in the fact that Gracián held various community offices while at Graus an indication that repentance for his disobedience had brought with it renewed favour from his superiors; but the fact that every Jesuit house must have these officials will automatically involve a small community in the Gilbertian position of every member holding one or more offices. We are never likely to see clearly into this episode: the methods of the Society are a law unto themselves. A man who has reached the point of asking to be permitted to join another order, especially when such a request means transference to a severer rule, has shown irremediably a fundamental incompatibility between his own temperament and the spirit of the life he has to lead. Professor Romera-Navarro's reconstruction of Gracián's inner evolution after his final admonition and chastisement would seem to err in the direction of making Gracián's temperament more devout and interior than it really was. Elsewhere, once or twice, Professor Romera-Navarro hints at a mystical strain in Gracián: but his extreme intelligence moves on a plane quite other than the spiritual depths of the mystics. Humanly speaking, the contemplative bent is a quality of temperament; it may indeed be joined with sets of combinations of qualities quite dissimilar to one another (St John of the Cross and St Theresa are utterly unlike), but while Gracián *might* have possessed it, it seems in fact that he never broke below the extremely brilliant and well-defined world of his acute intellect. The *Comulgatorio* is no proof to the contrary, for it shows precisely Gracián's delight in the elaborate Ignatian meditation, and in construction is essentially the same thing as the *Crítico*n. This of course is not to uphold the absurd view that Gracián was not at heart a believer at all, which Professor Romera-Navarro so rightly rejects. We are dealing

not with the problem of a man's religious speculation but with a classification of temperament.

But if Gracián's psychological analysis moves on a plane distinct from that of the mystics, and cannot be said to penetrate more deeply into the mystery of the human soul than they (as Professor Romera-Navarro says on p. 20), neither is it true to suggest that with Gracián we are in the realm of modern analytic and experimental psychology (p. 20). Gracián undoubtedly detains us still in the antechamber of literary and intuitional psychology, a detention fascinating and not, for all that, less able to give us a true picture of facts, but still not the particular true picture of the facts that modern psychology aims at giving us.

Professor Romera-Navarro makes an excellent observation in noting that Gracián's outlook is completely free from moral indignation, and comments usefully on the question of his 'non-moral' precepts that have so perplexed former critics. He raises the problem of Gracián's complete disregard of Cervantes in the *Agudeza* and the almost complete absence of any reference elsewhere: may it not perhaps be due to the complete absence of sympathy so often found between the 'witty' mind and the 'humorous'? The question of the appeal of Cervantes for his seventeenth-century countrymen is one that calls for further analysis. We look forward to the second volume of this truly monumental edition.

E. SARMIENTO.

SHEFFIELD.

Wörter und Sachen. Neue Folge. Band I, Heft 1. Herausgegeben von HERMANN GÜNTERT. Heidelberg: Winter. 1938. 80 pp. + 32 plates and 1 map. M. 20 per annum.

The original *Wörter und Sachen* was a brave attempt to draw philologists away from purely linguistic considerations, and from the dangerous practice—still followed, alas, in many so-called 'schools of language' in our universities—of regarding language, sound-laws and all the rest of the antiquated linguistic paraphernalia as things in themselves. The study of languages, at the turn of the century, was degenerating more and more into a dead historical phonology, and Rudolf Meringer, the founder of *Wörter und Sachen*, cried an energetic halt, and inaugurated an era of what may properly be called 'Applied Philology'.

The journal has now been resuscitated under the editorship of Professor Güntert, the renowned Indo-European scholar. He contributes a foreword, 'Neue Zeit—neues Ziel' (pp. 1–11), which, in many respects, would have puzzled the original editor. Since this foreword is meant to enshrine the scholarly policy of the journal, it will repay a little investigation.

Meringer would have agreed on the importance of the dynamic views on language of Herder and Humboldt; he would not have approved the tone of the attacks on Hermann Paul and the 'Jung-Grammatiker' in general. To talk of the 'Flachheiten' of Paul's *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* shows a regrettable lack of historical sense and is a grave injustice to a great scholar who, guided by his *Prinzipien*, produced an

excellent *Deutsche Grammatik*, an admirable *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, had a large hand in the production of the famous *Paul und Braunes Beiträge* and, above all, was mainly responsible for the plan and execution of the invaluable *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*. Indeed, so far-reaching is the effect of the work of Paul that it would be quite impossible to study any field of Germanic philology without constantly meeting with his painstaking and scholarly work. Paul was also responsible, both as author and as part-editor, for a number of 'historische Einzelgrammatiken' which are only intelligible to Guntert 'in den Zeiten einer liberalistischen Auflösung' (p. 8). Whatever that may mean!

Apart from this foolish attack on earlier scholars Guntert has developed, within the last few years, strange notions on language and race. He now plays the well-known conjuring tricks with the terms 'indogermanisch' and 'germanisch'¹ and indulges in hopeless obscurantism regarding 'race' and 'language'. For many years now the theory has been gaining ground that the peculiar consonantal developments of Germanic could be most satisfactorily accounted for by assuming that an Indo-European language had been adopted by an autochthonous Northern European population. Guntert himself, in a scholarly article in the old *Wörter und Sachen*,² has done much to favour the development and adoption of some form of 'Substrattheorie'. In 1927, a Mongol racial admixture in Eastern Germany seemed possible to him, and he could conclude his investigation by dubbing the Germanic Sound-shift 'ein geradezu typisches Beispiel der grundlegenden Bedeutung von Völkermischung für die Sprachentwicklung'. Now we are told that the Germanic speakers are a 'zugeordnete³ indogermanische Volksgruppe' (p. 4) and on the following pages there is much vague talk of the 'Volk' and the way in which it moulds language. One is hardly surprised to find (p. 7) that a language can be used properly only by a 'Volksgenosse', and that a person of foreign race tends to destroy the language, even if his ancestors had already spoken it. It is lamentable that such rubbish should be printed in a reputable journal by a reputable scholar.

The article on 'Neue Felsbilder aus der Val Camonica' by Professor Altheim and Dr Trautmann (pp. 12-45) deals with the rock-drawings of the Camunni, an Alpine tribe of doubtful origin ethnically. Inscriptions are now said to prove that their language was Italic, hence Indo-European. Excellent plates are supplied in which the drawings can be studied. Plate II discloses a scribble which is judged to be similar to the Germanic Z -rune (p. 15), and on the same page we have a discussion of another 'runenartiges Gebilde' (Plate V), whilst on p. 16 we meet with a further 'runenartiges Zeichen' and with 'vorruneische Begriffszeichen'. The interpretation of these various signs as 'runes' is based on the slenderest evidence, and their possible connexion with Germanic runes

¹ Cf. F. Norman, 'Indo-European and Indo-Germanic', *Mod. Lang. Rev.* xxiv, pp. 313-21.

² 'Über die Ursache der germanischen Lautverschiebung', *Wörter und Sachen*, x (1927), pp. 1-22.

³ The use of 'zugeordnet' is significant. It would be difficult to define the precise degree of relationship the word is supposed to convey.

does not deserve discussion. The interpretation of the inscriptions is beset with similar difficulties, especially since most of them have to be reconstructed and 'ergänzt' before linguistic equations can be attempted. To an outsider, the comparison of the drawings to Scandinavian and other Northern material looks far more convincing. However, that is a matter for the archaeologists.

Professor Emil Winkler contributes an essay 'Vom sprachwissenschaftlichen Denken der Franzosen' (pp. 45-51, not p. 33, as stated on the title-page) in which he analyses the linguistic approach of Séchehay, Vendryès, Bally and de Saussure.

Dr Kurt Stegmann von Pritzwald breaks new ground in his article 'Sprachwissenschaftliche Minderheitenforschung' (pp. 52-72). He outlines the methods to be pursued, gives six pages of statistics for minorities, and appends an excellent map. There are some new terms. 'Umsprache' is not immediately intelligible. It means the language of the people surrounding a linguistic island. If the 'Umsprache' invades the territory this may lead to 'Umvolkung'.¹ Such invasion takes place, according to the author, in a fixed order: vocabulary, phonological assimilation, syntactic influence; the author does not discuss accentuation and intonation which would appear to be among the last vestiges to disappear. The article is pleasantly objective, and if future contributions are on this level rather than on that of the programme outlined by Güntert, the new *Wörter und Sachen* will be welcome.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

Nominal Compounds in Germanic. By C. T. CARR. (*St Andrews University Publications*, xli.) London: Oxford University Press. 1939. xxxvi+497 pp. 18s.

Mr Carr must be congratulated on having written a book of great importance. Numerous studies of nominal compounds in the several Germanic languages have been made, but now, for the first time, we have a comparative study of the compounds in all the Germanic languages. The index (pp. 467-97) contains more than five thousand entries, so that little can have been missed. The book is divided into three sections. The first deals with the stock of compounds (pp. 3-157), the second with the types and their development (pp. 161-375), the third with their distribution in poetry and prose (pp. 379-465).

Mr Carr proceeds with praiseworthy caution. He is not prepared, for example, to see in OHG. *mezzirahs* beside the simplex *sahs* an example of Verner's Law, and thus evidence of the existence of the compound in Primitive Germanic, since the OLG. *metzas* and OE. *meteseax* suggest that *r* for *s* is due to dissimilation. Throughout the book Mr Carr observes the same caution. He seems also to have taken nothing on trust, but to have tested thoroughly the material on which the book is based.

¹ The very notion of 'Umvolkung' flatly contradicts much of the abstract reasoning on 'Volk' and language affected by Güntert.

Occasionally he is able to correct Kluge and Paul, and very frequently other grammarians. In dealing with compounds like *bachhūs*, for example, he applies the test of semantic relationships, and is thus able to show whether the first element is nominal or verbal, and to correct in many cases the results of Osthoff and of Groger. The comparative treatment proves that there is no evidence to show that the type verb + noun existed in PG., but that the type was in existence in WG. (p. 196).

In some cases there were no previous studies to work on. No complete account of the composition vowel in OE. compounds exists. Mr Carr has had to make his own study of the subject (pp. 281-98). He shows that sporadic glide-vowels have played a great part in the formation of both OE. and OHG. compounds.

A re-examination of the OHG. translations of Isidor and Tatian shows that, as far as vocabulary is concerned, the translation of Tatian compares favourably with those of other works. In dealing with the compounds in the *Heiland* Mr Carr shows that they 'are not distinguished by any great originality or by any vividness of imagination'. He corrects G. Geffcken's work, and shows that her list of 213 compounds 'found only in the *Heiland*' must be reduced to 130, and the number of compounds common to the *Heiland* and OHG. is much larger than Geffcken's figure. The poet of the *Heliand* is, in fact, overrated. He 'did not succeed in avoiding monotonous repetition of his stock of compounds, nor did he equal the OE. poets in the vividness and concreteness of their diction' (p. 458).

Mr Carr will not, of course, always carry his readers with him. Some will doubt whether in *hildbedd styreð* the metre would be improved by reading *hildebedd* (p. 290)—presumably the scansion of *unspruod forspannan* as a C-verse is a slip (p. 426)—others may regret that Mr Carr made no use of Dr G. W. S. Friedrichsen's *Gothic Version of the Gospels* for his chapter on the Gothic compounds (pp. 379-86), but all will agree that he has produced a work of real merit.

A. C. DUNSTAN.

SHEFFIELD.

Forms of Address in German (1500-1800). By GEORGE J. METCALF. (*Washington University Studies*. New Series, Language and Literature, No. 7.) 1938. 202 pp. \$2.

Ehrismann had dealt with the use of *du* and *ihr* in the Middle Ages. Albert Keller gave a careful account of the pronouns of address in the sixteenth century. Professor Metcalf continues these investigations to the end of the eighteenth century. He demonstrates that the modern function of *Sie* is derived from such phrases as 'Euer Gnaden sind'. Thanks to the labours of Schmeller, Wunderlich, Behaghel, Paul and others, these facts were not really in dispute, but it was just as well to treat the whole matter exhaustively, and to add an investigation of the origin and evolution of *der Herr* and *die Frau* in direct address, the consequent adoption of *Er* and *Sie* as pronouns of the second person and other related problems.

This work is a sound and valuable contribution to our knowledge of German syntax. It reveals wide reading and great industry. With the general conclusions reached one cannot but agree. The author very properly examines the social background which explains syntactical changes, i.e. the change from the medieval courts with their patriarchal democracy to centres of bureaucratic absolutism, which led to the rise of fulsome and complicated forms of address. It is interesting to note that the improvement in the status of elementary school teachers is reflected in the way in which they were addressed in the eighteenth century, first by *Er* (which was the due of an artisan), later the respectful *Sie*. These and similar points are illustrated by a wealth of quotation. There are occasional signs of a lack of sense of proportion. It is unnecessary to prove by repeated citations that the Pope was addressed as *Heiligkeit*, that children used *du* to each other. If children began to call each other 'Euer Gnaden', it would be time to investigate the fact.

Dr Metcalf carefully distinguishes between colloquial and literary usage, but one feels that more stress might have been laid on the influence of the *Kanzleisprache*. One doubts whether words like *Palsgrave* for *Pfalzgraf* and *lansquenet* for *Landsknecht* should be used. No one who has any knowledge of seventeenth-century German history would misunderstand *Landsknecht*. In a reference to a play by Haugwitz on Mary Stuart, we read about the 'Dean of Petersburg'. Petersburg is, or used to be, in Russia. Peterborough (England) is meant. But these are small matters. Dr Metcalf has produced a work of sound erudition, on which he must be congratulated.

JAMES M. CLARK.

GLASGOW.

Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik. Von HERMANN PAUL. 13te Auflage. Bearbeitet von ERICH GIERACH. Die Satzlehre von OTTO BEHAGHEL. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1939. xvi+303 pp. M. 6.80.

It would be no exaggeration to say that this is the classical Middle High German grammar. Students and scholars have used it for close on sixty years, and they will continue to use it. The present edition is the second for which Professor Gierach is responsible, and whilst he has made many alterations he has endeavoured to interfere as little as possible. Paul's method was to tackle every problem as far as possible from Modern German. The present editor holds that it is frequently simpler and methodologically sounder to link up the discussion of Middle High German grammar, wherever feasible, with Old High German and historical grammar. This has necessitated a large number of alterations; they have been welded into the text with as much piety as possible.

Another alteration would have horrified Paul. Professor Gierach has, wherever he could, introduced German technical terms. Not all terms of foreign origin have vanished; no doubt they will be eliminated gradually. Tinkering with terminology is a dangerous German habit. Many people, even in present-day Germany, hold that technical vocabulary should be

as international as possible. In fields of scholarship we need more international terms, not less. 'Selbstlaut', 'Zwielaut' and 'Mitlaut' appear for monophthong, diphthong and consonant. 'Zwielaut' and 'Mitlaut' are poor contrafactures, and 'Zwielaut' is ambiguous to boot. Is 'ts' a 'Zwielaut' or a 'zwielautender Mitlaut'? And are we, in future, to talk of the 'Verselbstlautung alter Zwielaute' and the 'Verzwielautung alter Selbstlaute'? And why 'Selbstlaut'? Is a 'Zwielaut' not a 'Selbstlaut'? It is difficult to see what is gained by this muddled terminology. The concessions made to older usage are said by Professor Gierach to be due to the fact that beginners must be familiar with both modes of nomenclature. An unexpressed reason may be the editor's inability to carry matters too far. Thus, §18 deals with 'Selbstlaute', and the first sentence reads: 'Die Abweichungen im Vokalismus sind bedeutender als die im Konsonantismus.' Unless the editor had recast the whole sentence he should presumably have written 'Selbstlauterei' and 'Mitlauterei', since 'Selbstlautung', 'Mitlautung' would have been ambiguous.

Another important departure from Paul's method needs no apology. For pedagogic reasons, Paul restricted Middle High German almost entirely to the poetic language of the short classical period. Gierach has cast his net wider, and in future he hopes to pay still more attention to the language of the towns, to 'Meistergesang' and folk-song, and to the prose of the mystics and the chancelleries. Late Middle High German dialects have also received adequate, though summary, attention.

The late Professor Otto Behaghel has contributed a re-edition of the syntactic part of the grammar. Here again, Behaghel has interfered as little as possible with Paul's original lay-out. Paul had omitted to give chapter and verse for quotations, and Behaghel, together with willing helpers, has hunted these down. Checking has thus become possible for the first time, and all users of the grammar will be grateful. It goes almost without saying that Behaghel, with his unrivalled syntactic knowledge, has improved every page of this exceedingly useful syntax. Paul himself was well aware of the importance of syntax, and in this latest edition phonology and morphology account for pp. 1-143, syntax for pp. 144-264. That is as it should be, and we may yet see the day when it will be a reproach to a grammarian of the older stages of languages to produce a 'grammar' which is nothing more than phonology and paradigms.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

Der frühe deutsche Minnesang: Strophenfügung und Dichtersprache. By MAX ITTENBACH. Halle: Niemeyer. 1939. 210 pp. M. 12.

This is an impressive study, very definite in outlook, vivid and articulate in style. But it might with advantage have been reduced to one-half the size. Its fluency is unchecked and involves a great deal of unnecessary polemic. 'Was ist der langen Rede kurzer Sinn?' An answer is contained in the closing paragraph of the introduction (pp. 13-14).

THIS, a lucid epitome of the author's thesis, starts with the general assumption that now, for the first time, the earlier Minnesang will receive its due as a genus complete in itself, as 'ein eigener Formkreis', rather than as a mere prelude to the courtly Minnesang—an assumption of novelty which one could easily refute by quotation and reference.

Theoretically, Ittenbach's own method of approach is sound, his aim being to examine the older love-lyric intensively from within, discarding the indirections which, in the comparative method, can lead so far astray. The main work consists of analyses of separate poems, beginning with the anonymous songs of *Minnesangs Frühling* and ending with the older strophes of Friedrich von Hausen.

What emerges as positive gain is an eloquent tribute to the *hohe muot*, the proud and confident vitality, by which the older Minnesang is pervaded. To the glowing ardour with which this is recognized, all praise is due. The tenderness others have sensed is brushed aside as 'hineingelesen'. Here Ittenbach goes too far. The elegiac note is undoubtedly present, restrained yet poignant, and it does not impair, rather it acts as a foil to the buoyancy and strength. The oft-repeated charge of 'moderne Sentimentalität' is beside the mark, and is ludicrously unfair if applied to the veteran scholars of the last generation or to those who, like Hermann Schneider, are still with us: medievalists trained by life-long study to interpret the older poetry by its own light and to distinguish one kind from another. The term 'allegorisierte Novelle', flung out without reference as descriptive of the usual conception of Kurenberg's *Falkenlied*, is unnecessarily slighting.

But in fact the author's claim to unbiased approach is not valid. His aversion to 'moderne Sentimentalität' is carried to ultra-modern extremes which obscure for him the distinction between this and elemental pathos. Hence the tendency, disguised as 'philologische Pflicht', to ignore and disown the elegiac strain. This denial, conceived as honest, shows in reality an absence of the musical sense. The interpretations are based solely on a study of structural form, in which melody and rhythm barely count. But in the last resort melody and rhythm give the clue to the inmost sense of the lyric; sentence-relation can yield only half the truth. Neglect of this cardinal fact leads here to mistakes greater than any against which the author has seen fit to warn us. So, for instance, his interpretations of Kurenberg's *Falkenlied* and of MF. 37, 4-17, however well argued, are musically untenable.

The impoverishment produced by the sacrifice of the musical to the architectural aspect is hardly atoned for by a wealth of phrase which, in its facile luxuriance, is far removed from the adequate and excellent brevity of the poems themselves.

This original and able book will certainly receive its due measure of approbation. All the more necessary is it to consider the limitations which underlie its boldness and brilliance.

M. F. RICHEY.

Grillparzer, Lessing, and Goethe in the Perspective of European Literature.
By FRED O. NOLTE. Lancaster, Pa. 1938. 262 pp. \$2.50.

This is an excellent book, equally well adapted to be dipped into at intervals or to be read at a sitting. It is a book full of information and stimulating discussion. The title is unusual in its arrangement of names and aptly prompts curiosity as to the scheme and theme of the work. On reading it we rather get the impression that a kind of crescendo is implied by this arrangement, though a Grillparzer-Lessing-Goethe crescendo of greatness is a concept that ill consorts with that of a perspective, where a diminuendo might be more in place; but the book is one of a 'perspectives'-series, and for the author these are the three great German writers who stand out against the European background or in the European field.

In his opening chapter on Subjectivity he describes modern German writers (since the second quarter of the eighteenth century), in contrast to the French, as pervasively subjective, personal, polemical, as out of harmony and temper with their environment, as rebellious—or escapist—didactic, or lyrical. 'Yet without sacrificing a whit of their native heritage, Grillparzer, Lessing, and Goethe (for certain readers the most finely trained minds in all German literature) succeeded in elevating themselves to a plane that is truly cosmopolitan' (p. 24).

In the body of the work the author then opens with this observation: 'Schiller, Kleist, and Hebbel, through their early experience and training, came to the drama primarily as a *literary* medium; Lessing, Goethe, and Grillparzer came to it primarily as a *theatrical* medium.' Lessing, he states, subsequently became a critic, Goethe developed his fuller interest in life at large, whereas Grillparzer (with whom this first section deals) 'a very fine dramatist, who just missed being a very great one' is the only great German dramatist who was closely and sympathetically attached to the theatre in his childhood, in his formative years, and in the period of his maturity. But (p. 48) 'he lacked the earthiness of which truly sensuous art is born', and this accounts for 'the fundamental schism which ran through Grillparzer's whole career—the incompatibility [i.e. contrast] of life and art'. Here one would like to interpose an enquiry: What is there disabling about this in a poet, who, being not merely sensuous, fulfils his mission by interpreting this contrast? In how many instances, with Grillparzer as with Beethoven, does not the fundamental conception of a sublime work rest upon experience of this contrast? After all, this is only the artist's personal awareness of the contrast between necessity (his art) and freedom (or sensuous living), which all mankind experiences. What theme might be more significant and universal, subjective and objective than this?

From this point onward, the account of Grillparzer as a dramatist ('his art is pictorial rather than imaginative', 'he is the dramatist of quietism', 'as a dramatist he was an Austrian, as a critic a European') is not adequate. The same applies to the author's judgments of Lessing and Goethe, in point of fact. (In spite of Lessing's testimony, in

the passage: 'Ich bin weder Schauspieler noch Dichter...', which the author describes as spontaneous—actually it appears rather to be characteristically modest and pardonably disingenuous—Lessing was a 'Dichter'. Yet, the reader will admit that in respect to Grillparzer's fine feeling for poetry and art, the precision and soundness of his judgments; Lessing's 'citizenship at large', his steadfast honesty, and active conception of 'das Ewig-Männliche'; Goethe's proper instinct of self-culture, his understanding of life, and his gentle 'leading us by the hand', the author—displaying almost to excess in footnote overflows a faculty for aptest quotation—does let us feel what fine men these were. And even though he omits to say so, these men seem also to come nearest in German letters to his ideal of the great poet or literary genius.

This ideal is dealt with in a concluding section on Artistry. As we should have expected from the introductory section, this is rather to be found in the 'objective' French tradition. The author desires to see the term 'artistry' substituted for 'genius' in aesthetic matters. Good art, he says, is impressive [effective] communication (p. 243). But this takes no account of the significance of the thing communicated, we might reply, whereas the term 'literary genius' does. Not that originality, imaginative genius, is in itself enough. It must be attended by artistry. To say, however, as the author does, in concluding this thoughtful book, that 'in the end, supreme art is always anonymous art' is to make a statement which, applied to literary art, is in the end (*en final analysis*) scarcely tenable.

DOUGLAS YATES.

ABERDEEN.

A Critical Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation, 1481-1927. With Supplement Embracing the Years 1928-1935. Second edition. By BAYARD QUINCY MORGAN. Stanford University Press; London: H. Milford. 1938. x+773 pp. \$10.

All students of German literature will welcome the appearance, after sixteen years, of this new edition, 'completely revised and greatly augmented', of Professor Morgan's monumental work, and will congratulate the author on having emerged from the completion of his Herculean labour, as we in London were recently happy to observe, with health and vigour unimpaired. For the story of this work is indeed an epic of toil. With what thoughts must he look back on the inception of his task in 1916! We can well believe him when he says: 'It seems doubtful to me now, viewing the weary road that has led to this point, whether I should have thought it possible that a single worker, virtually unaided, could travel it to the end.'

Professor Morgan's first plan was to produce a supplement for the years 1918-27, and in 1929 he had the 300 typed pages of his MS. before him. But at that point he was given the opportunity of remedying 'one major defect, kindly but emphatically pointed out by Professor Robertson' (in his review in *M.L.R.*, xviii, 1923), due to the fact that he had only

been able to consult the British Museum library through its printed catalogues. When he was granted a year's leave of absence in 1930-1 he set out to make good the omission, and he worked in the British Museum, in collaboration with his wife, through an unbroken series of lunchless days from September to Christmas. 'It is safe to say', he tells us, 'that the work done in the B.M. produced the chief contribution of the new edition.' In view of the bulk of new material, he abandoned the plan of a supplement for the years 1918-27 for that of a new edition which should supplant the earlier one, and added a new Supplement for the years 1928-35, consisting of titles with 'critical estimates in only a very few cases'.

This colossal work is something more than just a list of names and titles. With the help of his holiday in the British Museum he was 'enabled to realize, with an efficiency of perhaps 90 per cent', his 'ideal of presenting a critical estimate of every translation listed'. When the critic is himself such a gifted and widely experienced translator as Professor Morgan, it is obvious that we have here a feature of the book of the greatest value and interest. We are all of us apt to 'ask for more', and the something more that we should greatly like would be an appreciation of some of the translations of the moderns, Rilke, for instance, among others, in his Supplement. The author tells us that, 'with the great dispersal of the German Jews and the banishment from the German book-trade of so much that it formerly included, the whole face of "German literature" has changed, if not forever, at least for our generation', and that it seems to him that his work has now come to its final stopping-place. Yet, even granting that his formal task has come to its end, there is much in the wider field here dealt with that Professor Morgan could offer us.

Far from being a mere routine performance, his work suggests all sorts of interesting speculations, of which he himself in the Introduction indicates not a few. 'For the first time', he says, 'an entire national literature is here seen through the distorting medium of another language', and 'the book takes its place among those fundamental compilations out of which, in course of time, a complete and accurate picture of Germany as seen through English eyes can be drawn'.

There is not space to dwell here on his two Charts, and all the inferences that can be drawn from them. The first, based on the very interesting review of the chronology of his findings, presents in the form of two separate graphs the frequency of German translations in general, and of Goethe translations in particular, from 1500 to 1927, and the two graphs so far correspond that 'Goethe appears to be something like a barometer for the whole field'. The second Chart shows the vogue of a large number of German authors from 1751 down to the present, and here again all kinds of reflections suggest themselves. To take one instance—on our author's 'purely empiric' basis, treble figures are only three times reached, twice by Goethe and once by Kotzebue. It is tempting to stray down many of the vistas that open up before us, but an end must be made, and I will conclude by repeating of the second

edition what Professor Robertson said in these pages of the first: 'He has certainly achieved his end of producing a work which no literary historian or librarian concerned with these matters can afford to overlook.'

H. G. ATKINS.

LONDON.

Die literarische Wertung. Ein Spektrum der Kritik. By LEONHARD BERIGER. Halle: Niemeyer. 1938. 149 pp. RM. 3.80.

The general scope and usefulness of this study can best be indicated by quoting a sentence from the Introduction (p. 7): 'Von anderen Untersuchungen gleichen Themas unterscheidet sich die vorliegende dadurch, dass die Frage der Wertung nicht bloss grundsätzlich erörtert, sondern literaturgeschichtlich untermauert wird, teils durch Anführung bekannter Werke, teils und vor allem durch Heranziehung von lebendigen und charakteristischen Urteilen über Werke.' It is, in fact, essentially an argumentative survey of modern German literary criticism; a survey, however, planned not on historical lines, but on consideration of the various methods of approach in estimating the value of literary works. The only non-German critic or writer on criticism whose views receive much attention is Croce; English and French work in this field is left out of account except for rare and brief references, e.g. to Henri Bremond's *Prière et Poesie*, to Jean Giraudoux's *Racine*, and to Lytton Strachey's query 'Is it possible to test a poet's greatness by the largeness of his view of life?' in his essay on Racine. Dr Beriger's book would have been more generally useful and had a wider appeal if his survey had been more cosmopolitan; but probably his spectrum would have shown much the same range and variety of colours even if he had passed through his prism light from a less restricted choice of sources.

The study is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with fundamental principles, aesthetic criteria, and non-aesthetic criteria. The fundamental principles of literary criticism are elaborated under the headings: 'Subjektive und objektive Voraussetzungen der Wertung' (pp. 10-16), a section containing much that is good, if little that is new; 'Idee und Symbol die Hauptbegriffe der Literaturwissenschaft im Unterschied zur Kunst- und Musikwissenschaft' (pp. 16-29), an interesting and well reasoned exposition of the essentially symbolic character of literary works of art, due acknowledgment being made to the theoretical advances made by Dilthey, Ermatinger, Paul Ernst and others in recent years as well as to earlier partial recognitions of this truth—but with perhaps too sweeping and insistent distinction between literature on the one hand and music and the plastic arts on the other in this respect; and 'Koordination von ästhetischer und ausserästhetischer Betrachtungsweise in der Beurteilung von Dichtwerken' (pp. 29-39), the importance of which is strongly emphasized, along with observations on the defects inherent in the work of Croce, Gundolf, Walther Linden, and other famous critics.

The second part treats the aesthetic criteria in five sections: 'Der

inhaltlich-stoffliche Gesichtspunkt (Die Erfindung)' (pp. 40-52), 'Die Sprache' (pp. 52-63), 'Die Symbolik' (pp. 63-76), 'Die Atmosphäre' (pp. 76-88), 'Die Form (Gattung)' (pp. 88-99). These sections, unavoidably perhaps, contain much that is self-evident, even platitudinous, e.g. 'Auf den Massstab der Form aber wird ernsthafte Kritik nicht verzichten können' (p. 96), and immediately following this, in spaced type: 'Ein Drama ist also um so vollkommener, je mehr es Drama ist, eine epische Dichtung, je mehr sie epischen, eine lyrische, je mehr sie lyrischen Charakter hat.' Indeed, from time to time throughout the book there occur rather laborious proofs of what are almost axioms. But there are also many interesting, suggestive, sometimes provocative, observations, judgments, comparisons, arguments, based on generous quotations from both literary works and critical writings. A few passages chosen almost at random may serve as examples:

Die Frage nach der Erfindung, nach Art, Grosse und Kraft des Gegenstandes, der Motive dürfte auch einen fruchtbaren Ausgangspunkt für eine künftige Goethekritik ergeben. Zu einer solchen sind ja bisher kaum mehr als Ansätze vorhanden. Alle grossen Goethedarstellungen — mit Ausnahme derjenigen von Benedetto Croce, der aber als Romane dem Dichter allzufern steht — sind, wie Ortega y Gasset einmal bemerkt, 'im Sinne einer monumentalen Optik' geschrieben. (p. 48.)

Genau betrachtet ist Goethes Verhältnis zur Sprache wie sein Verhältnis zur Welt ein polares, zwischen Anziehung und Abstossung, Ehrfurcht und Skepsis schwankendes. Er ist auch der Sprache gegenüber Faust und Mephisto zugleich. (p. 57.)

Was in der bildenden Kunst das Material, das sind in der Dichtkunst die Gattungen. (p. 91.)

Die grosse Lyrik scheint ein mystisch-pantheistisches Weltgefühl vorauszusetzen... während für die Tragödie ein dualistisch-idealistisches Weltbild die günstigste Voraussetzung sein dürfte. Determinismus und Skeptizismus wieder finden im Roman ihre natürliche Ausdrucksform. (p. 93.)

The sections dealing with 'Symbolik', which the author admittedly treats only in a tentative manner, and with 'Atmosphäre', as criteria to be applied in literary criticism, are perhaps the two most helpful in this part of the study.

Turning in the third part to the non-aesthetic criteria the author discusses the principles to be followed in giving due weight to the poet's 'Weltanschauung' (pp. 100-9), 'Ethos' (Persönlichkeit)' (pp. 109-18), 'Religiöser Gesichtspunkt' (pp. 118-30), and 'Nationaler Gesichtspunkt' (pp. 130-40). In these sections Dilthey replaces Ermatinger as the pioneer most frequently quoted and used as a starting-point for dealing with the problems that arise. The author's answers to these problems are, for the most part, hardly open to dispute. The poet's view of life, his attitude towards the great human problems of Fate, Love, Death, Freedom, etc., must help to determine his greatness; not, however, according to whether we agree or sympathise instinctively with his view, but according to the range and depth of his view as expressed in his verse or through the characters he portrays—a view not necessarily identical with that expressed, say, in his letters or reported conversation, which must be taken into account only with caution.

Although this study does not give as full a survey of literary criticism

as could be desired, and as we hope will be completed shortly, it can be recommended to all whose business it is to form and express judgments on literary works of art. To a few experienced and naturally gifted critics it may offer little beyond interesting suggestions; most critics and lecturers on literature could learn much from it; senior and post-graduate students should find it both educative and stimulating. This last usefulness it may retain even when Petersen's work is completed. If it reappears in a second edition, it is to be hoped that an index will be added.

BIRMINGHAM.

F. E. SANDBACH.

SHORT NOTICES

In Dr A. H. Smith's article upon 'The Photography of Manuscripts', in Volume I, Part II, of *London Medieval Studies* (University College, London. 1938. 194 pp. 10s.), the author gives an excellent account of the way in which photographic methods may be used to decipher old manuscripts which have become illegible by time, fire, water or the adventitious addition in past times of small quantities of alcoholic solutions. There are many methods which can be used, but they all depend upon a judicious selection of the illuminating light and of the light admitted to the camera, the latter being controlled, of course, by suitable filters. Dr Smith gives an excellent description of these methods, his exposition being simple, but accompanied by sufficient technical details to guide the photographer who wishes to take up this fascinating branch of his craft. He devotes particular attention to the method in which ultra-violet light, from which all visible components have been removed by a suitable filter, is used as an illuminant: this produces a fluorescence of the parchment, and the results are revealed by photography through a filter, usually an orange one. He wisely emphasizes the deleterious effect that may be produced by small amounts of visible light leaking from the lamp house. Details of apparatus, plates and exposure are given. It may be said, however, that English lenses are available which are quite as satisfactory as, and cheaper than, the foreign ones which he cites.

Dr Smith also gives a brief account of the visual examination of difficult manuscripts with suitable filters. In his reference to the visual reading of manuscripts illuminated by ultra-violet light a trifling error seems to have crept in where he refers to the possibility of injury to the eyes. As the only light to be detected by the eyes is the visible light, produced by fluorescence, there is no reason why the eyes should not be effectively shielded with a thick sheet of ordinary glass, or, better, of vitrex glass, neither of which will interfere with the reading. A warning to the inexperienced against the deleterious effect of ultra-violet light on the eyes certainly cannot be too plain, but adequate protection is easily secured.

Dr Smith adverts to the way in which the reckless use of chemicals, such as ammonium sulphide, has often rendered the use of modern methods impossible. Although this warning comes too late in many cases, it will, we hope, be taken to heart by those who might be tempted to experiment in this direction.

E. N. DA C. ANDRADE.

LONDON.

An examination of the varied spellings recorded in the manuscripts and earliest editions of the works of Shakespeare's greatest contemporary has long been desired. Immanuel Sommer's Heidelberg dissertation, written under the guidance of Professor J. Hoops, is therefore most welcome: *Die frühneuenglische Orthographie und Lautlehre in Lord Bacons englischen Werken nach den wichtigsten Drucken und Handschriften (Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 85. Heidelberg: Winter. 1937. 8vo. xii+168 pp. R.M. 8-50)*. Sommer justly claims that his study, concerned in the first place with Bacon's works, throws light upon the general relationships between the spoken and the written word, and between the written word and the printed text, at a critical period in the history of English. Further light is thrown upon features already known to students of Luick's *Historische Grammatik* and Wyld's *History of Modern Colloquial English* and upon certain points discussed by Zachrisson in his commentary on *The English Pronunciation taught by Bullokar*. Bacon's speech was a 'modified Standard English'. His forebears belonged to the East Midlands and throughout life he retained traces of Cambridge dialect. Most of the manuscripts and all the printed books were produced in London within the space of thirty-five years and their orthography reflected the different dialect types which were then current in London speech. Bacon was interested in etymology and he himself eschewed novelties in spelling. Hence many forms appearing in his letters and in the *Promus* were definitely archaic. As for the printers, they had little feeling for uniformity. Even in the important edition of the two books *Of the proficience and advancement of learning*, double forms appear like *hould* and *hold*, *parfit* and *perfect*, *furder* and *further*, sometimes on the same page. In his conclusions Sommer is cautious and reliable; his monograph is a noteworthy contribution to our knowledge of early seventeenth-century English.

SIMEON POTTER.

SOUTHAMPTON.

In *The 'Liber de Diversis Medicinis'* (Early English Text Society, 207. London: H. Milford. 1938. xxix+160 pp. 10s.) Dr M. S. Ogden has given us an excellent edition of the medical recipes contained in the Thornton MS. The only part of it that lies open to criticism is the *Glossary*, which, though in general full and accurate, is not invariably etymological, nor is it always easy to see why the derivation of one word should be given when that of another, equally interesting, is omitted.

There is some carelessness, too, in the Old English and Old Norse forms which are quoted, and the usual representation of OE. *æ* by *ae* has nothing to recommend it. But it must be emphasized that the points concerned are of minor importance, and the fact that this is the chief criticism says much for the general excellence of the edition. An interesting introduction deals competently and adequately with the scribe of the manuscript (plausibly identified with the Robert Thornton who became lord of East Newton in Yorkshire in 1418), with the recipe tradition, and with the language of the text. Difficulties in the text are dealt with capably in the remarkably full notes, where too the editor's wide knowledge of ancient and medieval medical literature is put to good use. Further parallels might perhaps have been found in the translation of Macer made in 1373 by John Lelamour, but since this has been edited only by A. Whytlaw-Gray of Leeds University as an M.A. thesis, and has not been published, Dr Ogden's omission of it is natural enough. A very full bibliography is given and the absence of occasional items, such as G. Sarton's *Introduction to the History of Science* (Washington, 1927-31), which one might expect to have been noted, hardly detracts from its value. Dr Ogden is to be congratulated on this scholarly edition, and it is to be hoped that her wide knowledge and obvious ability will be usefully employed in the editing of other Middle English medical texts.

R. M. WILSON.

LEEDS.

Dr Lisle Cecil John's *The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences: Studies in Conventional Conceits* (New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1938. x+278 pp. 14s.) is a useful addition to the Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, although it contains a good deal of matter not really necessary to its theme, i.e. a history of the English sonnet to 1609, sections on the Italian origin of the sonnet and on the early French sonnets, and appendices on the date of Sidney's sonnets, with a defence of the traditional identification of Stella with Lady Rich. All this is interesting, but not strictly relevant. The main body of Dr John's work, however, is a valuable supplement to Sidney Lee and Miss Janet Scott (Espinier) by its application to the English sonnet of the method of image-tracing used by Joseph Vianey in his study of Petrarchanism in France. He distinguishes the Ovidian from the Anacreontic representation of love, as shown in Spenser, Sidney, Greville and others, and traces such traditional *motifs* as the eyes as 'leaders in love', love dwelling within the lover, love as a warfare; then he turns to the wealth of Anacreontic myth, Cupid the wanton, his truancy, misfortunes, petulance, seeking refuge with the lover, etc. (Incidentally Mr John is one of the first critics to appreciate the variety and success of Greville's Anacreontic love-poems.) He deals with other conceits, such as those connected with the heart, tears, sighs, absence, sleep, the mirror, the eternizing theme, and he shows the sources and

development of the blonde ideal of feminine beauty. Such a scheme must result in a series of studies rather than a single unified argument. But Mr John has avoided mere catalogue (though he gives a useful table of concerts) and with critical skill expounds the diversity with which the Elizabethan poets used their fancy within the limits of their amorous convention.

G. BULLOUGH.

SHEFFIELD.

Mr C. Narayana Menon's *Shakespeare Criticism, an Essay in Synthesis* (London: Oxford University Press. 1938. vii + 276 pp. 5s.) is an uneven but always lively book, based on wide reading and written with infectious zest. Readers will agree and disagree with it warmly. The author's main thesis is that since a Shakespearean play is nothing to us unless it is an imaginative experience, therefore our imaginative experience (whoever 'we' are) is the play; whence it follows that historical and analytical methods of research are futile, and that 'almost everything' (presumably everything imaginative) 'written about Shakespeare is true'. It is, in short, the demand for 'liberty of interpretation' pushed to extreme lengths, and fearless of the logical consequences. He is very severe on Miss Winstanley, to take only one instance, for finding a political allegory in *Macbeth*. Now whether she was right or wrong, it is impossible to understand how Professor Menon can be justified, on his own showing, in maintaining that she was wrong, or in offering as a truer view of the play his own analysis of *Macbeth* in terms of modern psychology. It is no answer to say that what she found was not in the play. The same may be said of what Professor Menon finds. It is just as much an importation, and less plausibly Shakespearean; for after all, Shakespeare may have been interested in politics, but he was certainly quite ignorant of modern psychology. But the fact that one feels tempted to argue with Professor Menon is proof of the vitality of his book. It deserves to be widely read.

J. CROFTS.

BRISTOL.

Almost any selection from the richest period of our lyric poetry is bound to be delightful; but Professor M. W. Black's *Elizabethan and Seventeenth-Century Lyrics* (Philadelphia: Lippincott. 1938. xi + 624 pp. \$4.00) is something more besides. It is an admirable introduction to the study of the subject. Professor Black has arranged his selection in groups which illustrate the historical development of the lyric and the dominant influences that shaped it, from *The Courtly Makers* (Wyatt and Surrey and others) to the Cavaliers and Dryden. Each section is devoted to some particular type of lyric and to each is prefaced an admirably lucid introductory essay. By his choice and arrangement of examples, and by the way in which each section is introduced, Professor Black is able to give a clear impression both of a chronological develop-

ment and of the diverse strands which went to make up this body of literature. The reader becomes aware of how the tradition was modified, either by individual poets, Spenser, Ben Jonson, Donne, or by the influence of the court, of the musicians and of the theatre. Only a sure judgment and a long intimacy with the subject could have accomplished so much while avoiding both the Scylla of pedantic distinctions and the Charybdis of confusion. The volume opens with an essay, *On Reading Lyric Poetry*, which is full of sound advice, lucidly set forth; this is followed by a select list of books which the reader will find helpful, and a short essay on Elizabethan metres and metrists.

One would like to recommend this volume to all students of poetry. It is most unfortunate that it is so far only published in America and at a price which will make it inaccessible to many.

JOAN BENNETT.

CAMBRIDGE.

In *Bildungs- und Erziehungsideale bei Milton — eine kulturpolitische Studie zum 17. Jahrhundert (Studien zur Englischen Philologie, No. 93. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1938. 64 pp. M. 2.40)* Herbert Kreter undertakes to throw light upon Milton's famous letter 'Of Education', addressed to his friend Harthib, by marshalling information as to Milton's times, his own part in the events of the stormy period in English history, and by tracing Milton's ideas to their sources. The treatment is appreciative to a fault, for one finds hardly a note of criticism of any of Milton's proposals, while on the other hand one finds Milton's noble and enthusiastic scheme of education credited with a system and order which it really does not possess, and which, indeed, would be impossible within the score of short pages in the Letter. Herr Kreter has, perhaps unconsciously, filled out Milton's broad outlines at many points. Yet his sympathy and admiration for Milton's views have in general safeguarded him from misrepresentation.

On one point, I feel sure, he has been misled, that is, in exaggerating Milton's debt to Plato (pp. 51 ff.). This seems to spring from a misunderstanding of a sentence in Milton's *Areopagitica* to which he refers: 'No music must be heard...but what is grave and Doric.' Kreter cites this as indicating Milton's view, whereas, of course, Milton is really pointing out the obnoxious suppression of freedom which tends to spring from autocratic control of culture, even in so noble a scheme as Plato's *Republic*.

It is earnestly to be hoped—or at least to be wished—that the readers of Kreter's 30,000 word monograph will not fail to read, preferably beforehand, the 'Letter' itself, about one-sixth as long.

EDWARD O. SISSON.

PORTLAND, OREGON.

Unpublished letters of Lord Chesterfield, even if they were addressed to his perruquier, would have a certain value, if only because they showed an eighteenth-century gentleman going through his paces. The

twenty-six letters, however, which Dr Sidney L. Gulick Jr. now publishes for the first time, together with some 'Thought for the Future Education of his Godson' (*Some Unpublished Letters of Lord Chesterfield*. Berkeley: University of California Press, London: Cambridge University Press, 1937. iv+84 pp. 7s) have a more enduring value; they display all Chesterfield's charm and politeness, and much of that mellow wisdom in worldly affairs that long experience had taught him. Twenty-five of the letters are addressed to his godson, Philip Stanhope, afterwards the fifth Earl, and they run from July 1761, when he was a promising lad of six, to 1773, when he was an extravagant and disappointing young man of eighteen. In this brief collection of letters one can watch the ageing Chesterfield becoming more and more anxious about the outcome of his educational methods. What those methods were may be seen from Letter XXVI in this collection, which is addressed to M. Deyverdun (whom Chesterfield had appointed to be governor to his godson), and which contains instructions for the young man's education abroad. Dr Gulick has written a clear and sensible introduction, and annotated the letters with accuracy and intelligence.

J. R. SUTHERLAND.

LONDON.

Professor Gladys M. Turquet has translated into English Du Bellay's *The Defence and Illustration of the French Language* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1939. vii+110 pp., and a genealogical table. 5s.). Her basket is so full of apples that we must not be astonished or aggrieved if they are not all of the finest quality. This one, particularly, shows every sign of having been picked hastily by a careless and inexpert hand. The introduction, which is bright and chatty, makes no mention of the source from which Du Bellay lifted bodily and without acknowledgement so many of his most interesting passages, viz. Sperone Speroni's *Dialogo delle lingue*. The translation, judging from the first five chapters, contains many errors; some due to carelessness, as when in Chapters I and IV negative sentences are translated as positives, others to unfamiliarity with sixteenth-century usage. In some passages misunderstanding of the text might have been avoided if reference had been made to Speroni's original, particularly in Chapter III. There was room for a competent, careful and correct English translation of Du Bellay's important manifesto. There is still.

J. ORR.

EDINBURGH.

The thesis of Dr Otis E. Fellows, *French Opinion of Molière, 1800-1850* (*Brown University Studies*, vol. III. Providence. 1937. 125 pp.), is like a series of acid tests. At various stages during the period under review Molière is brought into contact with public and critical opinion, and the reaction produced is a fair indication of the composition of that amalgam and of changes that are taking place. Dr Fellows performs his tests upon newspapers, periodicals, correspondence and a large number

of general works, taking as point of departure the Revolutionary period, when he alleges that appreciation of Molière reached its lowest ebb, and as terminal point the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, by which time Molière was acknowledged to be one of the world's greatest dramatic writers.

The most interesting fact brought to light by this enquiry is that the fluctuations of opinion on Molière were in the main not results of purely literary examinations of Molière on his own merits; they were rather symptoms or by-products of some political, religious or social situation, or of his being used or misused as a weapon in literary polemic. For example, under the Empire Molière was unpopular in official circles because he was 'politically unreliable', in prudish, cultured society because he was considered coarse (they even went so far as to change the sub-title of *Sganarelle* into *Le mari qui se croit trompé*) and among the people because he seemed tame and insipid by the side of the highly seasoned melodrama of the day. In spite of his being used as an argument by both sides of the Romantic debate, he was apparently neglected by the theatre-going public unless acted by a popular idol such as Mlle Mars. But during the Restoration and the July Monarchy Molière was claimed as a patron saint by all in opposition: socialists and humanitarians found him a champion of the poor and drew morals from the 'scène du pauvre' in *Don Juan*, anticlericals hailed *Tartuffe* as a tract against the Jesuits, militant Romantics tended to overstress alleged autobiographical allusions and supporters of Romantic drama exploited to the full the tragic or pathetic aspects of such characters as Arnolphe or George Dandin, whilst the strictures of the young Veuillot only served to encourage those who saw in Molière an opponent of Catholicism. Dr Fellows' conclusion is that, in spite of *Une soirée perdue*, which he dismisses as unrepresentative, Molière's position went from strength to strength throughout the Romantic period and that he was the only classical author consistently exempted from the general condemnation of seventeenth-century literature.

The wording of the title deprives one of the right to grumble at the very sketchy nature of the introductory and concluding chapters, the former of which assumes too readily that the eighteenth century failed to appreciate Molière, but within the limits stated in that title the work is competently done. Dr Fellows has thrown light on a significant, if minor, aspect of Romanticism.

L. W. TANCOCK.

LONDON.

The methodological catalogue by S. Paul Jones entitled *A List of French Prose Fiction from 1700 to 1750, with a brief introduction* (New York: Wilson. 1939. xxxii+150 pp. \$3.50) will be a useful aid to researchers in abbreviating bibliographical preliminaries. It lists in chronological order, and with an index, nearly a thousand original works of the first half of the eighteenth century, giving details of various

editions and where they may be found. The difficulty of deciding whether certain works should be included or not has been reasonably overcome by the author, but while accepting the exclusion of prose fictions in dramatic form, one may regret the omission of those in dialogue form, for the *Dialogues* of La Fontan (1703) or the *Dialogue de Sylla et d'Eucrate* of Montesquieu (1748), for example, have more in common with the works of semi-historical or pseudo-geographical character that are listed than with the dramatic forms which find no place. As regards completeness, the list appears to have avoided important omissions, save that the *Relation du Royaume des Féliciens* of the Marquis de Lassay (1727) should be mentioned, although it seems not to have appeared in a separate edition.

The limits the author set himself hardly admitted the intrusion of personal ideas, but in his introduction he provides some suggestive statistical information concerning the fluctuations and increase of production of prose fiction, the decline of the title *roman*, the parallel popularity of the anonymous and autobiographical methods of narration, the importance of historical background or verisimilitude, etc. He also touches upon questions of contents, such as the small proportion of religious or obscene works and the wide range of social types introduced, but without attempting to assess the proportion, which might be significant, of political or philosophical fiction produced during this period so fertile in controversy and social change; some titles in the list, even by unknown authors, hint at interesting possibilities in this direction. Even without such classifications, however, the book can hardly fail to furnish useful details to anybody concerned with minor authors, as my own soundings have shown, and it will help those interested only in the qualitative aspects of French literature to base their judgments upon wider surveys and perspectives.

E. R. BRIGGS.

CAMBRIDGE.

We have come to expect from Dutch dissertations a thoroughness and solidness which is in marked contrast to the majority of those issued from German universities, and to this Dr G. A. Van Es's *De Attributieve Genetief in het Middelnederlandsch* (Assen: Van Gorcum. 1938. 456 pp.) is no exception. We are impressed by the fact that the author has extracted 9000 genitives from 93,600 lines of verse and 33,700 of prose and by the length of the dissertation in which the result of these labours is presented to us. Evidently realizing that the perusal of his work would be a weariness of the flesh, Dr Van Es has provided after each main section a detailed synopsis of his conclusions, and in addition, for the benefit of those English-speaking philologists who wish to learn about the genitive in Middle Dutch but who cannot read Modern Dutch, a further ten-page synopsis is appended, written in a kind of English which the reviewer found more difficult to understand than the Dutch text. The work is divided into three parts; in the first two the attributive

genitive of the pronoun and noun is described and in the third the structure of the genitive groups, including the position of the adnominal genitive, is considered. The description of the facts is impressively accurate and complete, but Dr Van Es tries to do more than those writers on syntax like Behaghel who isolate syntactic phenomena from their environment. He attempts also to define the stylistic values of the genitive relationships and to use them to differentiate between the literary genres. If he had succeeded in this task, his work would be well worth reading, but we are disappointed to find that his remarks on the stylistic values of the genitive contain little more than trivial observations on the vocabulary of the texts he has examined. We are told that the genitives of *God*, *Christus*, *Maria* are often found in religious literature (§ 186), that the genitive of *Venus* is frequently used in the romantic drama (§ 201) and that of *minne* in the mystic and erotic lyric (§ 371). All this and much more which Dr Van Es sets forth has nothing to do with style and adds nothing to our knowledge of literary genres. Throughout the work the author keeps rigorously to his period. An occasional comparison with the genitive in early Germanic or with parallel usage in Middle High German or Middle English might have helped to give relief to his work and made the results of his labours more commensurate with the effort expended on them.

CHARLES T. CARR.

ST ANDREWS.

The address which Professor Franz Koch delivered in the Römer at Frankfurt am Main on the eve of Goethe's birthday, 27 August 1938, under the title *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart in Eins* (Halle: Niemeyer. 1939. 21 pp. RM. 1.50) forms the first volume of the *Reihe der Vorträge und Schriften* of the Freies Deutsches Hochstift. The title is taken from the well-known passage in the 14th Book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*:

Ein Gefühl aber, das bei mir gewaltig überhand nahm und sich nicht wundersam genug aussern konnte, war die Empfindung der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart in eins: eine Anschauung, die etwas Gespenstermassiges in die Gegenwart brachte.

If at the beginning that feeling is illustrated from Goethe's visit to 'Jabachs Wohnung' in Cologne, at the end our orator rounds off his address by taking us in spirit to the Goethehaus in Frankfurt (now for three-quarters of a century in the care of the Hochstift), where every object forms a bridge upon which past and present meet. Between these two visits we have an eloquent exposition of the theme that the title-words are no chance formulation, but the expression of one of Goethe's fundamental convictions and experiences, occurring again and again in his works in various modulations. Those words are the 'Bekundung eines organischen Zeitgefühls' and stress is laid on the significance for the present of Goethe's sense of the organic growth and continuity of all political forms, as of life itself.

H. G. ATKINS.

LONDON.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of the *Modern Language Review*:

I have read with interest the review of my edition of Bishop Godwin's *The Man in the Moone* which appeared in Volume xxxiv (January 1939), pp. 92-3. On this side of the Atlantic we have grown accustomed to the stimulating admonitions found on occasion in English reviews. I must confess, however, that certain portions of this review proved startling both to the writer and to colleagues acquainted with the edition. Particularly was this true of the emphatic conclusion that 'The title-page has fared worst. It is laid out to look like a literal transcript of the original, and it contains six errors in twenty-four words. In all this there is a mixture of carelessness and pretentiousness which one hopes is exceptional in the series as a whole.'

Now it so happens that the title-page contains, not twenty-four words, but twenty-nine words and the date, 1638. In the edition, nothing is said to the effect that this page represents a literal transcript of the original. Just what the unidentified errors may be, and in which twenty-four of the thirty 'words' they occur, one can only guess. The omission on artistic grounds of the periods following 'Gonsales' and 'Messenger' perhaps might be counted as two, but in any event two are no more six than thirty are twenty-four. With equal vigour the reviewer rejects an emendation said first to involve 'the recasting of a whole sentence', and next described as a 'repunctuation of the sentence'. What actually was done was to transfer the following italicized phrase originally given at the end of one sentence to its present position at the beginning of the subsequent sentence or fragment: 'Being arrived at the Pallace of *Pylonas*, after our conductor had gotten audience (which was not presently) and had declared what manner of present he had brought; I was immediately called in unto him. *By his attendance*, the statelinesse of his Palace, and the reverence done unto him, I soone discerned his greatnesse, and therefore framed my selfe to win his favour the best I might.' It is the reviewer's kind suggestion that had the editor used the 1657 edition (which he did), or had turned to the *N.E.D.* and there learned that 'attendance' meant 'a body of attendants' (which he knew), the emendation would not have been made. Unfortunately, the reviewer missed completely what I hoped would be obvious. If the italicized phrase is attached, as it was, to the first sentence, we have one sentence and a subsequent nonsensical fragment. Attached to the fragment, two complete sentences result, and the balance of the first is improved.

I am wholly sympathetic toward the reviewer's belief that the place of the illustration of Domingo and his 'engine' of gansas 'is clearly at p. 28', and not at p. 44, where it was ultimately assigned. At first glance the editor thought to assign the illustration, given in the original on

p. 15, to p. 28. The text, p. 27, describes Domingo as flying with his 'engine' from a rock on one side of the river to a second rock on the opposite bank, and carries in parentheses the expression, 'the description whereof ensueth'. Again, however, a more charitable attitude toward the editor's conclusions might have led to a second glance at the illustration in question. This second glance would have disclosed that the dark area at the far side is not the bank of a river, for a ship is sailing within it. Such a glance also would have shown that what had appeared as two rocks, the upper one apparently hanging unsupported in mid-air, was in reality a high mountain partially drifted over with clouds, and one which had many trees growing on its lower slopes. The passage illustrated by the woodcut is that on pp. 45-6, where the gansas rose from the top of El Pico, 'at least 15 leagues in height', and 'strooke bolt upright' on the trip to the Moon. The direction of flight is not 'across', but upward and directly toward the Moon. I may add that the Moon is shown roughly as it would have appeared to one flying westward from El Pico at the precise time when Godwin indicated that Domingo took off from the mountain for the Moon.

In view of a different type of stricture, it should be mentioned that single issues of the *Studies* normally are limited to 65 pp. This issue, selling at the usual price of approximately three shillings, contains 92, or perhaps 150 ordinary book pages. For financial reasons bibliographical information given in cited articles was largely omitted, together with reproduction of title-pages, and a number of desirable refinements. The second of the omitted wood-cuts, which the reviewer seemingly would have had included, depicts the Azores, and has no connexion with the tale.

There remains the basic problem inherent in the reviewer's statement that 'one might, at a pinch, justify the emendation [p. 48] of "exceeding" to "exceeding"'. Bishop Godwin wrote much in Latin; and he had been dead five years when the printers set up his book. He obviously was not responsible for 'exceeding'. In addition, we find 'exceed' on p. 87; 'exceedingly', p. 22, and among other places, 'exceeding' on pp. 13 and 21. The variant spelling is given in the notes. One may well be puzzled as to what are the permitted functions of an editor, and what would have been said if the emendation had not been made.

Scholarship would be the loser if it were to follow the old adage regarding stones and glass houses. Yet, it may well be that those of us who live in such houses should not hurl stones either too promiscuously or too vigorously.

GRANT MCCOLLEY.

NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.

[The reviewer makes the following observations:

Mr McColley selects for comment five points from the latter part of my review.

(1) The errors in the thirty words of the title-page are as follows: 'The' for 'THE', 'or' for 'OR', 'BY' for 'BY', 'Domingo Gonsales' for

'DOMINGO GONSALES', '*Messenger*' for '*Messenger*.', 'John Norton' for 'JOHN NORTON', and 'Warren,' for 'Warren.'. Mr McColley names one of these, and adds a non-existent one, there is no period after 'GONSALES'. I do not understand the 'artistic grounds' referred to; there is nothing 'artistic' about the title-page in the original or in the transcript. It is true that 'nothing is said to the effect that this page represents a literal transcript'. But there is certainly nothing in the general appearance of the title-page (which is widely spaced, follows the original in printing *Ioshua*, and in its use of V for U, and makes some use of capitals and italics) to suggest that it is meant to be inaccurate. I thought it was meant to be accurate, and criticized accordingly.

(2) The unemended sentence (it is a single sentence, and not two as Mr McColley now suggests) has 'I was immediately called in unto him by his attendance: the stateliness of his Palace'. The emendation certainly involves both recasting and repunctuation, and should have been defended in a note, there would then have been no need for my speculations. (I had other reasons, as indicated, for thinking that little use had been made of the 2nd edition.) Now that Mr McColley has produced his reasons, my suggested ones are shown to be erroneous. His reasons were not 'obvious' to me, since the sentence was not (to me) nonsensical, but only loosely framed. But the emendation is certainly an improvement, and quite possibly correct.

(3) The disputed illustration could fit *either* p. 28 *or* p. 44. The detailed argument now supplied in favour of p. 44 is persuasive but has one complication—it necessarily assumes two or three separate errors instead of a single one on the part of the printer. The misplacing of *three* woodcuts, not of one, is in question. But as Mr McColley's edition omits the other two and does not discuss the question as a whole we may leave it there.

(4) The plea of economy may explain the omission of 'bibliographical information', but not the occasional contradiction or apparent disregard of such information.

(5) I mentioned 'exeeding', as my original context shows, to indicate the kind of spelling emendation for which some justification could probably be found; Mr McColley has found that justification.

KATHLEEN TILLOTSON.]

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